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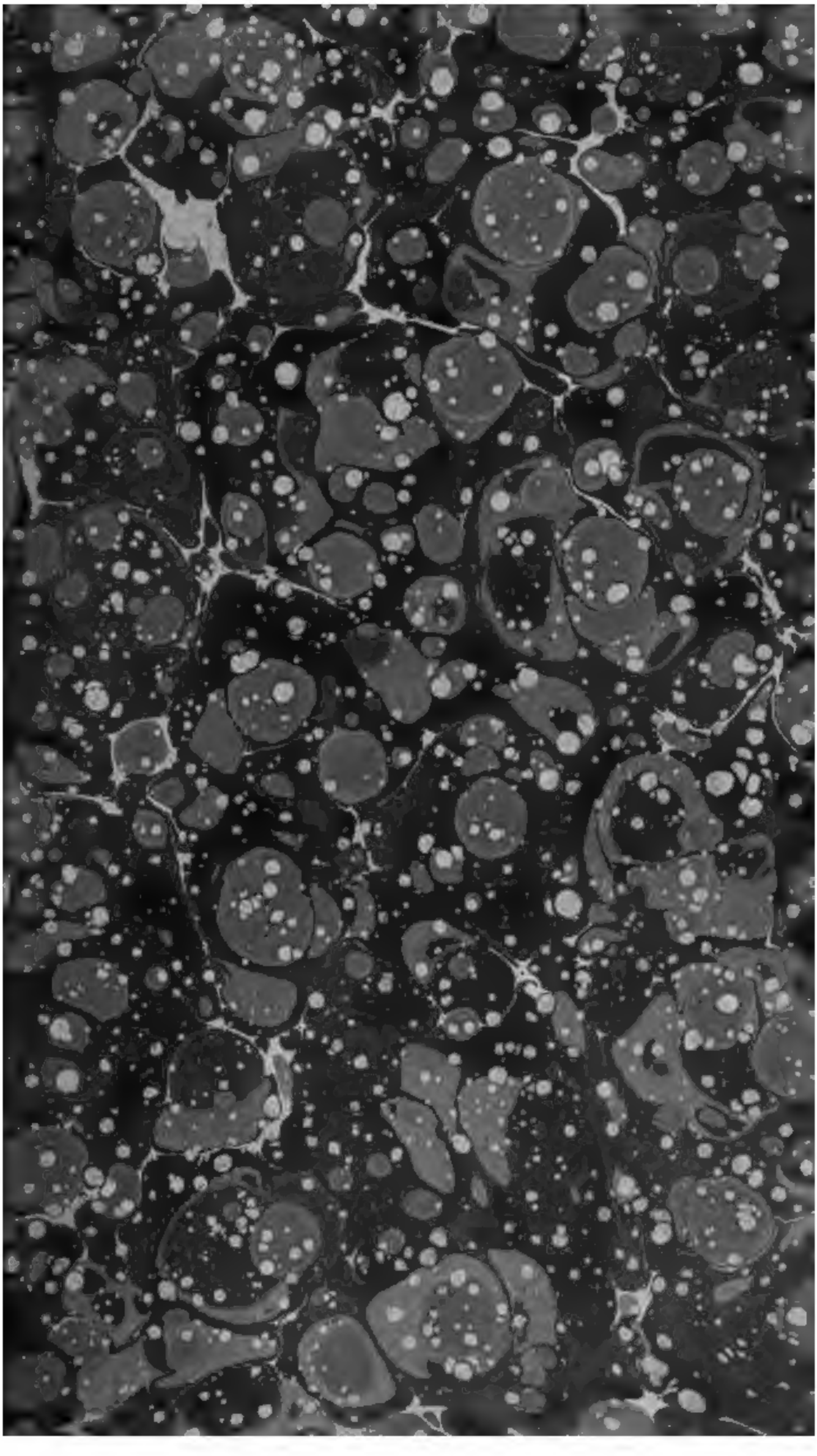

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# RESEARCHES

INTO THE

# PHYSICAL HISTORY

OF

# MANKIND.

BY

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# BOOK IV.

## RESEARCHES INTO THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF EUROPE AND ASIA.

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## PREFACE.

In laying before the public that portion of my work which comprises the ethnography of Europe and Asia, by far the most important regions of the world in respect to the origin of nations and the history of mankind, I feel a strong impression that some apology is due from me for the imperfect manner in which I have executed the task. I am ready to hope that a sufficient excuse will be found in the difficulties connected with the undertaking, and that these difficulties are so obvious in their nature as to render it needless to do more than briefly to mention them. In the first place I may advert to the great extent of the field which I have been called upon to survey, and to the great number of questions that came before me successively, while examining the relations of the numerous

tribes of people spread through the great continent of the Old World. To this I must add the fact, that no former writer has surveyed the same ground, or any great part of it, from a similar point of view. If we except the learned and ingenious treatise of Dr. Edwards of Versailles, there is no work extant in which an attempt has been made to investigate, with accurate historical research, the physical and moral characters of nations in connection with the races from which they are descended, and the nature of the countries which they inhabit; and Dr. Edwards has professedly restricted his inquiries to some particular European stems, though he has incidentally thrown rays of light upon more remote points. The lucubrations of Herder and other diffuse writers of the same description, while some of them possess a merit of their own, are not conceived in the same design or directed towards the same scope. Their object is to pourtray national character as resulting from combined influences, physical, moral, and political. They abound in generalisations, often in the speculative flights of a discursive fancy, and afford little or no aid for the close induction from facts, which is the aim of the present work. Nor have these inquiries often come within the view of writers on geography, though the history of the globe is very

incomplete without that of its human inhabitants. Even Malte-Brun has meagre notices on the history of human tribes. No deficiency, however, in this or in any other department can be laid to the charge of Professor Ritter, whose admirable "Erdkunde" combines an amazing mass of information on every topic connected with his vast undertaking. His work is yet incomplete, but the parts already published are invaluable from the great extent of the resources which the author had everywhere at his command, and the successful manner in which he has availed himself of them. It will be seen that I have derived no small advantage from the "Erdkunde von Asien," especially in reference to the physical geography of that region.

It may be thought by some of my readers that I have devoted too great a portion of my work to inquiries relative to the ancient history and antiquities and languages of particular nations, and especially to their early literature and mythology. These subjects may be deemed too remote from the researches into physical history which are my professed object. It must be remembered that similar investigations afford in many instances the only means of establishing on tolerably secure grounds inferences as to the mutual relationship of particular tribes. By these inquiries we sometimes discover proofs of ancient affinity be-

tween nations long since separated and inhabiting distant regions, where they have been subjected during many ages to different external agencies. By such proofs alone we may establish the fact of their descent from a common original, and ascertain the effects which a long abode under different climates, and a diversity of habits and moral influences, are capable of producing on the offspring of one primitive stock. These researches have therefore a bearing upon the origin of physical varieties, and they are, though laborious and indirect methods, often the only available means of elucidating obscure points connected with this subject. Inquiries into the mythological traditions and the early literature of different races, and the peculiar developement which conceptions and representations connected with religion may have assumed among them, constitute moreover a principal resource for comparative psychology. Such traits of character form no small part of the history of races, and they are often important indications of the state of mental culture, or arguments of the community of origin, or of the early separation of particular tribes.

To establish the reality of such relations of kindred between nations separated from each other and differing in acquired physical and moral characters, has

often been the design of laborious and manifold investigations. It has been the end or the object for the sake of which these investigations have been undertaken, and is their result or fruit. Hence it is obviously improper, in describing the population of different portions of the earth, to set out with a distribution of mankind into races and tribes, as most writers on the history of mankind have done. Such an arrangement prematurely attempted is an anticipation of results which are only attainable, of admissions which can only be granted as legitimate, after careful investigation. For this reason I have thought it better to proceed in the analytical method, and to begin with the survey of the phenomena from which inductions were to be collected. I have examined the ethnography of various countries in a local order, and it has been only where a whole region appears to have been occupied by one race that I have deviated apparently, though not really, from this method of arrangement. In particular, the different branches of the Indo-European family of nations are not all brought together under one head, but described successively in the order of the countries which they inhabit. While the analytical arrangement, so termed, was thus the only one which circumstances allowed, it has disadvantages of an obvious nature, and is liable

to distract the attention of the reader, and obscure to his view and render less forcible the evidence that may be brought to bear upon general conclusions. On this account it has appeared to me advisable to prefix an introductory chapter, in which I have attempted to survey in a synthetical order a great variety of particular subjects; and at the termination of this part of my work, where a synthetical statement has its most natural place, I shall resume the same point of view, and shall draw up a brief recapitulation of the results."*

* I cannot let pass this opportunity of expressing my obligations to Captain Washington, R.N., and the other officers and members of the Royal Geographical Society, for the great assistance in very many instances afforded me, by giving me access to sources of information otherwise hardly attainable. I am under a similar obligation to the learned and truly liberal Marquis of Bute, who has most kindly lent me from his magnificent library many works on the history of the northern nations, which could not be heard of either at the Bodleian or in the library of the British Museum.

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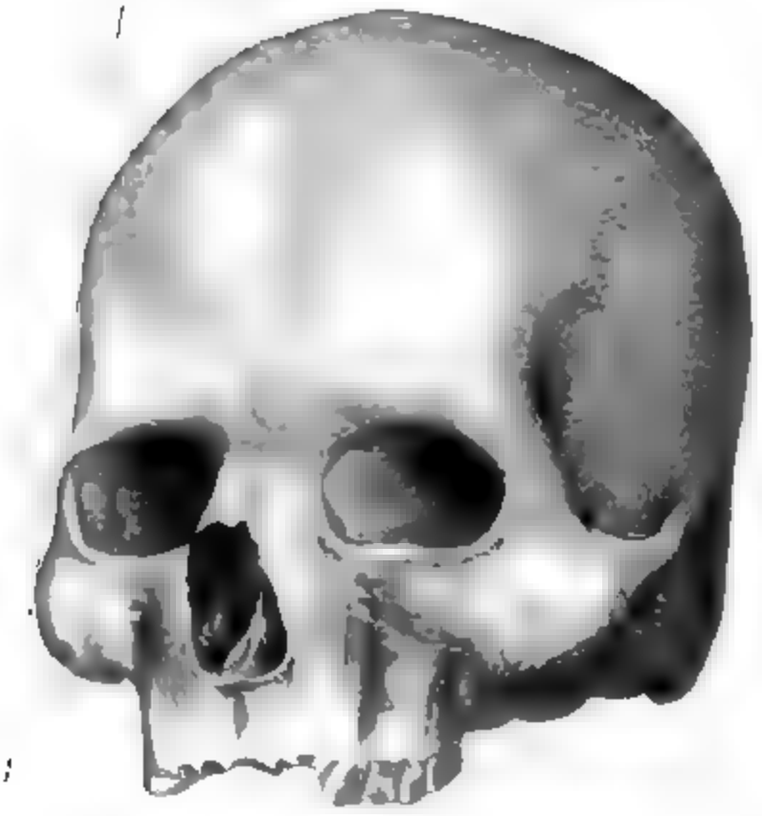

An Ancient Cumbrian.

Fig. 1.

A Lappe

Fig 2

An Esthonian Finn.

# DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

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PLATE 1. (Frontispiece)—A portrait of Ramohun Roy, affording an example of very dark complexion in a Brahman of undoubtedly pure race: a specimen of colour approaching to black in a tribe of the Indo-European stock.

PLATE 2: Figs. 1, 2, represent skulls of the two principal varieties of the Iotun or Great Finnish race. Fig. 1, is a Lapponic skull from Blumenbach's decades. Fig. 2, is the skull of an Esthonian Finn, from the work of Dr. Alexander Hueck, published at Dorpat in 1838.

These skulls are described and their differences pointed out in a section of this volume, relating to the physical characters of the Finnish nations.

PLATE 3.—Contains a drawing taken from the cast of a skull in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. The cast was presented to the College by Professor Eschricht of Copenhagen, together with a learned and interesting memoir on the sepulchral remains of ancient races in Denmark and the neighbouring countries, published in the "Danske Folkeblad." The cast is that of a cranium discovered in a barrow in the isle of Moen, which appears from Professor Eschricht's account to be a good specimen of a great number of skulls found in similar situations. The memoir which accompanied it gives much curious information on the subject of the sepulchral remains dispersed over the north of Europe. The comparison of these remains with the numerous relics of a like description spread through the British isles, and with the contents of innumerable tumuli existing in the north of Russia, and particularly along the banks of the great rivers of Siberia, may hereafter throw an important light on the ancient history and ethnography of all these regions. Professor Eschricht's memoir

communicates some interesting facts, which may suggest the topics of future inquiry.*

"Over many parts of Denmark are scattered earthen mounds, which are termed in the country 'Jettehoie' or Giants' tombs. They are regarded as relics of the olden time. Their vast number proves, says the author, that they were not raised during one age, and history records that the custom of erecting mounds over the dead prevailed in the north of Europe for many centuries previous to the introduction of the Christian religion. That these monuments belonged to different ages is further evinced, by the difference of their structure, and of the relics of ancient art which have been discovered in them. For a long period of time it seems to have been customary to deposit in these graves burnt bodies, or merely collections of burnt bones in earthen vessels: but this was not the oldest custom, nor was it universally prevalent: we sometimes find bones in earthen vessels in the same graves with entire skeletons. With the dead it was usual to bury various articles, such as his weapons, working tools, ornaments, and some religious tokens, probably amulets, fetisses or talismans. In the later pagan times such things were of bronze, sometimes of gold, seldom of silver or iron: in the more ancient times the ornaments were generally of amber, and the weapons and implements of stone or bone; seldom, *perhaps never*, of *metal.* This circumstance furnishes the ground for distinguishing the sepulchral remains of the northern land as belonging to different chronological eras."

"Now, as we are obliged to admit that iron was known to the nations of Gothic or German race, who inhabited Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, from an early age, and who were the ancestors of the present Swedes and Danes, we must refer the existence of the earliest class of these remains to a period ending two thousand years ago, and reaching back not only beyond authentic historical memorials, but even beyond the earliest traditions. It is evident that they belonged to a people older than the Danes. Who were this people? The early traditions speak of giants, elfs, the hereditary enemies of the Goths, and it is highly probable that under these names were designated that ancient race whose indefatigable industry supplied the want of metal. As history gives little infor-

* I am indebted for the opportunity of consulting this memoir to the kindness of Professor Owen. The drawing has been taken by the permission of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, in whose Museum the cast is deposited.

mation, a research into the contents of the sepulchral mounds themselves seems to be the only resource for elucidating this question.

"Though many of these graves have been opened, and in some not fewer than twenty skeletons have been discovered, there is yet not one entire skeleton in any museum in Denmark.

"In the summer of 1836, M. Hage of Stege, in the isle of Moen, ordered two mounds to be opened, which were situated close together, near Byen: the style and contents of these barrows prove that they belonged to the oldest period of similar remains. An opening in the southern end of each mound affords an entrance to a narrow passage, which leads into a chamber in the centre of the mound; the passages, as well as the chamber, are formed by means of rough stones of a flat shape. The sepulchral chambers are fourteen or sixteen ells long, between four and five broad, and two ells and a half high." From this account it would appear that these oldest 'Jettehoie' or 'Gravhoie,' in the Danish islands, bear a close resemblance to our long sepulchral barrows in Britain. Some of them contain, as it seems, ten or even twenty human skeletons. Three skulls were procured by Professor Eschricht from one of the tumuli above mentioned. They are described and figured in the memoir, and the cast sent to the Museum was taken from one of them. Professor Eschricht afterwards compared these skulls, and the relics of art found in the same barrows, with several extensive collections of similar remains in the Danish museums, particularly with the contents of sepulchral mounds near Hellested in Sjælland. The result seems to be, that the shape of the skulls is very similar in all the tombs which belong to the first age, or that of stone implements. In these tumuli there are numerous ornaments of amber, weapons of stone and of bone, but no relics that indicate the knowledge of metals among the people who deposited them. These tumuli are very numerous, and extensively spread, showing that the tribe to which they belonged were for ages the sole inhabitants of the northern countries. In a series of barrows different from those described ornaments, such as rings of gold, sometimes of copper or of bronze, make their appearance; and these belong evidently to a much later period of Paganism. A third age succeeds, which is that of iron instruments and weapons: the people whose relics are found in these last are supposed to have been the ancestors of the Danes, namely, of the Iutic, Gothic or Germano-Scandinavian race.

We still want more precise information, as to the osteological

character of the skeletons found in these different series of tumuli, and the memoir contains no account of those which belong to the two latest periods. On the remains found in tumuli of the earliest class some interesting remarks are to be found in Professor Eschricht's Memoir, but these are scarcely sufficient to satisfy all doubts as to the important ethnological question, to what people they belonged. The author supposes they were "a Caucasian race." He draws this inference from the spherical form of the head and its considerable developement, and from the shape of the nasal bones, which, as he says, are arched, indicating a prominent or aquiline nose. On the other hand, he mentions characters which belong to the Finnish nations rather than to Indo-Europeans. He says that the orbits of the eyes were small and deeply set under the eye-brows, so that the eye must have been deeply set with strong prominent eye-brows: there is a considerable depression of the nasal bones between the orbits; these are characteristics of the Finnish race, as may be seen in a preceding page of this volume, which contains an account of the osteology of an Esthonian Finn. A still stronger feature of resemblance to some of the Lappish, Finnish, and many kindred races, is the lateral projection of the zygoma, giving to the skull much of that pyramidal form, which is so remarkable a feature of the Turanian nations. This will be perceived by the reader, on inspecting the annexed engraving, which was taken from the cast, though it is not perceptible in the profile or in the front view—neither of them affording aspects of the skull which are satisfactory—given in the "Danske Folkeblad." It would be rash to conclude from these characters that the skulls in question belonged to a Finnish people, though that race is known, as we have seen, to have approached in ancient times the borders of Denmark. We might rather look upon the Cimbric or Celtic inhabitants of Northern Europe, as does Professor Eschricht, as the erectors and occupants of those ancient tombs. Some remains found in Britain give reason to suspect, that the Celtic inhabitants of this country had in early times something of the Mongolian or Turanian form of the head. However this may have been, we recognise in both countries remains belonging to two successive periods; I mean those of the stone and of the copper age, in the phraseology adopted by Professor Eschricht.*

* The three heads described are very small: though they appear to have belonged to adults, the circumference measures only about sixteen inches. Heads so small, as the author observes, are seldom seen among the modern Danes. This however may be an individual rather than a national character.

The comparison of the sepulchral remains found in Denmark, and spread in great abundance through some parts of Holland, and over Sweden and Norway, with those of our own country, would open a field of most interesting research. It is evident, from the preceding observations, that the "Jettehoie," or oldest sepulchral mounds of Denmark, are very similar in construction, and contain relics of a similar kind, with the greater part of our long barrows, and perhaps with most of the old sepulchral mounds spread through the south of England, and in various parts of Wales and Ireland. In most of the mounds examined by the late Sir R. C. Hoare, the remains of ancient art were similar to those above described: they belonged to a people in a corresponding state of society, probably to the same people. Implements and weapons of stone belong to each: only amber is not found, as far as I know, in British barrows, that material having been abundant only near the Baltic; ornaments of bone seem to have held the place of amber. Only in a few barrows, according to Sir R. C. Hoare, are ornaments of gold found—weapons of brass and golden rings have been more frequently seen in Ireland. These relics of copper or brazen ornaments are evidently of a later date than that long series of ages which raised the great majority of the numerous mounds and barrows which are spread both in the British isles and in the northern regions of Europe, but all the barrows, where implements of iron are still entirely wanting, probably belonged to a period anterior to the entrance of the German nations. It is on the whole probable that they were raised by Celtic tribes, of which the Cimbri were the last remains on the northern continent. For the Celts were long ignorant of the use of iron, if we may draw an inference from the British barrows. It is true that the Britons used iron in Cæsar's time for some purposes, namely, iron rings for money, and probably the scythes of chariots were of iron,—for what else could be used, unless it were brass? But the use of iron may have been confined to the Belgæ in South Britain, who introduced it from Gaul. It must have been unknown during many ages to the Britons, as we have inferred from the contents of the barrows, which were the old British sepulchres.

It is much to be regretted that there is no national collection of the sepulchral remains of our ancestors. Ample resources yet exist for enriching such a collection, were it but commenced; but these resources are diminishing every day. Great numbers of skeletons have been found, and the bones scattered, within my knowledge, during the last few years. In Ireland the Royal Academy have set a

laudable example in the care directed to such pursuits, and much may be expected from the enlightened zeal and activity of Dr. Wilde and other members. How much might the Society of Antiquaries have effected, if their attention had been directed to these researches!

# ETHNOGRAPHY

OF

# EUROPE AND ASIA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE WHOLE SUBJECT.—DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW.—SUBDIVISIONS.

### Section 1.—*General Observations.*

When the geographical circumstances of Europe and Asia are compared with those of the two other great regions of the earth, namely Africa and America, they appear to be in many respects very different. Each of the latter continents is not only cut off in a great measure by seas from the rest of the world, but is likewise intersected by chains of mountains, or separated by vast wildernesses or other barriers into insulated tracts, the inhabitants of which may be said to have been shut up from immemorial ages within the limits of countries, where they appear to have been first collected into nations. Hence may have resulted, in part, those strongly marked varieties which are observed in the physical characters of particular races, secluded during thousands of years within narrow limits and subjected to the influence of the same external agencies. Europe and Asia, on the other hand, form one vast region, separated by no boundaries which are difficult to surmount. Races of wandering shepherds—of such consisted in early times a great part of

the human family—have been here accustomed frequently to traverse immense spaces, and to make but temporary abodes under particular climates. Repeated migrations from one region to another are recorded in history, which have in many instances changed the social condition, and have even renewed the population of extensive countries. Owing to such interchanges of inhabitants between different tracts, it has come to pass that the same tribes of people, or nations nearly related to each other, are found spread through the most distant parts of Europe and Asia.

From these considerations several remarks arise, as to the method in which we must enter on the following inquiry, and on the collateral subjects of research which are to be kept in view as we proceed.

First. As it is a fact that several of the most widely spread, and some of the most numerous families of nations, are dispersed over different parts of Europe and Asia, we must consider these continents as one region, having a common stock of inhabitants.

Secondly. The dispersion of the same races over countries widely separated and situated under different climates, especially when the dispersed tribes can be proved to have occupied their present abodes from remote times, affords us many opportunities of estimating the influence of physical causes in modifying the characters of organization. In order to draw any certain results from these facts, it will be necessary to trace with accuracy the proofs of connexion between nations supposed to be of kindred origin, wherever such nations are found dispersed. This will lead us into a series of inquiries respecting the history of several races of men, as deduced from a comparison of their languages, religions, and whatever peculiar traits may contribute to throw light on their origin and affinities.

Thirdly. In tracing the varieties which appear in the organic types of particular races, we must be especially attentive to the circumstances under which they have taken place, in order to arrive at a true theory respecting their causes. The agencies from which such changes may be supposed likely to result, are of two kinds; first, alterations

in the moral state of particular tribes; and, secondly, changes which may have taken place in the physical conditions under which they have existed. Of the former we have examples in the history of nations, who, from being nomadic wanderers, have become settled as tillers of the soil or inhabitants of towns. In these instances we discover considerable changes in the organic character of races whose state has been thus modified. Of changes of the latter kind we have more numerous examples. In the continents of Europe and Asia are countries placed under almost every variety of climate and local situation, from the coldest region in the arctic zone habitable by man, to the greatest heat of the intertropical space, and from the lofty plains of High Asia, which are the greatest projection existing on the surface of our planet, to low tracts scarcely raised above the ocean, or, in some instances, depressed below its level. This part of our investigation will render it necessary to observe the most remarkable features in the physical geography of particular countries. In taking a very general survey of this subject, we may remark, that the climates of Asia may be divided into three great departments, and that in the races of men respectively inhabiting them, some physical differences are very manifest. These divisions are, first, the intertropical region of Asia, inhabited by nations of a dark complexion, and other peculiar characters; secondly, the cold and elevated table-lands of Great Tartary and Eastern Siberia, inhabited principally by races who resemble the Mongolians and the Chinese; and, thirdly, the temperate countries in the west of Asia, the inhabitants of which resemble in physical characters the nations of Europe. That there is some connexion between the physical condition of these several regions, and the organic peculiarities of the tribes by which they are inhabited, is too obvious to require proof; but whether such peculiarities are original characters belonging to different races fitted by their natural qualities to exist in the countries where they are respectively found, as different species of animals are by organization adapted to particular regions, or are varieties produced by the agency of local circumstances; in other words, whether they are permanent characters, or are liable to be modified in tribes

which migrate from one region to another, is a question only to be determined by accurate research.

## SECTION 2.—*Distribution of the Nations of Europe and Asia into Groupes and Families.*

The different nations of Europe and Asia distribute themselves into groupes of greater or less extent, the members of which are in some instances bound together by ties closer than in others. Several of these groupes are composed of tribes, who, though spread through different and often remote regions, display, when their languages, their history, and moral peculiarities are investigated, such proofs of affinity, as to leave no doubt that they sprang originally from the same stems. In some instances, which we shall have occasion to point out, philological evidence seems to be alone sufficient to establish this conclusion, though it be one which previously to inquiry would appear very improbable. Who, for example, would expect to find any marks of affinity between the barbarous Siah-pôsh, on the heights of the Hindu-Khu, near the sources of the Oxus, and the natives of Lettland, Lithuania and East Prussia? Yet nobody who considers the remarkable affinity discovered between the idiom of the Siah-pôsh and the Sanskrit, and again between the same language and the Lettish, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian, can entertain a doubt that the nations above mentioned sprang from a common origin. Groupes composed of tribes thus associated are commonly termed families of nations; but that expression may not be adopted in examples in which the marks of affinity are less decided. It can hardly be applied to nations which, though associated by local proximity, as well as by resemblance in manners and physical characters, display in their languages no sufficient evidence of original connexion. We should not venture to term the Koriaks, the Kamtschadales and the Yukagiri, a family of nations, though they are similar in their habits and whole manner of existence, as well as in their physical characters, and inhabit neighbouring countries, in a remote extremity of the old

continent. We are not aware of any analogy in their languages sufficient to afford proof of kindred origin, and the observed traits of resemblance may be otherwise explained. The term groupe or that of class will best denote such aggregates of nations, and as a general expression, will serve to include assortments of both kinds.

I shall now enumerate the principal groupes into which I propose to distribute the tribes who collectively form the population of this great continent.

*Paragraph* 2.—First Groupe.—Syro-Arabian Race.

The first groupe, or that which merits distinction in the first place, as having exercised the greatest influence over the destinies of mankind, is a comparatively limited class of nations, all of them speaking cognate dialects of one language. To these, modern writers, after Eichhorn, have given the designation of the Semitic Race. The term is a most improper one, since a remarkable division of these tribes, forming by themselves one of the most celebrated nations of the ancient world, are by the genealogies preserved in the book of Genesis, declared to have descended from a different family, namely, from that of Canaan and of Ham. It seems that the Canaanites, or the Phœnicians, as these nations were termed by the Greeks, including the Sidonians, Tyrians, and other colonies of the same race, reported to have come originally from the Erythræan or Indian ocean, a people devoted from the earliest times to maritime commerce, though they were the offspring of a different stock from the pastoral Shemite tribes, were brought at an early period into relations so intimate with people of that race, as to partake with them one common speech, and to form with them, in an ethnological sense, one groupe of nations. We have likewise reason to believe that some of the Arabian tribes, namely, the Hhimyarites and their colonies on the coast of Africa, were of the race of Cush, and, therefore, of a stock originally distinct from that of Shem. Now it is evidently improper to apply

to a whole groupe of nations an epithet which, derived from the patriarch of one division, excludes all the rest. The name of Syro-Arabians, formed on the same principle as the now generally admitted term of Indo-Europeans, would be a much more suitable expression. The limits of Syria and Arabia, in their most extensive sense, jointly comprise nearly all the countries inhabited by people who spoke the idiom of these nations.

To races who spoke kindred dialects of the Syro-Arabian language mankind in general are indebted, even more than to those nations who, in later periods, acquired and imparted a higher culture in the arts of life. While the adventurous spirit and inventive genius of one of these races explored all the coasts and havens of the ancient world, and first taught remote nations the use of letters and of iron tools, to search their soil for metals, and to till it for the bearing of grain, other tribes cultivated the rich plains of Upper Asia and reared the magnificent seats of the earliest monarchies, Nineveh and Babylon, where the pomp and luxury of the East were first displayed, and the royal city of Solomon, the only seat of the pure worship of God, where a sublime literature was cultivated, superior in its simple majesty to the finest productions of the classical age, and preserving a portrait of the human mind in the infancy of our race.

The Syro-Arabian tribes lost, at an early period, their ascendency among the civilized nations of the world. Five centuries before the Christian era the Japetic nations began to dwell in the tents of Shem, and from that time Medes and Persians, Greeks and Romans, and lastly Turks, have sucessively domineered over the native inhabitants of Western Asia. The original tribes, cooped up within narrow limits, or expelled, spread themselves in colonies through distant lands. North Africa and Spain, and nearly all the islands of the Mediterranean received colonies from the Phœnician coast.

## *Paragraph* 3.—Second Groupe.—Indo-European or Iranian Nations.

A second groupe of nations, more widely spread and consisting of more numerous tribes than the preceding, has received the epithet of the Indo-European race.* Against the use of this name no objection exists, except that it is too long for very frequent repetition. I shall often substitute for it the term Iranian, taken from the country, which, as it is scarcely possible to doubt, was the original abode of the race.

I shall survey the history of particular nations belonging to this groupe, and shall endeavour to give an account of their relations to each other, when I proceed to describe the population of each country, which derived from this source its principal stock of inhabitants. In this place I shall observe, that the Indo-European nations have been divided by the affinities of their languages into two principal classes, which might be termed the Indian and the Median, or the southern and northern stems. The former class have languages of which either the forms have been better preserved, or they were originally more elaborate and refined in grammatical structure than the idioms of the latter, owing, perhaps, to an earlier cultivation of poetry, and in part to an earlier acquaintance with the art of writing. Among the more obvious traits of distinction between them, and those which require, in order to be perceived, the least studied examination, is the peculiarity that, in the interchange of consonants, discoverable when the words of one idiom are compared with those of another, the Median, and all its branches, frequently substitute hard gutturals or aspirates for the soft and sibilant letters of the Indian. To the Median or northern branch belong more especially all the Persian and the Germanic languages; to the southern, the Sanskrit, and the classical languages of Greece and Italy. The other languages of Europe belonging

* Schloezer, and some other German writers, term these nations the Japetic races.

to this great family, have much that is common with the Median or the Germanic branch, yet we cannot, without hesitation, set them down as strictly belonging to this division. Of the two great Celtic idioms, one, namely, the Erse or Gaelic, approaches in some particulars to the southern or classical department of this groupe of languages. The same remark may be applied to the Slavic idioms, and, perhaps, still more obviously to the Lettish and Lithuanian, which of all extant European dialects appear most nearly to resemble the Sanskrit. These observations are of manifest importance to ethnography; but we must not draw inferences from them without adverting to an observable fact, that each member of the Indo-European class of languages bears, individually, traits of particular affinity, or at least, of peculiar resemblance, to nearly every other member. Thus the Celtic and the Greek have some words in common, which are wanting to all the other languages; and a similar remark applies to the Latin and the Sanskrit. Such facts are difficult of explanation, but, perhaps, the greatest difficulty connected with the history of the Iranian languages, relates to the origin of the barbaric or foreign element which they severally contain, but which, in some instances, is in much greater proportion than it is in others.

### *Paragraph* 4.—Of the Allophylian Races.

When we inquire more particularly into the history of the Indo-European races, many traits present themselves by which they are brought into contrast with all the nations who are aliens to their stock and lineage. For all these tribes of foreign blood we want a term which may serve to designate them collectively, and at the same time to distinguish them from nations of the Iranian family. Some late writers have termed all these tribes in the aggregate, Scythians, maintaining that they all belong, not less than the Iranian nations, to a particular race. As this opinion rests, as yet at least, on no sufficient evidence, I shall avoid using the term suggested by it, and for the present I shall distinguish the whole collective

body of nations who are distinct from the Indo-European family, by the term Allophylian races, which is of obvious meaning, and can admit of no mistake.

The Allophylian races are spread through all the remotest regions of the old continent, to the northward, eastward, and westward of the Iranian nations, whom they seem everywhere to have preceded, so that they appear, in comparison with the Indo-European colonies, in the light of aboriginal or native inhabitants, vanquished and often driven into remote and mountainous tracts, by more powerful invading tribes. The latter seem to have been everywhere superior to them in mental endowments. Some of the Indo-European nations, indeed, retained or acquired many characteristics of barbarism and ferocity, but with these they all joined undoubted marks of an early intellectual developement, particularly a higher culture of language, as an instrument of thought as well as of human intercourse. If we inquire as to the degree of social improvement, which the Iranian nations had attained at the era of their dispersion from their primitive abode, or from the common centre of the whole stock, an investigation of their languages will be our principal guide; but in order that we might, in a satisfactory manner, avail ourselves of this resource, sufficient materials have not yet been collected and arranged. Some general remarks on the subject of this inquiry are all that I shall venture to offer, and these, indeed, I shall lay before my readers merely as conjectures and probable generalizations, rather than as inferences deduced from adequate research. If we compare the grammatical forms and vocabularies of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Zend, German, Lithuanian, Slavic, and Celtic languages, we discover, besides analogies in the laws of construction or in the mechanism of speech, which is of all marks of affinity the most important, a palpable resemblance in many of those words which represent the ideas of a people in the most simple state of existence. Such are terms expressive of family relations, father, mother, brother, sister, daughter; names for the most striking objects of the material universe; terms distinguishing different parts of the body, as head, feet, eyes, ears; nouns of number up to five, ten, or

twenty; verbs descriptive of the most common sensations and bodily acts, such as eating, drinking, sleeping, seeing, hearing. As no nation was ever found destitute of similar expressions, or was likely to exchange its own supellex for corresponding words in foreign languages, the connexion between the Indo-European idioms must be regarded as truly primitive and original. It may be argued that the dialects which correspond in these parts of their vocabulary were originally one speech, the idiom of one people, and that the diversities which exist, belonging as they do to the less essential elements of language, are of later date, and had their origin at a time subsequent to the separation of the race into different tribes. We may carry somewhat further the assertion of affinity between, at least, some languages of the Indo-European family. Terms relating to pastoral habits and even to agriculture are common to most of these languages; this includes the names of domestic animals, especially such as constitute the herds and the companions of the pastoral class. But here the resemblance ends. It would appear that the common primitive ancestry of the Indo-European nations were unacquainted with the use of iron and other metals, since the terms by which these are denoted are different in different languages, and must have been acquired subsequently to the era of separation. Nothing, at least, can be more unlike than gold, χρυσὸς and aurum; than silver and argentum; than σίδηρος and ferrum.* Names given to the implements of warfare likewise differ in the several vocabularies of these languages, a fact which Niebuhr has observed with respect to the Greek and Latin, but which with perfect truth may be stated more generally, and shown to extend to many of the

* Some exceptions occur to this remark, and, perhaps, more instances of resemblance in the names of particular metals might be found on a careful investigation, since it is probable that one nation of the same race may often have made known the names as well as the uses of particular metals to others. Tin, in Greek κασσίτερος, is in Sanskrit *kastira*; and Ritter has hence conjectured that tin was first brought to the Greeks from India. From this word may be derived the Arabic *qasdêr*, now used for *pewter*, a mixed metal imitating tin. Our English word, *tin*, and the German, zinn, may be from the Phœnician *tanak*. Ayas in Sanskrit, brass, in Latin aes, affords another example of similar names given to the same metal in two of the principal Indo-European languages.

Iranian idioms. If from these considerations we might be allowed to estimate the extent of the vocabulary belonging to the original stock of the Indo-European nations previously to their separation into different tribes, we should suppose them to have been nearly on a level in most respects with the great nomadic races, who have in later ages of the world issued from the central regions of Asia, and have invaded the countries inhabited by civilized nations. Perhaps, in general, their state of manners may have resembled the description given by Tacitus of the Germans. It is plain that the use of letters was entirely unknown to them, at least, to those tribes of the race who passed into Europe, and that it was introduced among them in long after ages, by the Phœnicians, who claim this most important invention. But though rude in respect to many of the arts of life, the Indo-European nations appear to have brought with them a much higher degree of mental culture than the Allophylian races possessed, before the Iranian tribes were spread among them. Even the most simple of them had national poetry, and a culture of language and thought altogether surprising, when compared with their external manners and condition, as far as they can be known or properly estimated. They had bards, or scalds, vates, ἀοιδοὶ, who, under a divine impulse were supposed to celebrate the history of ancient times, and connect them with revelations of the future, and with a refined and metaphysical system of dogmas, of which it is difficult to imagine the original source. Among these, in the west as well as in the east, the metempsychosis held a conspicuous place, implying faith in an after-life of rewards and punishments, and a moral government of the world. With this was connected, among most, if not all, the Iranian nations, the notion that the material universe had undergone, and was destined to undergo, a repetition of catastrophies by fire and water, and to be renewed in fresh beauty, when a golden age was to commence, destined in its turn to inevitable corruption and decay. The emanation of all beings from the soul of the universe, and their refusion into it, a doctrine which appears to have formed an essential part of this system wherever it was preserved in a tolerably entire state, borders closely on a species of Pan-

theism and of Fatalism, and is strongly contrasted with the theology of the Shemite nations, who only of all mankind appear in the early ages to have recognised the existence of an extra-mundane God, and a real maker or originator of the universe. The Iranian system, which was a religion of poetry and philosophy, and which everywhere produced an abundant growth of mythology, was still more strongly contrasted with the superstition of shamanism, connected with a belief in sorcery and spells, and the rude materialism which prevailed among all the Allophylian tribes. This last form of superstition, resembling in many particulars the fetissism of Africa, appears to have differed in different parts of Europe and Asia, among the rude aborigines of which it was once universally spread. It has given way, in most instances, to the influence of more systematic modes of belief, introduced by more polished nations; but Buddhism, which is a form of the Indo-European system, has not extinguished in China and Japan the original superstitions of Tao-sse and Sin-mu; nor did Islàm, though early adopted by the whole Turkish race, triumph over all the native superstitions of Siberia. Among all nations of Asia and Europe we discover an order of persons who were venerated as mediators between the invisible powers and their fellow mortals; but the priests, whether Druids, or Brahmans, or Magi of the cultivated nations, were revered as the depositories of ancient sacred lore, of primitive traditions, of the will of the gods expressed of old to the first men, and handed down, either orally in divine poems, or preserved in a sacred literature known only to the initiated: they were the constituted intercessors between weak mortals and the powers which govern the universe, and which they only knew how to approach by ordained rites. In most instances they were an hereditary caste, into which none were admissible who were aliens to the sacred race. Far different were the twice-born sages of the Hindoos, who sprang from the head of Brahma, to govern the multitude that issued from his legs and feet, from the sorcerers or shamans of the northern worshippers of fetisses, who by horrible distortions, cries, and yells, by cutting themselves with knives, by whirling and swooning, assumed the appearance

of something preternatural and portentous, and impressed the multitude with a notion that they were possessed by demons. Of this latter description were the wizards of the old Finnish races, whose successors, the sorcerers and witches of Lappland, sell wind to English mariners. Such were the angekoks of the Esquimaux, discovered by the missionaries to Greenland; and such are the shamans of all the eastern and northern countries of Asia, whither neither Buddhism nor Islàm have yet penetrated. By such traits as these, which display more fully and certainly than external manners and the modes of sustaining life the culture or rudeness of the mind, the barbaric tribes, dispersed over all the extreme parts of the ancient continent, are distinguished from the cultivated nations of Upper Asia, and from the European races allied to them in language and descent.

*Paragraph* 5.—Of the different Groupes of Nations comprehended among the Allophylian Races.

The ethnology of the Allophylian races is involved in greater obscurity than that of the tribes which belong to the Indo-European family. The sources of information respecting them are more scanty and difficult of access, and in many instances remain yet unexplored. We have, however, sufficient knowledge to convince us that many of these nations are referrible to particular stems, the branches of which are spread through remote regions. An attentive research has often discovered traces of connexion between tribes of people who must have been, from very ancient times, separated from each other by great distances of space; and these traces are sometimes so definite, as to leave no doubt that they owe their existence to affinity and sameness of origin. Such phenomena have been recognised among rude nations, scattered through immense spaces, in the north and east of Asia, and in tribes inhabiting the great central steppes to the southward of the Altaic chain. Few attempts have been made to elucidate, by an extensive comparison of languages, the relations of these dispersed races, though many persons have studied the history of particular groupes. Rudiger, Dobrow-

sky, and the late professor Rask, have been, next to Klaproth, the most noted of modern writers, who have applied themselves to an examination of the languages spoken among the Allophylian tribes. Their investigation has been hasty and superficial, and the conclusions which they have drawn appear to be, in many instances, premature, and in some evidently erroneous. I shall, however, lay before my readers a brief abstract of their opinions, in order to have an opportunity of pointing out the present state of this department of ethnography.

Both Dobrowsky and Rask refer nearly all the nations of Europe and Asia, who are excluded from the Indo-European family, to one *race*, which Dobrowsky termed *Czudo-Iugorian*, and Rask, *Scythian*. Rudiger and Dobrowsky maintained that one family of languages may be traced from Lapland over all the countries lying to the northward of the Caspian sea, to the mouth of the Indus; and the latter of these writers has attempted to point out some common features by which all these idioms are associated among themselves, and may be distinguished from all others. The following are the most remarkable of these common characters.

1. "Nouns substantive admit of no variations of gender." Dobrowsky might have added, that many of these languages have no distinction of number, and can only express a plural on particular occasions, by appending a noun or adverb of multitude. Nouns are, in fact, destitute of all inflection, a trait indicative, as it should seem, of great rudeness or barbarism.

2. "They admit of no prepositions before nouns." This observation may be generalized by remarking, that not only those particles which are used instead of the prepositions of other languages, but likewise all such auxiliaries to composition as are necessary for denoting any circumstance or affection of the principal words of a sentence, are suffixed, or placed after the words of which they modify the meaning. This observation extends to words answering the place of possessive and even of relative pronouns.*

Dobrowsky intended to include under these observations

* Thus the phrase, "*that which is mine*," is expressed in the Mongolian by a sort

not only all the idioms of Siberia, but likewise the languages of Great Tartary, and even those of the Esquimaux, and some tribes in North America.*

Professor Rask was well prepared, by his intimate acquaintance with the Finnish and Lapponic dialects, for researches into the more extensive affinities of the Scythian languages, or of the great mother-tongues of Northern Asia, and he was led to anticipate conclusions on this subject at which some recent philologers have arrived after a more elaborate investigation of particulars. He expressed a conviction that those writers were mistaken who separate entirely the Finnish dialects from the Tartar or Turkish stem of languages. "On the present occasion," he observes, "I cannot advance adequate proofs of my opinion, but I will remark, that a striking resemblance is to be found between the Turkish and Finnish languages, not only in particular words, but even in the most peculiar fundamental laws of construction."† An example is given in the harmony of sounds, or the law according to which all the vowels of a word correspond with that of its termination. "I remark," he says, "that Leontiev, in his Letters to M. Langlès, on the Literature of the Mandchoos, in speaking of the Tartar, Mongolian, and Tungusian races, has assumed that these three great classes of people in Central Asia are distinct families of nations; and I am aware that Klaproth and the best-informed writers have maintained the same opinion. A careful study of the languages of these races has convinced me that this notion is erroneous, as the

of compound word "*miningge*," which means "*mine that being*," equivalent to "das meinige." See the section on the languages of Great Tartary below.

* It is certain that the peculiarities of grammatical structure above noticed, belong to most of the languages of Northern and Eastern Asia. We have lately obtained, by the publication of M. Lütké's voyage, some knowledge of the idiom of Ounalashka and the Kurilian Isles, with a grammatical analysis, composed by a missionary of the Russian church. In this language the peculiar laws noted by Dobrowsky are found. Dobrowsky gives the following specimen of affinity in words between several idioms. Egg is, in the Indo-European languages, *oi*, or *ou*, as *oiov*, *ovum*, *œuf*, *ägg*, Swedish, *ey*, German, *jaice*, *waice*, Slavonian. In the Scythian languages are the following: Hungarian *mony*, Lappish *monne*, Finnish, Tscheremiss, Vogoul, Samoiede, *muna*, on the western coast of America *manik*. Dobrowsky, Literärische Nachrichten, s. 99.

† R. Rask über das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache. Beilage, s. 74.

same study will, I am sure, convince any one who is prepared for the investigation, by an adequate previous acquaintance with the Finnish and Lappish dialects. A great number of words are common to these languages, or are very similar in several of them, and these are words such as are essential to every human idiom. Numerous terminations also coincide, and this is perceptible, notwithstanding the fact, that nobody has yet investigated the permutations to which the elements of speech are in these dialects regularly subjected." I shall have occasion to observe hereafter, that subsequent researches into this last-mentioned subject have afforded confirmation to Rask's opinion, by showing that a great number of roots are thus to be traced in several of the Turanian languages, the resemblance having been disguised by certain permutations of consonants, of which the rules have been but lately ascertained.*

This writer afterwards gives some further reasons for concluding that the Finnish and Turkish languages, with all their branches, are referrible to one stock; and expresses an opinion that the ancients were correct in comprehending under one name, that of Scythians, all the nations of Northern and Central Asia, and the northern parts of Europe. He extends still more widely the domain of this Scythian race, by adopting the notion of Arndt, who supposed that he found proofs of affinity between the ancient Iberians of Spain and the Finns and Samoiedes. He even asserted that indications of the same affinity were partially discoverable in the Celtic dialects, and that the Celtæ might be partly Finns. He cites the observation of Klaproth, that the various languages spoken in Caucasus, or in the great mountainous region between the Euxine and Caspian seas, are, with the exception of the Ossete and Dugorian, which last are Indo-European dialects, related to the Samoiede and other languages of the north of Asia. With the same groupe Rask connects the Georgian language. With still greater licence of conjecture he admits the idioms of the Greenlanders and the Polar Americans into the same class. He professes to rest all these opinions on philological proofs, and on similar grounds ventures to bring

* Principally by Dr. Schott. Versuch über die Tatarischen Sprachen.

within the pale of his great Scythian family, the aboriginal nations of the Indian peninsula, who are now generally admitted to be a distinct race from the Hindoos, and who speak the Tamil, Malayálam, Karnátaca, and Telúgu languages.

The conjectures of such writers as Professor Rask are worthy of consideration. We shall have further occasion in the sequel to examine the foundation of his opinions, and we shall find that many of them are supported on firmer grounds than those persons who have not investigated the subject would suppose. For the present we must take leave of this topic, after briefly enumerating the principal groupes of nations belonging to that department of the human family which we have termed the Allophylian races.

1. In the West, as aborigines of Western Europe, we have the Euskaldunes, or ancient Iberians, whose language was the Euskarian speech. They are supposed to have inhabited Spain, Gaul, and Italy.

2. Separated from the Euskaldunes by the whole country occupied and, perhaps, wrested from them by the Celtic and German races before the beginning of history, are the Jotune or Ugorian race, the remains, as it should seem, of the aborigines of the North of Europe and Asia, over which they appear to have been spread from the Danish Isles to the river Obi. This groupe of nations includes the Finnish and Lappish tribes, the Tschudes, the Vogules of the Uralian mountains, the Ostiaks of Siberia, and the Magyars or Hungarians.

3. Beyond the Jotuns, towards the north and east, are the Khasova, a race termed by the Russians Samoiedes. They are spread along the northern coast of Europe and Asia, from the White Sea to the mouth of the Lena. Other tribes of the same race are found on the confines of the Chinese and Russian empires, in the high region of Central Asia.

4. Beyond the Samoiedes several fishing and hunting tribes occupy the country which reaches from the Lena to Behring's Straits and the Pacific Ocean. As they speak several distinct languages, they must be accounted different races. There is also some diversity in their physical charac-

ters. All these nations will be described under the collective term of Paralian races.

The Paralian groupe of nations includes the Yenisean Ostiaks, the Yukagiri, the Koriaks and Tchaúkthús, the Namollos, the Kamtschatkans, and the Aino or Kurilians.

5. The high regions of Central Asia are divided between three great pastoral races, the Turkish, the Mongolian, and the Tungusian. With the exception of some few scattered tribes, they are all nations of roving and warlike nomades. One of these races has overturned the khalifat, and the eastern empire; a second, under Tschinghis and his followers, were the greatest conquerors recorded in the history of mankind; the third still holds under its sway China and the half of Eastern Asia.

There are some grounds for believing that these three races of people sprang originally from one stock, and that the Jotuns are allied to them by an ancient and remote affinity. We shall examine the arguments which occur upon these questions.

6. The native races of the Caucasus, consisting of several apparently distinct nations, subdivided into numerous tribes.

7. The Tibetans and the Chinese, together with the Koreans and the Japanese, form a remarkable groupe of nations. Although not referrible by proofs to one race, they bear a great mutual resemblance, and their history will be comprised in the same chapter.

8. The Indo-Chinese nations, or the native tribes of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, or India beyond the Ganges. Most of these nations bear a considerable resemblance to the Chinese in physical characters, and, like them, speak languages of the class termed monosyllabic.

9. The aboriginal races of the Dekhan and of Ceylon, who differ from the Hindoos of Indo-European origin, in language and physical characters.

The Malayans and other races of the Malayan peninsula might be reckoned as another family of Asiatic nations, but

as the great body of this people is found in the islands of the Indian Ocean, from which it appears that colonies were formed on the Malayan coast, I shall reserve the ethnography of this peninsula to be taken up in connexion with that of the Australian and Polynesian countries, with which it is much more connected than with the history of nations on the Asiatic continent.

# CHAPTER II.

## OF THE EUSKALDUNES, ABORIGINES OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN PARTS OF EUROPE.

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### SECTION I.—*Names—General Survey—Sources of Information.*

IT is well known that countries of considerable extent on both sides of the Pyrenees, and on the coast of the gulf of Biscay, both in Spain and France, are inhabited by people who constitute a particular race, and preserve among themselves an ancient language, termed by the French "Basque," and by the Spaniards "Bascuence," or "Lengua Bascongada. These people call their national idiom "Euskara, Eusquera, or "Eskuara," and they give themselves the appellation of Euskaldunac or Euskaldunes, which includes all those who possess or make use of the Euskarian language.* Races who speak foreign idioms have been called by them Erdaldunac, a term which is said to have been bestowed on all other nations, such as the Carthaginians, Romans, as well as the modern Castilians, and to mean "the newly arrived," or those who are supposed to have entered Spain at a later period than the Euskaldunac. They term the country which they inhabit Euskalerria

* Euskaldunac is said to be a contracted form of Euskara-duna, plural, Euskara-dunac, and to be derived from Euskara and *duna* to possess or use. The root concealed in the word Euskara is Eusk, or Esk, which seems to be the primitive designation of the race. By Don Jose F. de Aizquebel, this name is derived from Euski, which, as he says, means the East, or the Sun. Erdaldunac is said by the same writer to mean "Advenæ." Erdara is an Euskarian name, derived from *Erdu*, to come or arrive.

or Eusquererria.* A grammar of the Euskarian language was published as early as 1607, in Mexico, for the use of the numerous Biscayans who were settled in that country; the author was Balthasar de Etchabie, a native of Guipuscoa; but this idiom was very little known in Europe, and there existed in it only ten printed books, which were chiefly sermons and catechisms, until the jesuit, Larramendi, in 1729, published his celebrated grammar, entitled "El imposible vencido," or "Arte de la Lengua Bascongada." The same indefatigable writer compiled a dictionary of the Biscayan, Latin, and Castilian, which was printed at St. Sebastian in 1745,† and the "prologo" of which is the earliest account that deserves notice of the Euskarian language and its structure and relations. By Larramendi the language was called Cantabric, and the people who spoke it were supposed to be descendants of the Cantabri, who so long resisted the arms of Rome. This, as M. de Humboldt has observed, was a mistake, or in part a result of national vanity. The Basques of France and the Biscayans of Spain may, with greater probability, be supposed to have descended from the Vascones and Varduli, whose country they occupy, than from the Cantabri, who lived beyond them towards the west. Since the time of Larramendi several natives of Spain have engaged in the attempt to elucidate the history of the Biscayan idiom, which they have regarded as the ancient language of their country;‡ but

* See extracts from Juan Bautista de Erro; Alfabeto primitivo de España, by Mr. Erving, of Boston, 1829; and W. Von Humboldt, Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die alten Bewohner Hispaniens.

† Diccionario Trilingue del Castellano, Bascuence y Latin. Su autor El Padre Manuel de Larramendi, de la Compañia de Jesus, dedicado a la mui noble y mui leal provincia de Guipuzcoa, 1745, 2 tomos in fol. Prologo de las perfeciones de el Basquence.

‡ The best known of these works are Astarloa's "Apologia de la Lengua Bascongada" and Erro's "Alfabeto de la lengua primitiva," and his "Mundo primitivo." There are likewise several works in the Spanish language, on the Biscayan and Iberian antiquities, or on the old inscriptions, coins, and other monuments of Spain, of which the most celebrated are those of Velasquez, Zuniga, and Flores, who wrote on the Celtiberian and Turdetan or Bœtic coins, and inscriptions. The same subject was treated likewise by Jacob Barry, a Dutch consul, at Seville. Of later date is the work of Iztueta, on the ancient Usages, Dances, and Games of Guipuscoa.

none of their works have any high value, and the real history and relations of this language were in a great measure unknown until the publication of the Mithridates, the second volume of which contained a treatise on it by Adelung, printed during his life, but published by Professor Vater after the death of that celebrated philologer. A more extensive work on the structure and relations of the Euskarian language appeared in the last volume of the same compilation, written by the celebrated Baron W. von Humboldt, who, during his abode in Spain, devoted himself to this subject, and to the collection of materials illustrative of the ancient literature of the Iberians. A later work was afterwards published by the same distinguished writer, on the traces of this language, and of the people who made use of it, discoverable in topographical names in Spain and some other parts of Europe. The Euskarian idiom has received further elucidations from the pens of MM. Abbadie and Chaho,* and from some other publications on the Basque dialect spoken in France, which have appeared in that country.

## SECTION II.—*Observations on the Euskarian Language, and its Relations to other Idioms.*

It had been supposed by English writers since the time of Edward Lhuyd, that the Biscayan dialects are a remote branch of the Celtic language. This opinion, which had no foundation but conjecture, has long ago been refuted, and entirely abandoned. It is well known that in its whole formation, the Euskarian differs entirely from the Celtic, and from all other Indo-European languages, as it likewise does from the Syro-Arabian dialects: though some roots are common to these languages and the Biscayan, their number is by no means sufficient to establish what is termed a family relation.

The Euskarian has some remarkable traits of analogy to the idioms of northern Europe and Asia, and among these

* Etudes Grammaticales de la Langue Euskarienne, par MM. d'Abbadie e Chaho

particularly to that family of languages spoken by the Jotune, or Finnish races. This fact was first indicated by Arndt,* whose observations were favourably noticed by Professor Rask. On this ground Rask ventured to reckon the aborigines of Spain as belonging to the same race with those of the northern region of Europe.†

The relation between the Euskarian and the Finnish idioms has not been fully investigated, but it is certainly remarkable that the former idiom has, both of those striking peculiarities, which Dobrowsky and others have pointed out as the characteristic traits of all the so termed Scythian or high Asiatic languages.

The Euskarian, like all these languages, has no difference of gender in nouns substantive, and like them it subjoins to nouns all particles which modify their meaning, and to verbs and clauses all the pronouns personal and even relative. Of these observations sufficient proofs may be seen in Adelung's analysis of the Lord's Prayer. Such phenomena are deserving of attention; but on looking further into the comparison of these languages, we perceive a very striking and general difference between the idiom of the Iberians and the dialects of the north. The former abounds in inflections of infinite variety, while the Scythian dialects are in general very simple and poor in this respect. The Euskarian makes a most extensive use of auxiliary verbs, which are never employed in the scanty conjugations of the northern idioms of Asia, of those at least which preserve their original and unmodified character. In the construction of words themselves there is likewise a striking difference.

While Professor Vater was engaged in writing his excellent work on the population of America, and in comparing the idioms of the old and the new world, he was struck by analogies, which at first he thought very important, between the Euskarian language and the native dialects of the great western continent. The most remarkable characteristics of

* Arndt über die Verwandtschaft der Europaischen Sprachen, 1819.

† J. J. Rask, über dus Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-sprache, &c.; übersetzt. Berlin, 1826, § 69.

the American languages are found in the systems of verbal conjugation, which are so various and elaborate, as to have induced M. Du Ponceau to give to the whole class of American languages the epithet of "Polysynthetic." These traits are common to the American languages. In the old world they have only been discovered in the Euskarian. Some additional circumstances of resemblance have been observed by Humboldt: "The comparison," says this writer, "which Vater has instituted, is in the highest degree striking and interesting. It admits of an extension beyond what relates to the conjugation of verbs, the point to which Vater had principally adverted, and displays itself in particulars which appear more arbitrary. For example, the sound of *f* is wanting in most of the American languages, as it is in the Basque, and in both there prevails a strong dislike to the immediate junction of the mute and liquid consonants. But these analogies are by no means sufficient to justify us in assuming an immediate connexion between the respective races of men, or in deriving one from the other; and those who persist in deducing such an inference, must at least go back to the most remote period of dark antiquity, beyond the reach of historical tradition, and in which the distribution of seas and lands was very different from the present."* The differences between the Euskarian and the American languages appeared to M. du Ponceau to be almost as striking as their analogies. This great philologer says, that he once with Professor Vater believed the forms of the American verbs to be similar to those of the Basque, but that he modified that opinion when he became better acquainted with a language which has no parallel in all the rest of the world. "This language," he observes, "preserved in a corner of Europe, by

* Such an hypothesis has been maintained in a work published in America, and as yet little known in Europe. This work is entitled Researches on America, being an attempt to settle some points relative to the Aborigines of America, by J. H. Macculloh, Junr. M. D., Baltimore, 1817. The author maintains that there were formerly lands scattered through the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, which, torn and separated by the deluge, were yet sufficiently continuous to aid the passage of men and animals from different parts of the old to the new continent.—Humboldt's Untersuchungen.

a few thousand mountaineers, is the sole remaining fragment of, perhaps, a hundred dialects, constructed on the same plan, which probably existed and were universally spoken at a remote period in that quarter of the world. Like the bones of the mammoth, and the relics of unknown races which have perished, it remains a monument of the destruction produced by a succession of ages. It stands single and alone of its kind, surrounded by idioms whose modern construction bears no kind of analogy to it. It is a singular language; like those of the American races,—highly artificial in its forms, and so compounded as to express many ideas at the same time; but when its forms are compared with those of the American languages, it is impossible not to perceive an immense difference which exists between them." The most striking difference pointed out by M. du Ponceau and M. de Humboldt, between the Euskarian and the American languages, consists in the fact, that the latter are entirely deficient in auxiliary verbs. "There are no words," says M. du Ponceau, "that I know, in any American idioms, expressing, abstractedly, the ideas signified by these two verbs. They have the verb *sto*, I am, in a particular situation or place, but not the verb *sum;* the verbs *possideo*, *teneo*, but not *habeo*, in the vague sense that we affix to it. On the contrary, in the conjugation of the Basque verbs, these two auxiliaries are every thing; it is on them that is lavished all that profusion of forms, which enables them to express together the relative ideas connected with the verb; while the principal action or passion is expressed separately and by itself, by means of a participle. For instance, *I love him*, is a transitive verb, and is rendered in the Basque by *maitetuba dot*, which literally means *amatum illum habeo ego*. *Maitetuba* is the word which expresses the participial form *amatum:* the three other words are comprised in the monosyllable *dot*, the first letter of which, *d*, stands for *illum;* o is the root of the auxiliary verb *habeo*, and *t* represents the personal pronoun *ego*. It may be said, indeed, that these forms are complicated, like those of the Indian verbs, and that like them, they serve to express complex ideas; at the same time the difference in their arrangement is so great, that it

cannot be said that these languages are connected with or derived from each other.

It must be admitted that there are many American idioms of which the structure is as yet entirely unknown, and that although the remarkable analogy prevailing among those yet examined, gives expectation that this uniformity of system will be discovered in the remainder, exceptions may yet be found, and that in some instances the characteristic differences here pointed out may not exist. But we have no ground for assuming that this will be the fact. We must at present acquiesce in the conclusion of M. de Humboldt, that the Iberian is, of all the idioms of Europe, that which has preserved with the least change its original character. "In this," he continues, " we recognise a confirmation of an opinion deduced from other grounds, viz., that the Iberians belong to the very earliest stock of European nations. Their history manifestly reaches back beyond the periods of languages which we regard as ancient, namely, those of the Greeks and Romans, and if we seek a point of comparison, can only be placed on a line with the Pro-hellenic idiom of the old Pelasgi."*

## Section. III.—*Domains of the Euskaldunes and of the Celtici in Spain, investigated.*

That the Euskarian is identical with the language of the ancient Iberi, or its genuine descendant, and that the Euskaldunes are the offspring of the aborigines of the Spanish peninsula, are points which M. de Humboldt has undertaken in his work to establish. The Iberia of the early Greek writers was a part of the coast of the Mediterranean, reaching westward from the mouth of the Rhone. In this sense the term is used by Herodotus; and Humboldt has proved that the Iberia of Polybius, and even of Diodorus, did not comprehend the whole of Spain, in which there may have been many other races of people besides the Iberians and the

* Untersuchungen, p. 177.

Celts. Strabo, indeed, speaks of the ancient Spaniards in terms which seem to imply that he regarded them as one race, with whom he says that the Aquitani, in Gaul, agreed in language and manners. But the fact that the entire peninsula, as well as the southern parts of Gaul, was occupied by people who, with the exception of some Celtic tribes, were of one race, and that from that race the Euskaldunes are descended, admitted of no other method of satisfactory proof than that which has been adopted by M. de Humboldt, namely, a careful collection and analysis of local names throughout the peninsula, as well as in the countries beyond its limits, which are said to have been tenanted by people of the same stock with the Iberi. By this writer it has been clearly proved that a very great proportion of the ancient names of places, cities, or towns, and districts, both within the countries where the Basque is spoken, and beyond them, in parts of Spain and Aquitaine which it is probable that the Iberians formerly inhabited, are certainly of Euskarian origin, since they bear a clearly significant and appropriate meaning, and may be interpreted with ease and probability, by means of words actually in use among the Biscayan or Basque people. The following instances will exemplify the proofs of this fact.

1. ASTA, meaning *a rock*, appears as the etymon of many local names. These occur in Biscay, Asta, Asteguieta, Astigarraga, Astobiza, Astorga, Astulez, Asturia. Asta is mentioned by Pliny in the Turdetanian, Astigi and Astapa by the same writer and by Livy, in Bætica, and the latter name, as its meaning indicates, is still appropriated in Biscay to places situated at the feet of rocks. Asturis, Asturia, and the name of the river Astura, are derived from Asta, *rock*, and Ura, the Euskarian term for *water*.

2. Not less evident is the Euskarian origin of local names beginning or ending with IRIA, written also URIA, and frequently ULIA, or ILIA, which in the Basque language means *city*, *town*, *place*. Examples are Iria Flavia, Urium, Ulia, Ilia, Ilipa, Graccuris, Calaguris, Lacuris, Ilarcuris, and many other similar names, mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy and Livy, in different parts of Spain.

3. From URA water, comes a variety of names, as Asturia,

compounded with Asta; Iluria, Uria, Verurium; from ura, and bi, *two*, Urbiaca, Urbina, Ilurbida, and many others.

4. From ITURRIA, *fountain, source*, we find Iturissa, Turas, Turiaso, Turuca, Turdetani, Turduli. Turiga, that is, *destitute of springs*, was a place, which according to Pliny, had another denomination, namely, Ucultuniacum. This town was in the country occupied in part by Celtic tribes of Bæturia.

Ucultuniacum appears to be a Celtic name, and may be rendered a *lofty hill-town*, which agrees well with the Iberian designation of Turiga.*

Other etymons existing in the Basque language may be traced very extensively among the names of places in the peninsula. Terminations of local names, derived from the old Iberian idiom, and frequent in various parts of Spain, are those in "uris, pa, tani, tania, gis, ula, ippo."† The initial syllables of similar names are very commonly "al, ar, as, bae, bi, bar, ber, gal, cal, car, men, man, ner, or, sal, zal, si, tai, tu." Some of these words are clearly significant in the present Basque, and applicable as such to the etymology of the names of places to which they belong; the meaning of others is lost, but they are known to be of Iberian origin from their frequent concurrence with the former, within the same districts of Spain. Even the structure of Euskarian names bears with it a character which can be recognised; the form of syllables, and the orthography of these words is peculiar and easy to be recognised in the great aggregate of original Spanish names.

The prevalence of topographical names significant in the Euskarian language, and evidently derived from it, being thus clearly established through nearly the whole peninsula, it be-

* Pliny remarks on Ucultuniacum, "quæ et Turiga nunc est." (Hist. Nat. i. 139. 17.) Uchel-dun, is Old Welsh; a dialectic difference, or, a different pronunciation might produce Uxellodunum.

† This last termination is derived by Gesenius with, perhaps, greater probability, from the Phœnician. Besippo he derives from בית יפו. It is the more likely to be a Phœnician ending, since it occurs in Africa. A few other Spanish names of places are also derived by Gesenius from the Phœnician or Hebrew, as Hispalis, Castalo, &c. See Gesenius, Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniceæ Monumenta, i. p. 340.

comes a safe inference that this language had formerly a similar extension, and consequently that it can be no other than the old Iberian speech, the idiom spoken by the native people of Spain, in times anterior to the Roman, and even to the Carthaginian conquests in that country. A confirmation of this opinion is obtained by comparing likewise the names of places in Aquitaine, and on the southern coasts of France. There, as we learn from many ancient writers, the people belonged to the Iberian race, while the maritime tracts on the Mediterranean, were the country, as we have seen, first termed Iberia; in the interior, towards the Pyrenees, Bayonne, and St. Jean de Luz, the Basque language still exists. It has been clearly proved by M. de Humboldt, that the local names through all these countries, are similar to the names of places occuring in the Spanish peninsula.

Another series of observations regards the intermixture of Euskarian names or their dispersion through districts where others are also recognised of a very different class; I allude to names which have been proved and acknowledged to be of Celtic origin. It is well known that several parts of Spain were inhabited by Celtic tribes, and that through a great portion of the interior of the peninsula, Celtic people had become blended with Iberians, forming the Celtiberian nations, who were the most considerable and powerful clans in Spain. Now the region of Spain through which Celtic names are dispersed in conjunction with those of Euskarian origin, comprehends, according to Humboldt, all the districts where Celtic tribes are placed by the ancient historians. It is likewise more extensive, and embraces some neighbouring portions of the peninsula, whence there is reason to conclude that the Celtic influence had prevailed more widely in earlier times than during those in which Spain became known to the Romans, or, at least, than the Roman writers appear to have been aware. These last remarks require some further illustration.

Certain local names are known to belong to the Celtic parts of Gaul, and many of them are also to be traced in other countries inhabited by the Celtic race, as in Britain, and the northern parts of Italy. Some of these names

have an obvious meaning in the existing dialects of the Celtic language; others are not so clearly understood; but from the fact that they are of frequent occurrence in Celtic countries, and only in those countries, it has been inferred that they are of Celtic origin, and it is probable that their meaning would be apparent if only the whole Celtic language had been preserved to our days. I shall not enter, at present, upon any investigation relating to the history of the Celtæ, but shall only mention the Celtic names which have been pointed out by M. de Humboldt, as occurring in Spain. These epithets are characterised by particular terminations; one of the most striking is *briga*, which occurs very frequently in all the Celtic countries. In all these regions there are cities or tribes of people, the names of which terminate in ***Briga***, ***Briges***, ***Brica***; some in ***Bria***, ***Briva***, which, however, probably belong to a different etymon. In Spain this word occurs in the country inhabited by the Celtiberi, the Celtici in Bœtica, and the Celtic colony in the north-western corner of Tarraconensis, and in some other parts. On examining geographically the extent of these countries, it appears that the region in which *briga* is found as a local name or termination, is the western and northern part of Spain, which may be divided by a line, beginning on the northern coast to the eastward of the Autrigones in Biscay, and having Juliobriga and Flaviobriga to the left hand; it passes thence southward, leaving the Caristii and Varduli on the eastward, to the limits of the Vascones and Celtiberi, and thence follows the boundaries of the latter people, whom it passes also to the eastward, as well as the Oretani, and it continues along the course of the river Bætis to the Mediterranean. To the westward and northward of this line a surprising number of local names containing *briga*, or *brica*, occur; they here are found in almost every district, but they never appear in the parts of Spain lying eastward of the same line towards the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean. It is in the western division that all the Celtic and Celtiberian tribes mentioned by the ancients, dwelt. But the department of the peninsula thus marked out, is more extensive than the known limits of the Celtæ, and it seems

hence probable that this people, who were more warlike than the native Spaniards, had extended their power over a wide field. The Cantabri, as well as all the sea-coast people, as far as the Bætis, are within the region where vestiges of the Celtic language are found. All these countries are in the proximity of Celtic or Celtiberian states, and it may well be imagined that the latter had extended their conquests around their own boundaries, and had brought other Iberian tribes more or less under the influence of their manners and language. Yet it must be noticed, that even in these countries the Celtic names bear a very small proportion to those of genuine Iberian origin.

Other Celtic terminations of places in *magus*, *dunum*, *durum*, *vices*, *vici*, rarely occur in Spain, but where any of these are found, it is within the western region already defined. Such instances are the names of the river Durius, of Octodurum, and the Ocelloduri, in the country of the Vaccæi. A similar observation applies to component parts of words, Ebora, Sego, or Sege, Nemeto, which, frequent in Gaul, are found rarely in Spain, and only in the north-western parts.

It appears that the names of Iberian men, of which many occur in Silius Italicus, and scattered through the works of Roman historians, are all peculiar; they appear to be of unmixed Iberian origin. Such terminations as *marus*, *rix*, *dunus*, *vicus*, which we shall hereafter observe to be very frequent in Celtic nations, are wholly wanting among the old Spaniards.

The investigation of local names in Iberian Gaul turns out remarkably in confirmation of M. de Humboldt's opinions. All the names of Aquitania, properly so termed, or among the tribes of real Aquitanian race, have the Euskarian form, and many are similar to local names occurring in Spain, and significant in the dialects of the modern Biscayans. On the other hand, not a single place in proper Aquitania has a Celtic name.*

The southern coast of Gaul, divided of old between Iberian and Ligurian tribes, gives two local names, derived from the idiom of the former people, viz., Illiberis of the Bebryces, and Vasio of the Vocontii.

* Lugdunum was built by the Convenæ, a mixed tribe.

In passing from the countries known to have been inhabited by the Iberian race, into the other parts of Gaul, we enter, as M. de Humboldt observes, a new region; a new topographical language displays itself, and scarcely a name occurs bearing any analogy to the forms of Euskarian words.

In various parts of Italy some Euskarian names occur, as Uria, Astura, Asta, Biturgia. A considerable number of the old names of places in Italy bear a near resemblance to the old Spanish names of rivers, tribes, and fortified towns. From this it is an obvious conjecture that the aboriginal people of Italy were akin to the Iberi. Some historical testimony to this effect is to be found, as we shall hereafter find occasion to observe.

I shall now proceed to a more particular survey of the population of Spain.

## Section IV.—*Of the Celtic Nations in Spain.*

The Celtic nations in Spain may be considered as three divisions or principal settlements of the Celtic race in that country, without taking any account of tribes principally of Iberian descent, which, from the names of the districts or towns inhabited by them, may be conjectured to have been more or less intermixed with clans of Celtic origin. The three divisions of the Celtic people in Spain are, first, tribes intermixed with Iberians, in the mountainous countries near the centre of the peninsula, named Celtiberians. Secondly, the Celtici of the south-western extremity, occupying the southern parts of modern Portugal. Thirdly, the Celts near the Nerian promontory, or in the modern Gallicia, so named, probably, from its Gaulish inhabitants.

1. The high mountainous region in the central parts of Spain, near the sources of the great rivers which flow towards the different coasts, and the valleys near the upper courses of the rivers Durius, the Tagus, the Anas, was inhabited by the Celtiberians. Their country, as we are informed by Strabo, was of great extent, and of various surface; most of it hilly, and intersected by many rivers. The

Celtiberi were the most warlike people in Spain, and were celebrated for their bravery and the obstinacy with which they resisted the arms of Rome, under their chieftain Viriathus, or as Strabo calls him, Uriathus. Posidonius reported that a tribute of 600 talents was exacted from the Celtiberi, an argument that they were a numerous and rich people, though inhabiting a country which is termed by Strabo—*παράλυπρον* —hard to cultivate. Polybius asserted that Tiberius Gracchus destroyed three hundred cities of the Celtiberi; on which relation Strabo observes, that the country is incapable of containing so many, by reason of its barrenness and the rudeness of the people: "neither do the Spaniards," as he says, "generally dwell in large cities, but in rural villages, with the exception of those who inhabit the coast of the Mediterranean." The Celtiberi had however some towns which were judged by Strabo worthy of the name of cities. The whole nation was divided into four tribes, of which the Arevaci, dwelling towards the south-east, and near the Carpetani and the sources of the Tagus, were the most powerful; their capital, Numantia was the most celebrated. Segida and Pallantia were likewise cities of the Arevaci. Segobriga and Bilbilis, the former bearing a Celtic, the latter an Euskarian name, were also cities of the Celtiberi. Celtiberia was celebrated for a breed of horses of great speed and variegated in colour, which, according to Strabo, changed their hue when brought into the outer parts of Spain.

The Celtiberians are described by Diodorus, who represents them as fierce and rude people. He says, they wore black, rough cassocks, made of wool like goats'-hair, and brazen helms, adorned outside with plumes, armed with daggers and two-edged swords.*

Among the traits recorded of the Celtiberians we find some, although few, indications of their Celtic origin.† Diodorus says that their favourite drink was made of honey, as was the metheglin of the ancient Britons. Their cavalry were accustomed to alight on the field of battle, and, like the

* Diodorus, lib. v.

† Strabo, lib. iii.

charioteers of the Britons, engage their enemies on foot. It does not appear from any ancient notice that the institution of the druids extended to Spain, or was ever in vogue among the Celtic inhabitants of the peninsula. All that we are told of their religion is that the Celtiberians, at the full of the moon, spent the night before their houses in dancing to the honour of some god whose name has not been preserved. It appears however that the sacred rites of the Celtiberi were different from those of the Spanish tribes who were of the unmixed Iberian race; this may be inferred from a passage of Pliny, which will presently be cited.

Celtiberia, properly so termed, occupied a wide tract in the inland parts of Spain. It comprehended a large portion of Aragon and Castile, and reached northward to the Durius, and nearly to the Iberus, or Ebro: to the northward of the Celtiberi was the tribe of Verones, who bordered on the Cantabri; their principal city was Varia, on the Ebro. Strabo assures us that the Verones or Berones, as well as the Celtiberi, were a Celtic people; and the same thing is reported of the Carpetani, whose principal town was Alea.* These tribes belong to the Celtici of the interior.

2. Another Celtic people in Spain were in the south-western extremity. They occupied an extensive country between the Tagus and the Anas or Guadiana, now forming parts of Portugal, Algarve, and Alentejo. This region was chiefly filled by Celtic people, among whom, as Strabo observes, the Romans introduced some settlers from Lusitania. The principal city of this Celtic nation was Conistorsis. The Celtici of Conistorsis and the surrounding country partook of the civilization and mildness of their neighbours, the Turdetani, to whom they were related, as Strabo says; meaning probably by intermarriages.†

These Celtici also occupied a considerable country to the southward of the Anas, in Bætica, or Bæturia. The ancient writers are not consistent with each other in their limitation of the different regions of Spain, and in the denominations which they respectively affix to each part, and hence it is

* Steph. Byzant. Voc. Alea.

† *δια την συγγενειαν.*

difficult to follow their distribution. Pliny terms the country to the northward of the Anas, Lusitania, and the other side of that river, to the south-east, Bætica, or Bæturia. He divides Bæturia into two parts, and says that one part belonged to the Celtici, and the other to the Turduli. The passage in which he mentions the Celtic towns is a curious one, as it contains the first effort to trace the Celtici in Spain by the names of places. Pliny here anticipates the idea which became the foundation of M. de Humboldt's work. He says that the Celtici passed over the Anas into Bætica from the Celtiberi, who, according to his division of provinces, were in Lusitania. "This," as he declares, "is manifest by the resemblance of sacred rites, by their language, and by the names of their towns; "quæ cognominibus à Bæticis distinguuntur." * Ptolemy likewise mentions the Celtici of Bætica: he enumerates five cities as belonging to them, and eleven in the country of the Celtici, between the Anas and the Tagus.† The Celtic country to the southward of the Anas comprehended a part of Estremadura which is cut off by that river, now termed Guadiana, as well as some parts of the kingdom of Seville, near Aroche.

It seems, from these accounts, that a very considerable part of the south-western region of Spain was the abode of a Celtic people, and that these people differed from the neighbouring tribes of Iberian descent in their religious rites, as well as in their language, in both of which they resembled the Celtiberi. This will prevent our adopting the opinion of some late writers, who imagine that the Celts of Spain had become entirely assimilated to the native Spaniards, or Euskaldunes.

3. A part of Gallicia was also the territory of a Celtic people, from whom the modern name of this province may possibly have been derived. The promontory of Nerium, or Cape Finisterre, was the abode of a tribe termed Artabri, who are said by some to have been a Celtic race.‡ Around it, and above the Artabri, were spread the villages of the Celtici. These people, according to Strabo, were descended from the

* Claud. Ptolem. Geog. lib. ii. cap. 4.

† Plin. H. N. lib. ii. cap. 1.

‡ Pomp. Mela, lib. iv. c. 20. (vid. Ritson, p. 22.)

Celtici of the Anas. A tradition preserved by that geographer reported that an expedition had been made into their country by an army from the nations of Bætica, the Celtici having joined their forces to those of their neighbours the Turduli. After passing the river Limæus, the allied armies quarrelled, and the Celtici having dispersed themselves over the country remained in possession of it.

It has been observed by M. de Humboldt that the ancient writers term the Celts of Spain not Celti, but Celtici. From this remark, however, he ought to have excepted Strabo and Diodorus, who call them Κέλτοι, by the same denomination which they give to the people of Gaul. On the question whether the Celtic tribes were invaders of the Iberian territory, or inhabited Spain before the Euskaldunes, I shall offer a few remarks in the sequel.

## Section V.—*Iberian Tribes in Spain.*

### *Paragraph* 1.—Of the Turdetani and Turduli.

The country to the eastward of the Anas, and the Celtic districts bordering on that river, was termed Bætica, from the river Bætis, the Guadalquivir, which flows through it. It had the name of Turdetania, from its inhabitants, who were the Turdetani and Turduli. * Some writers considered them as different tribes, among whom Polybius reported that the Turduli were neighbours of the Turdetani towards the north.† They were not distinguished in the time of Strabo, who says that their country was extremely rich and fertile, and second to no part of the world in all natural advantages. Turdetania comprehended most of the south of Spain, reaching from the river Anas to the mountainous country of the Oretani or La Mancha. It was said to contain, according to Strabo, two hundred cities, the principal of which were Gades or

* Strab. p. 161.

† Ptolemy, on the other hand places the Turduli to the south and eastward of the Turdetani. This double termination is elsewhere found in old Spanish names: the Basistani and Bastuli were one people.

Cadiz, Corduba or Cordova, and Hispalis, a Roman colony. The country was very productive. The exports of corn, wine, and oil were so considerable, that the ships in which they were brought to Ostia, the port-town of Rome, were nearly as numerous as those from Africa.* Among the exports were great quantities of gold and silver, the produce of mines in Turdetania, and tin from the mountainous country inhabited by barbarians above Lusitania. The Turdetani were the most civilized people in Spain and affected Roman manners. On the Bætis especially they spoke Latin, and forgot their native language. According to Strabo the river Bætis was in earlier times named the Tartessus, marking the site of the Phœnician settlement. Tartessus is mentioned by Herodotus as a place of great power and opulence at the period of the earliest voyages of the Phocæans in the Western Mediterranean.†

The same geographer informs us that the Turdetani were the most learned people in Spain; they were acquainted with the use of letters, and preserved among them records of antiquity and poems and laws composed in metre, handed down from a period, as they declared, of six thousand years.‡ Strabo adds "that the other nations of Spain likewise practised the art of writing, not with one form of characters; neither was their language the same." He does not inform us whether this difference of idiom amounted only to variety of dialect, or constituted an entire diversity. We have reason to believe, from the names of places, and the researches of M. de Humboldt, that there was no essential difference; that all the Spaniards spoke dialects of the Euskarian speech, except the Celtic people and those Iberian tribes whose idioms were

* Strab. lib. iii. p. 192.

† Herod. lib. i. c. 163

‡ So the vulgar reading of Strabo imports. But Niebuhr has well remarked, that the expression *νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἑξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν* would not even be Greek, and he proposes to read *ἐπῶν* for *ἐτῶν*; meaning that the laws of the Turdetanians were contained in six thousand verses, or *ἐπῆ*. Yet Niebuhr refers this literature of the Turdetanians to an era when the West, as he says, was still subsisting with all its original peculiarities, before it experienced any influence from Asia. And was there ever such a time? The alphabet of the Spaniards was Phœnician.

intermixed with the Celtic. These however constituted, it would appear, no small part of the native tribes of t Peninsula.

The Turduli and Turdetani were situated in part to the ea ward of the Bætis, and therefore within the limits of the pu Iberian speech, according to Humboldt's demarcation. Th cities bore Euskarian and not Celtic names. To the nort ward of Turdetani were the Vettones, the Oretani and Carp tani, and beyond Mount Orospeda the Sedetani. To the nort ward of all these was Celtiberia, before described.

### *Paragraph* 2.—Of the Lusitanians.

" Lusitania, says Strabo, is to the northward of the Tag containing the greatest of the Iberian nations who resist the Romans for the longest time. To the southward it limited by the Tagus, to the west and north by the ocea eastward by the Carpetani, Vettones, Vaccæi, and C laici, celebrated nations. Some formerly termed them Lu tanians. The Callaici border on the Asturians and Iberian the other nations on the Celtiberi." It is not to be wonder at that the Lusitanians, who had Celtic people to the sou and north, and Celtiberians for their eastern neighbours, shou have partaken in the intermixture of Celtic with their la guage, and it is probable that at one time the Iberian part the Lusitanian nation was under the dominion of Celts. V cannot otherwise account for the existence of so many plac in the Lusitanian territory with evidently Celtic names. the list of Lusitanian inland towns given by Ptolemy, in t fifth chapter of his second book, there are several names whi are undoubtedly Celtic, as well as those belonging to th neighbours, the Callaici and Vettones. Strabo describes t Lusitani as in great part a lawless, predatory people, livi like banditti in mountainous places, accustomed to cut the right hand of their prisoners. He says that they were a dicted to sacrifices, and accustomed to prophesy from t entrails of the victim, without cutting them out.*

* Strab. 221. Ed. Oxon.

## *Paragraph* 3.—Nations in the Northern Parts of Spain, in the Basque Provinces.

To the northward of the Celtiberi and the Verones who were a Celtic tribe, were the Cantabri Conisci. The Verones were immediately on the Ebro. To the northward of that river were the Autrigones, the Varduli, and the Vascones, in the countries now termed Biscay and Navarre. The Cantabri occupied a part of Asturia: they were, as M. de Humboldt has observed, separated from Biscay by the country of the Autrigones. In their territory were several Celtic towns. they were beyond the boundary of the pure Euskarian speech. The Vascones and Varduli occupied the modern Guipascoa and Navarre: the name of the former is still preserved in Biscay, and in the appellation of Basques, given to the people who speak the Euskarian language. For the discrimination of these tribes we have a better source of information than we can expect to derive from the writings of ancient authors, viz. an inquiry into the dialects of the people who have preserved their ancient language in the mountainous countries bordering on the Pyrenees.

There are, according to some writers, four, according to others, six dialects of the Euskarian language. 1. The Biscayan or Biscaina, which has been termed the Cantabrian, but is more properly the Autrigonian. This is the most westerly dialect: it is spoken most purely about Bilbao, Ordunna, and Aduna. 2. The Guipuscoan, or Vardulic dialect, spoken in Guipuscoa, the country of the old Varduli. 3. The dialect of Upper Navarre and Alave, which some consider as two dialects: it may be termed the Vasconian. 4. The French Basque, including the dialects spoken in the districts of Labourd and Soule: this prevails at St Jean de Luz. Some reckon the Labourdin and the Souletin as distinct dialects, and as Soule is situated in Gascony, term the idiom of that district the Gasconian. If we consider these subordinate dialects as distinct, we shall then find six or seven varieties of the Euskarian language. All the varieties of the fourth, or Basque dialect, belong to tribes descended, as it would

appear, from the Aquitani. The three former belong perhaps severally to the Autrigones, Varduli, and Vascones of ancient authors.

That the Euskarian language should extend so far in Gaul is no matter of surprise. The Garonne, as we learn from Cæsar, was the boundary of Aquitania and Gallic Celtica. We are informed by Strabo that Augustus added to the province of Aquitaine ten tribes between the Garonne and the Loire, which were probably Celtic Gauls. These tribes became Aquitanians in a political, not in an ethnographical sense. The real Aquitani, as Strabo expressly declares, were very different, both in language and in physical characters, from the Gauls, and in both these respects resembled the Iberi.* Humboldt's researches confirm this statement. He has shown that nearly all the names in Aquitania proper are Euskarian; that many have plain significations in that language, and the usual Euskarian terminations. The instances which appear to the contrary are all explained by historical facts. Lugdunun was built by the Convenæ, a mixed assemblage from different tribes, who had formed the army of Sertorius. On comparing with the Aquitanian names those which were immediately on the northern side of the Garonne, a striking difference is immediately perceived. The characteristic terminations of Celtic towns and tribes occur in the dominion of every tribe, and the traces of the Euskarian speech immediately disappear.

## Section VI.—*Traces of the Euskaldunes in Countries beyond the Boundaries of Spain and Aquitaine.*

The great body of the Iberian race, as it existed at the era of the Roman conquest in Spain, was comprehended in that country and in the neighbouring districts of Aquitaine, where the Basque language is still spoken. A few scattered branches of the same stock may be obscurely discerned in periods of

* Τοὺς μὲν Ἀκουϊτανούς, τελέως ἐξηλλαγμένους, ὰ τῇ γλώττῃ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σωμάσιν ἐμφερεῖς Ἰβηρσι μᾶλλον ἢ Γαλάταις. Lib. iv.

remote antiquity in countries at a distance from Spain, and the investigation of these traces may throw light on the early history of the Euskaldunes. It cannot be determined with certainty whether these remains are the vestiges of the first migratory progress of the Iberian people, supposing them to have proceeded originally from the East through the South of Europe and to have left tribes separated from the great mass of their population behind them on their way, or colonies which proceeded at a later period from Spain. The former supposition is the most probable: there is at least nothing which can lead us to adopt the alternative, or to conclude that the tribes of this race who inhabited at an early period Liguria, and probably made their way through Italy into the island of Sicily, came originally from Spain.

The early Greek writers, under the term Iberia, comprehended the coast of the Mediterranean to the westward of the Tyrrhene Sea, but it is uncertain what limitations were ascribed by them to the tracts which they so designated. Herodotus says that the Phocæans, in their early voyages, explored the Adriatic and the Tyrrhene seas, Iberia and Tartessus.

In the Periplus of Scylax, which Niebuhr supposes to have been compiled from the nautical records of ancient voyagers in a very early period, the Iberi are mentioned as inhabiting the coast of Gaul as far eastward as the mouth of the Rhone, hamlets of the Iberi being interspersed among those of the Ligurians.* From the Rhone to the Arnus, or Arno, was Liguria. There is no vestige of any Ligurian people westward of the Rhone, and it would therefore appear probable that the country from which it was traditionally reported that the Iberi were expelled by the Ligurians, must have been to the eastward of that river. We can, on this supposition, more easily understand how this relation is connected with the story which follows it, purporting that the people driven out by the Ligurians sought refuge in Sicily, whither they probably must have made their way through Italy. The fact that the Iberians were among the most ancient inhabit-

* Ἀπὸ δὲ Ιβήρων ἔχονται Λίγυες καὶ Ιβήρες μιγάδες μέχρι ποταμοῦ Ροδανοῦ. Scyl. Caryand. Peripl. 2, Hudson. 1.

ants of Sicily is so important a feature in the history of that people, that I shall adduce at some length the authorities by which it is supported.

Thucydides commences his narrative of the war of the Athenians in Sicily with a particular account of that island, and of the races of people who inhabited it. He says, " it was thus peopled originally, and contains altogether the following races. The Cyclopes and Læstrygones are said to have been the first inhabitants in some parts of the country; concerning whom I have nothing to say, either as to their race or whence they came, or whither they have gone; suffice the poetical stories which are reported of them, and the notions in any way attainable. The Sicani appear to have been the next settlers after the aforesaid; they were as themselves report still more ancient, since they term themselves indigenous; but as it is ascertained to be true,—*ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια εὑρίσκεται*,—they were Iberes or Iberians: having been expelled from the river Sicanus, in Iberia, by the Ligurians, from them the island was named Sicania, which had previously been called Trinacria. They still continue," he adds, " to inhabit the western parts of Sicily."* It appears from what follows that the Sicani possessed the whole island before the arrival of later colonists, for Thucydides goes on to relate that the Trojan refugees, who reached Sicily, settled in their country, and mixing with them, formed the Elymi, whose towns were Eryx and Egesta. Afterwards the Siculi came from Italy in great numbers, and having conquered the Sicani, drove them to the southern and western parts of the island, and gained possession of the best parts of it. This happened about three hundred years before the arrival of Greek colonies in Sicily.†

Dionysius of Halicarnassus has given nearly the same account. It appears that Philistus, the Syracusan historian, who is cited by Diodorus, agreed with Thucydides‡ in declaring that the Sicani were an Iberian race.

* Thucyd. lib. vi. c. 2.

† Diodor. Sic. Bibl.

‡ Strabon, Geog. lib. vi. p. 270.

Strabo* fully corroborates the statement that the old inhabitants of Sicily were an Iberian race. This geographer cites at length the historical account of the island given by Ephorus. Before the foundation of the Greek colonies Sicily, according to Ephorus, was inhabited by barbarians, whose cruelty prevented all intercourse with foreigners. At the era of the foundation of Syracuse several tribes of barbarians inhabited the interior, among whom were Siceli, Sicani, and Morgetes, as well as Iberians, whom Ephorus reported, says Strabo, "to have been the first barbarians who colonized Sicily." The city of Morgantium, destroyed in the time of Strabo, was, as he says, probably inhabited by the Morgetes. Diodorus terms this city Margantia; § and from this name, compared with that of Margis, an ancient town in Spain, M. de Humboldt concludes the Morgetes to have been likewise Iberians.

It seems from these accounts that the island of Sicily was inhabited in very ancient times by people of the same race as the Iberi of Spain, who were likewise, as we shall find, among the earliest occupants of Sardinia and Corsica. Whether they reached Sicily from Gaul or Spain, or made their way to these countries from Sicily, is uncertain.

Frêret reckoned the Sicani among the most ancient inhabitants of Italy; and this conjecture derives probability from the fact observed by M. de Humboldt, that several names which have the structure of Euskarian words and are descriptive in the Euskarian speech, are appropriated to towns and districts in various parts of Italy.†

* Diodor. Sic. lib. xiv. c. 78. De Humboldt, p. 96, p. 168. Niebuhr, Rom. Geschichte. i. 110. Mannert, i. 447, 448.

† Iria is the Euskarian word for town: and Iria Flavia is the name of a town in the Callaici. So Iria in Taurinis on the frontier of Italy. Hence also Urium in the Turdulian, and Uria in Apulia. Astura, a very distinct Euskarian epithet, was an inland town near Antium. Asta occurs in the interior of Liguria. Basta, Basterbini, Biturgis, Campania, Curensis, Hispellum, Osci, and Ausones, are, according to M. De Humboldt, clearly Iberian names. See his "Untersuchungen." That there was some connexion between the Spaniards and the ancient Italic nations, would appear from the fact observed by Gesenius, in his late admirable work on Phœnician Inscriptions, that the characters used in Spain, and termed commonly Celtiberian, are nearly allied to the old Italic alphabets. They approach most nearly to the Oscan. This might seem a confirmation of M. de Humboldt's opinion, who derives the name of Oscan from the Iberian

Sardinia and Corsica were likewise inhabited by people who were partly of Iberian descent.

Pliny enumerates three tribes as the principal inhabitants of Sardinia: he terms them Ilienses, Balari, and Corsi. The Ilienses of Pliny were termed by Strabo Iolaënses. A myth respecting their origin reported them to have descended from the sons of Hercules, who came to the island under Iolaus. The barbarous inhabitants whom they found there, and among whom they took up their abode, were, according to Strabo, Etruscans. Several other writers mention the Ilienses or Iolaenses, as Diodorus, Aristotle, and Pausanias, and they are represented by some as Trojans, by others as Greeks. From Strabo, however, we learn that they were barbarous inhabitants of the mountainous parts of the island, who dwelt in caves, and scarcely cultivated the ground, but supported themselves by predatory attacks upon their more industrious neighbours, and chiefly upon the people of the opposite coast of Pisa. Strabo terms them Diagebres. He says that there were four tribes of those mountaineers in Sardinia, the Tarati, Sossinati, Balari, and Aconites. Pausanias, who has given a long and detailed account of Sardinia, terms the inhabitants of the mountainous parts in general Balari. He says that after the Carthaginians had conquered the island, the higher districts in the interior remained in the possession of the Balari. They were descended from a mixture of Iberians and Libyans. The first city that was founded in the island of Sardinia was Nora, which was built by Iberians. * Solinus confirms this account, which represents the early population of Sardinia to have been partly Libyan and partly of Iberian origin.†

Euski. But we shall hereafter show that the Oscans were of a very different stock. Their characters were but a slight modification of the Etruscan. Between the Etruscans, who were a trading people, and the Bætic Spaniards, it is likely that intercourse existed.

* Pausan, in Phocicis, 10.

† The Phœnicians, however, colonized Sardinia at an early period, and it was afterwards conquered and held in subjection by the Carthaginians, till the first Punic war. They built the towns of Calaris, Sulchi, and Caralis.—Pausan (10. 17.—Diodor. 4, 29. 5. 15, 15, 24.) Polybius (i. 79.) Cicero expressly declares, that the Sardinians in his time were considered as in great part Carthaginians, (Cicero pro Scauro, c. 14, 18.) See Gesenius Script. Ling. Phœn. Mon. p. 154. A Phœnician or rather Punic inscription in Sardinia has been illustrated by Gesenius.

The population of Corsica, called by the Greeks Cyrnos, is said likewise by ancient writers to have been in part Iberian and partly Libyan. Eustathius, in his commentary on Dionysius, says, that the first inhabitants of the Isle of Corsica were Iberians.* Isidore and Servius say that it was peopled by Ligurians, but Pausanias derives its primitive inhabitants from Lybia. The former account is confirmed by the philosopher Seneca, who was himself a native of Spain, and was banished to the Isle of Corsica. He remarked that the Corsicans resembled the Cantabri in Spain in their dress, and retained some relics of their old Iberian language, although the island was much frequented by Ligurians and Greeks.

## Section VII.—*Observations on the Origin of the Celtic and Iberian Inhabitants of Spain.*

It has been a general opinion that the Iberians were the aboriginal inhabitants of the entire Spanish peninsula, and that the Celtic tribes, who occupied some parts of it, were invaders from the other side of the Pyrenees, who forced their way among the earlier and less warlike inhabitants, and gained possession of some provinces. Against this opinion strong doubts have been raised.

That the Celti were invaders of Spain, and long posterior to the Iberi, and that these were the aborigines, was the general persuasion of ancient writers. Strabo mentions the Celti among the foreign invaders, who gained a footing in the peninsula, and he speaks of the Celtiberians, as having been originally Celts. Appian says that the Celtæ, at some time or another, passing over the Pyrenees and mixing their dwellings with the Iberians, acquired thence the name of Celtiberi.† Diodorus seems to have obtained the same report;‡ he says that the Iberians and Celts, after long wars about the possession of the country, at length made peace and agreed to inhabit it in common, and their races becoming intermixed,

* Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 458.
† Appian. Bell. Hisp. 256.
‡ Diodor. Bblioth. lib. v. c. 309.

the name of Celtiberi thence originated. Lucan has alluded to the same tradition, as likewise Silius Italicus.*

It has been observed by Niebuhr and by M. de Humboldt that this opinion, though prevalent among the Greek and Roman writers, appears rather to have been taken up by them as a probable way of accounting for the existence of Celtic people in Spain, and as an obvious inference, than derived from any historical tradition. No reference has been given to ancient authority, or even to local tradition, for such an event as the passage of Gauls into Spain. In the recorded instances of Celtic migrations into Italy, Germany, and the East, we are always told what tribes emigrated, and some attempt has been made to affix a particular period to such events. In the instance of the Celti of Spain, no intimation of time has been given. We are not informed from what part of Gaul they emigrated, or at what conjuncture, or under what circumstances. The local positions in which the Celtic tribes of Spain were found, have been thought to weigh strongly against the opinion that they entered the country as conquerors. We trace them where we should rather expect to find the relics of a primitive population, in the mountainous fastnesses of the interior, where the nature of the country would seem likely to afford them a retreat secure from foreign invaders, and in the remote extremities of the peninsula, near the western promontories, which would naturally be the last refuge of people flying from more powerful enemies. The results of M. de Humboldt's researches tend to support the same argument. It appears to have been proved by these researches that the Celtic people had been at one time more widely spread, that they had given way to the Iberians, through a great part of the peninsula, where they had left no other vestiges of their existence, than the names of places or of tribes.

* Lucan says:—"Profugique à gente vetusta
Gallorum Celtæ miscentes nomen Iberis."
Silius Italicus:—"At Pyrenæi frondosa cacumina montis
Turbata—
Divisos Celtis late prospectat Iberos."
And,
"Venêre et Celtæ sociati nomen Iberis."
Luc. 4, 9. Silius 415—340. Ritson, p. 21

Throughout Lusitania and the north-western part of Spain, fortresses bearing Celtic names remained, though the people were Iberians. These facts lead us to the inference, that Celtic tribes once occupied a great part, namely the western half of the peninsula, before the Euskaldunes gained possession of it and while the latter were the inhabitants of Bætica, Turdetania and the other eastern and southern provinces, where the Celts appear never to have had the least footing. If, then, we follow the evidence of facts, and of facts alone, we should conclude that the Celtæ were the oldest inhabitants of the west and the Iberians of the eastern parts of Spain. The question, which people arrived first in the peninsula is thus stripped of its chief interest, but we find the prevalent ideas of the vast antiquity of the Iberian people reduced on this view of the subject within much narrower limits. It is fair to conclude that the Euskaldunes cannot have preceded the Celts by many ages, since otherwise they would have spread themselves over the whole peninsula, which, on this hypothesis, they did not. Now the arrival of the Celts is almost an historical event, since we trace the Celtic race from the East by philological proofs.

Whence then originated the Euskaldunes, since they also are to be regarded as foreigners, and not among those races whom, for want of direct proof to the contrary, we admit, pending the discusssion, to have been indigenous? With regard to this question we have hardly grounds for a probable conjecture: all that remains to us for the early history of the Iberians is, that people of that race once inhabited a country which afterwards became the abode of the Ligurians. This very ancient tradition, recorded as we had seen by many writers, directs us to the confines of Gaul and Italy. In parts of Italy M. de Humboldt has traced what appear to be vestiges of the Euskarian language in the names of ancient towns. As the alphabet used in early times in different parts of Spain, and termed perhaps erroneously Celtiberian, is allied, as Gesenius has shown, to the old Oscan and Etruscan letters, we seem to find in this fact another connecting link between ancient Spain and Italy, and that country, or the adjoining and southern part of Gaul, presents the most specious claim to be regarded as the

mother-land of the Euskaldunes. But we shall be disappointed in any attempt to trace the kindred of this race among the old Italic nations, or to find any dialect akin to the Euskarian, among the known languages of the Italian tribes.*

* An insurmountable difficulty opposes, as it has been observed by a late writer, the supposition newly maintained, that the Celts preceded the Iberians in the possession of Spain. Had that been the fact, valiant bands of hardy Celtic mountaineers could never have been expelled from the fastnesses of the Pyrenees by the less warlike Iberians. Yet this whole tract of mountains was occupied solely by tribes of the pure race of the Euskaldunes. See Diefenbach's Versuch einer genealogischen Geschichte der Kelten. Stuttgart, 1840.

# CHAPTER III.

## OF THE CELTIC RACE.

### SECTION I.—*General Survey.—Extension of the Celtic Race—Celtic Dialects.*

THE Celtic race, termed Celti, or Κελτοὶ, and Galatæ * by the Greeks, and by Roman writers Celtæ and Galli, or Gauls, was in former ages of the world as widely spread, and acted as conspicuous a part on the theatre of the European nations as the German or Teutonic people have performed in later times. To that race, according to the testimony of ancient writers, belonged at one period not only the whole country reaching in Gaul from the Mediterranean and the Garonne to the Rhine, but likewise many other parts of Europe and Asia. Of Spain, as we have already seen, they appear to have possessed a considerable part, comprehending, not only the central provinces,

* By most Greek writers the terms Κελτοὶ and Γαλάται, which may be considered as corresponding with the Celtæ and Galli of Latin authors, are used as interchangeable. Diodorus, however, attempted to distinguish their application. He says that the Κελτοὶ, Celti, were properly the inhabitants of the inland country above Marseilles and the districts near the Alps and the Pyrenees, thus making the limits of Celtica Proper nearly those of the Roman province. This we shall see was the opinion of some geographers, including Strabo. "The people of the northern parts of Gaul towards the Ocean and the Hercynian forest, and the country reaching thence eastward, towards Scythia,"—meaning evidently the southern parts of Germany,—"are called by the Greeks 'Γαλάται.'—The Romans, however, included all these nations under the last name, as a general appellation." Diodorus means the name of Galli or Gauls, which the Romans used generally for all the natives of Gaul. It is plain that this distinction laid down by Diodorus is founded on no ethnographical limitation. All that we learn from it, is the original local application of the name Celti. See Diodor. Sic. lib. v. cap. 32.

but also extensive territories in both of the western corners of the peninsula, where a population either wholly or partly of Celtic descent remained at the period of the Roman conquest. The British isles are generally supposed to have derived their original population from the Celts. In Italy, at an early period after the building of Rome, the Celtæ dispossessed the Etruscans and the Umbrians of the northern parts of their respective countries, which thenceforward obtained the name of Cisalpine Gaul. In Germany, it is difficult to conjecture the extent of their dominions. Helvetia and the Hercynian forest are said to have afforded a path to numerous hordes emigrating from Gaul towards the north and the east; and Bohemia and Bavaria still bear names which they derived from the tribes of Celtic Boii, who formerly inhabited them. From Bohemia there is reason to believe that some bodies of the Celtic race almost reached the banks of the Vistula. It has been disputed, whether the Cimbri in Denmark were of the Celtic or German family, but there are strong grounds, as we shall find, for believing them to have been a branch of the former race. The countries on the Danube, Noricum and Pannonia were the seats of powerful Celtic communities. Thrace was long in the possession of the Celtæ. Under a second Brennus they followed the footsteps of Xerxes into Greece, and like the Persian despot attempted to plunder the temple of Delphi. Lastly, Asia Minor was long under their sway: from the high countries in the interior, which were the abode of a Celtic population, they exacted tribute from the surrounding states, after dividing them by lot under their several clans.

Such was the extension of the Celtic race, before their power became broken in their contest with the Roman arms, whose ascendency prepared them for a final subjugation under the Teutonic conquerors of Europe. The earlier history of the Celtic people is a subject of great interest but of difficult investigation. Were they the aborigines of Gaul or of Germany? According to all the testimony of history, or rather of ancient tradition collected by the writers of the Roman empire, the migrations of the Gauls were always from west to east; the Celtic nations in Germany as well as in Italy and in the East were supposed to have been colonies from Gaul, and the Celtæ

have been considered as the immemorial inhabitants of western Europe. But the remains of the Celtic language prove them to have been a branch of the Indo-European stock ; they came therefore from the East, and as we find so many parts of Germany overspread by them in early times, whence they were afterwards expelled by German tribes, a strong suspicion forces itself upon our minds, that a part of the Celtic population may have always remained to the eastward of the Rhine, which perhaps received accessions from tribes of the same race returning in a later age from Gaul. The Cimbri appear to have remained in the North until the period of their celebrated expedition, and for the Boii who were so widely spread in Germany, no exact position or primitive seat can be discovered among the proper inhabitants of Gaul.*

It is impossible to determine with certainty, whether the west of Europe was wholly uninhabited at the era when the Celtæ first occupied it. If, as it is probable, they preceded the Teutonic tribes in the north of Germany, they must have come, on the shores of the Baltic, into contact with the Jotuns or Finns, whom the Teutonic people afterwards found in possession of Scandinavia. Whether the same people, or any other race foreign to the Indo-European family, was expelled from Gaul and Britain by the Celts, or conquered and amalgamated with themselves, are as yet matters of conjecture; and the only resources for elucidating such an inquiry are by a comparison of the vocabularies of the Celtic dialects with those of the Finnish and Lapponic nations.†

*Paragraph* 2.—

Of the language of the ancient Celts there exists no undoubted relic on the continent of Europe, except the numerous

* From the name of their leader Boiorix, we might conjecture the Cimbri to have been connected with the Boii. Boiorix seems to mean supreme over the Boii. Mannert supposes the original seat of the Boii to have been in Pannonia.—See Mannert's Geographie der Griechen und Römer.

† By Arndt and some other writers, it has been supposed that the Celtæ are in part a Finnish race. There is no resemblance whatever in the grammatical structure of their respective languages, and I believe that the vocabularies will be found to contain very few common or analogous words.

words preserved in topographical names. It is, indeed, not improbable that the dialect of the Bretons may be, in part, a relic of the idiom of the Armorican Gauls, but there is a degree of uncertainty connected with that supposition which prevents our assuming it as a matter of fact. We have indeed reason to believe, that the native language continued to be spoken in some parts of Gaul nearly to the end of the Roman domination, but we are not sure that this was the case in Britanny. On the other hand, there is historical evidence that Armorica received a colony from Britain about the period of the Saxon invasion of this island. By the older historians of France,* the Bretons are described as a particular and distinct people, under the name of Britanni: they claimed a descent from the insular Britons. It cannot be proved that the Celtic language had not entirely ceased to be spoken in the districts which they occupied, and that the dialect which has long prevailed there was not introduced anew, on the arrival of this colony. It is, therefore, in the British isles that we must look for the genuine remains of the Celtic language, preserved by an unbroken succession from early times. In the British isles we have two extant languages, handed down from the earliest ages, each possessing a peculiar literature; these are the respective languages of Britain and of Ireland. Under each of these divisions we may class three cognate dialects—the Welsh, the Cornish, and the Armorican belong to the former; —the Irish, the Manx, and the Scottish Gaelic, which last is supposed to have been spread from Ireland into Scotland some centuries after the Christian era, belong to the second division. The Irish and British languages cannot with propriety be termed dialects of one speech, since each is unintelligible to persons who have learnt only the other. They are sister languages, and perhaps resemble each other as nearly as the English and German: but the difference between them is far too great and too fundamentally interwoven with their grammatical structure, to have arisen since the era of the Roman conquest of Gaul. That either of these languages is a cognate dialect with that of the old Celtic Gauls, is an assertion which requires proof, and perhaps such proof may be furnished, but

* Gregory of Tours, Fredegarius Scholasticus and Eginhardt.

it is evident that this character can belong to only one of the two languages. Both however claim it. There is a host of writers who take it for certain that the Celtic idiom is preserved in or represented by the British or Welsh language, and there are fully as many who advance the same claim in favour of the Erse or Gaelic. Whatever conclusion may be adopted as to the question agitated between these parties, it will be found to involve consequences which are very important in their bearings on the history of the western nations of Europe. We cannot therefore proceed in the ethnology of the Celtic race without discussing it. But, in the first place, it will be necessary to form a correct idea of some subordinate inquiries which connect themselves with this controversy, and of some results which follow the admission of either of the two suppositions.

If we conclude that the Erse or Gaelic is to be considered as the true descendant and representative of the Celtic, or of the idiom of the people of Gallia Celtica, who then were the Britons? They were not originally a colony of Celtic Gauls. Whence came they, and with what people on the continent were they connected? Again, who were the Belgæ, the people of northern Gaul, who, according to Cæsar, had a language of their own, different from the Celtic? These and other inquiries have received different replies from writers, who maintain the same hypothesis as to the Celtic language, and agree in identifying it with the Erse.

With respect to the Belgæ, many English writers have adopted the opinion of Mr. Pinkerton, which they maintain on the authority of a well-known passage in Cæsar's Commentaries. They consider the Belgæ to have been a Teutonic or German race, and altogether separate from the Celtic stock, and suppose that a German dialect was prevalent through the north of Gaul and even on the southern coast of Britain, which the Belgæ from the opposite shore had in some places colonised before the conquest of Gaul by the Romans. The Britons are imagined hy these writers to have emigrated, not from Gaul, with the inhabitants of which they had no immediate connexion, but from Denmark or the north of Germany. The principal argument adduced in proof is the

national designation of the Welsh people, who call themselves Cymru or Cymri, a name resembling that of the ancient Cimbri.

Other writers, principally in Germany and France, holding the same opinion as to the Celtic language and its relation to the Erse, suppose that the Welsh or Britons were descendants of the Belgæ. The proofs on which they ground this supposition are not so obvious or so much upon the surface, as the arguments adduced by Pinkerton and his followers. I shall take occasion to explain, and shall endeavour to estimate them. The opinion to which I now advert was first advanced, as I believe, by Schloetzer, the learned historian of the north. It was adopted by Gatterer and in part by the authors of the Mithridates, and has been set forth more fully by M. Thierry in his learned work entitled "Histoire des Gaulois." Lastly, it has received the countenance of two writers whose authority cannot be lightly regarded, namely, the modern historians of Rome, Niebuhr and Dr. Arnold.

On the other hand, we must take up for a moment the supposition that the Welsh Britons were a colony of the Celtic Gauls, and that the Welsh language represents the idiom of the ancient Celts. We shall find that this, if once admitted, accounts for many facts in ancient history which are otherwise very difficult to explain.

It has been a very old and until lately a very general opinion, that the ancient Britons were a Celtic people and a colony from Celtic Gaul. Both nations were governed by the same druidical priesthood. The Belgæ indeed appear likewise to have been subject to the Druids, but the principal domain of that celebrated hierarchy in Gaul was the Celtic part of it. Many other historical facts are easily understood on the supposition of a near relationship between the Britons and the Celts, which can hardly be reconciled with a different opinion. But I am not at present advocating the truth of this supposition. I am only stating it as a subject which must be discussed.*

* I fear that some of my readers may think this discussion needless; they may perhaps not be aware that a contrary opinion has been maintained; but those who are acquainted with what has been written by continental writers during the last twenty years, know that the opinion of Schloetzer and Thierry is almost universally received both in Germany and in France.

We must further observe that those who look upon the Britons as nearly related to the Gauls, and consider the Welsh language as the modern representative of the Celtic, generally suppose the Belgæ to have been another branch of the same stock, and not a people of an entirely different family, namely Germans. Some have thought it probable that the Belgic language was analogous to that of the ancient Irish, and they appeal for proof to an old tradition, which derives the population of Ireland in part from a colony termed by the national Irish poems Fir Bolg or Viri Belgæ. Others, persuaded that the Belgic language was not so remote from the Celtic as is the Irish from the Welsh, conclude that the idioms of both nations were dialects related to each other, as are the Welsh to the Cornish or to the Armorican.

It would be a long and fruitless task to discuss all the passages of ancient writers and the other arguments, by an appeal to which the advocates of each of these several opinions have endeavoured to support their favourite notions. The principal hope that I entertain of being enabled to throw a ray of light on this portion of European ethnography is by adopting a different method, and one which has not been pursued to any considerable extent in relation to the history of the Celts. I shall endeavour to proceed on the same path which has been followed with remarkable success by the learned Baron W. von Humboldt, in his inquiries respecting the aboriginal inhabitants of Spain. But in order to render obvious and available to my purpose the evidence that may be collected on this ground, it will be necessary to take a previous survey of the principal divisions of Gaul, and of the mutual relations of the Celtic tribes spread through other parts of Europe.

## SECTION II.—*Earliest Accounts of the Celtic Nations.—Original Celtica of the Greeks—of its earlier Inhabitants, the Ligurians.*

The southern coast of Gaul was long known to the Greeks, before any notice was obtained of its Celtic inhabitants. It was then the country of the Iberians and Ligurians, or of a

mixed population descended from both these races. In the Periplus of Scylax we find the observation, "After the Iberians, that is in proceeding eastward, succeed the Ligurians and Iberians, interspersed or mixed as far as the Rhone," that is, from the confines of Spain to the Rhone. "From the river Rhone are Ligurians, who extend as far as the Arno." This is perhaps the country from which the Ligurians are reported to have expelled the Sicani, who were an Iberian race.* The country about Marseilles, before the Phocæan colony was founded there, is said to have been a part of Liguria. Thus Scymnus Chius:—

ἐν τῇ Λιγυστικῇ δὲ ταύτην ἔκτισαν
πρὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενομένης.

Marcianus Heracleota introduces the same lines, after mentioning the colony of Marseilles, founded by the Phocæans.† Even Herodotus described the country about Marseilles as inhabited by Ligurians. In those fabulous times to which the story of Hercules and his expedition to the Garden of the Hesperides was referred, we find the Ligurians placed by the poets in the same region. Between Marseilles and the Rhone, near Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix, Hercules is said to have encountered great difficulties in his march. He was opposed by the Ligurians, and was only enabled to overcome them by the aid of Jupiter, who rained down stones from heaven. This story is told variously by Pomponius Mela and Eustathius. It is noticed by Strabo, who describes the spot where the encounter took place, and cites a passage of Æschylus from the lost tragedy of Prometheus Solutus relating to it.‡

* Scylax Caryand. Periplus. Hudson, tom. i. The same meaning is expressed in some verses of Avienus:

. . . . . "Rhodani—alveo,
Ibera tellus, atque Ligyes asperi
Intersecantur."

† Marcian. Heracleot. Hudson, tom. i.

‡ "Prometheus Herculi exponens iter à Caucaso ad Hesperidas, in hanc loquitur sententiam:

ἥξεις δὲ Λιγύων εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατὸν,
ἐνθ' οὐ μάχης, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ θοῦρός περ ὢν
μέμψει· πέπρωται γάρ σε καὶ βέλη λιπεῖν.
ἐνταῦθ' ἑλέσθαι δ' οὖτιν' ἐκ γαίας λίθον

Some writers have supposed the Ligurians themselves to have been a Celtic people, but we find no decided testimony to that effect in ancient authors. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the Ligurians inhabited many parts of Italy, and some districts of Gaul; but it was uncertain which was their original country.* Strabo says that the Ligurians were a distinct nation from the Celti, though they resembled that race of people in their manners. In describing the Alps, he says, "These mountains contain many nations who are of Celtic origin, except the Ligyes; the latter are of a distinct race; though differing little from the Celts in their modes of life."

The real origin and national relations of the Ligurians are entirely unknown, and nothing but surmises can ever be produced in connexion with this inquiry. Artemidorus, who is followed by Eustathius, derives their name from a river Ligyros or Ligys, near which they are said once to have dwelt. This story appears to contain an allusion to the Liger or Loire, but there is no trace indicating that the Ligurians ever inhabited the banks of that river; they are only known on the shores of the Mediterranean. Modern writers have observed the resemblance of their name to that of Lhoegrwys, by which the Welsh of old designated the people of England, as they still term that part of the island of Britain now inhabited by the English Lhoegyr. The coincidence is remarkable, but in the want of any proof of relationship between the Ligurians and the Britons,† it is impossible to draw an inference from it.

ἔξεις, ἐπεὶ πᾶς χῶρός ἐστι μαλθακός.
ἰδὼν δ' ἀμηχανοῦντά σ' ὁ Ζεὺς οἰκτερεῖ,
νεφέλην δ' ὑποσχὼν νιφάδι στρογγύλων πέτρων
ὑπόσκιον θήσει χθόν', οἷς ἔπειτά σου
βαλὼν διώξεις ῥαδίως Λιγὺν στρατόν.

Strabo, lib. iv. p. 183.

* Artemidor. apud Stephani Epitom.—Eustath. Schol. ad Dionys. Perieg. voc. Λίγυρος.

† Welsh authors refer to a Triad which deduces the Lhoegwyr from Gwasgwyn, or Gascony, but as Gascogne is a modern name, and Gwasgwyn only a manifest corruption of it, such an anachronism only serves the purpose of throwing a strong doubt on the boasted antiquity of the Triads.

It is probable that some tribes of the Ligurians lived further towards the north, and were more numerous and extensive before the Gaulish invasion of Italy, since it appears, as we shall have occasion to remark, that armies of Ligurians accompanied the first expeditions of the Gauls into the Cisalpine, and settled among the tribes of that people in the countries on the Po.

There are two places supposed to have Ligurian names, which have been observed as affording some evidence of the Celtic origin of that people. Bodincomagum, was a Ligurian city on the Po. Magum is a Celtic termination. But the Ligurians had been for centuries intermixed with Gauls in the Cisalpine territory, and so prevalent a designation may have been borrowed from the Celtic. Pliny says that the river Po was termed in the Ligurian language Bodencus, which meant bottomless.* No such meaning can be derived from any Celtic dialect. The other town is Eporædia, placed by Ptolemy in the Salluvian territory, by Velleius in the Vagiennian,† The Vagienni are enumerated by Pliny among the Ligurians.‡ Eporædia is, as we shall find hereafter, a truly Celtic name.

The name of the Ligurians admits an easy explanation in the Celtic language. It may have been derived from Llygwyr, which means in Welsh, "men of the sea-coast." But if this was its real origin, it does not prove that the people were Celts, since the designation is one more likely to have been bestowed upon them by a neighbouring tribe than assumed by themselves.

On the whole, we cannot conclude with any degree of confidence that the Ligurians were a people allied to the Celtic Gauls. The evidence of some topographical names is in favour of that supposition, but this evidence is mixed, as we have shown, with much doubt and uncertainty.

After the settlement of the Phocæan colony at Marseilles, the Greeks gained some knowledge of the Celts, as inhabiting the country in the interior, behind Liguria. Scymnus Chius

* It is impossible to avoid a suspicion that the true name was BODENLOS. Will any body venture hence to conjecture that the Ligurians were Germans?

† Velleius Paterc. i. 15.

‡ Pli. H. N. iii. cap. 5.

mentions these as possessing the western extremity of the world:—

*τὸν ἀπὸ ζεφύρου Κελτοὶ δὲ μέχρι δυσμῶν τόπον*
*θερινῶν ἔχουσιν.*

He describes them as exercising hospitality to strangers and celebrating their meetings with music, which they cultivated diligently on account of its humanizing influence on manners.

*ζηλῶντες αὐτὴν ἡμερώσεως χάριν.**

According to Posidonius and other ancient writers,† the southern districts of Gaul, near the place where Narbo was afterwards built, was the native country of the people who first received the designation of Celti, and the same name was afterwards given by extension to the tribes who dwelt beyond them towards the interior of Gaul. After the voyage of Pytheas, the Greeks had more extensive knowledge of the coast of Gaul and of the British islands, but at this time they had never heard of the Rhine, or of any great river in the west, except the Danube. The Celti of Herodotus were the inhabitants of the western region of Europe, where the name of the Pyrenees was already known, though so indefinitely that it was supposed to belong to a city‡. The Greeks understood the Danube to flow from the west, and they therefore con-

* Scymnus Chius apud Hudson.

† Strabon, Geog. lib. iv. We have seen above that Diodorus adopted exactly the same opinion. His primitive Celtica was the country above Marseilles and the regions lying beyond the Alps and near the Pyrenees.

‡ There may have been such city, and some verses of Avienus appear, as M. Zeuss has observed, to identify it with Illiberri, an ancient Iberian town, of which there were remains near the Roman colony of Ruscino, in the country of the Sardones, who inhabited the sea-coast at the feet of the eastern Pyrenees. Mela says, "Colonia Ruscino, vicus Illiberri, magnæ quondam urbis et magnarum opum tenue vestigium." De S. O. 2. Pliny, "in ora regio Sardonum: oppida Illiberis magnæ quondam urbis tenue vestigium," etc. 3. 4. (Strabo terms it Ilybyris.) These verses of Avienus plainly connect the remains of Illiberri with the Pyrene of Herodotus.

"In Scordiceni cespitis confinio
Quondam Pyrene civitas dives arvis
Stetisse fertur; hicque Massiliæ incolæ
Negotiorum sæpe versabant fines."

Avien. Or. Marit. v. 558. See Zeuss, die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, 161.

ceived that it arose in the country of the Celti, where likewise was Pyrene. "The river Ister," says the father of history, "beginning from the Celti and the city Pyrene, divides Mid-Europe, (the Celti being beyond the Pillars of Hercules and bordering upon the Cynesians, who live the last of all in Europe towards the west,) and having measured all Europe, as far as the Istrians, a colony of the Milesians, flowing into the sea of the Euxine Pontus, there terminates." In another place he says, "The Ister measures all Europe, taking its beginning from the country of the Celti, who are the last of all in Europe, next to the Cynetæ, towards the setting of the sun; and having measured all Europe, it enters the sides of Scythia."*

Aristotle† had nearly the same geographical notions and errors as Herodotus, in relation to this subject. He says, "Out of Pyrene, which is a mountain of Celtica, looking towards the south-west, flow the Ister and the Tartessus." These writers appear to have had a correct idea of the situation of the Pyrenees and of the Celtæ to the northward of them, but they erred in supposing the source of the Danube to be much more to the southward than it really is. Aristotle, in a different work, speaks of Scythia and Celtica as cold countries where asses cannot exist. "Neither," he repeats, "among the Celti who dwell above Spain are animals of that kind found."‡ He says that "from Italy they make a way to extend as far as Celtica and the Celto-Ligurians. They call it Heraclea.§ This is an allusion to the old fiction of the journey of Hercules into Italy. These Celto-Ligurians, by the most ancient Greeks called Ligyes, were, as Ritson observes, the inhabitants of that part of Transalpine Gaul, which, in the time of Strabo, belonged to the Massillians. Diodorus likewise, who often gives the opinions of times long antecedent to his own, says that those who hold the interior parts above the Massillians and the inhabitants of the country

* It is unknown who were the Cynetæ; some conjecture that they were the Iberians, of whom the Conisci were a tribe inhabiting the south of Spain.

† Aristot. Meteor, lib. i. c. 13. Ritson's Memoirs of the Celts, p. 7.

‡ De Generat. Animal. lib. viii. c. 28.

§ Aristot. de Mirabilibus.

about the Alps and on the hither side of the Pyrenean mountains, are the people named Celts."*

It appears from these passages that the original Celtica of the Greeks was the southern tract of Gaul, reaching from the Pyrenees and the Bay of Biscay to the Alps, and that the region so termed had afterwards an indefinite extension towards the north.

The Romans were well acquainted with the Cisalpine Gauls in the course of the long wars which commenced with the attack upon Rome and terminated in the subjugation of Italian Gaul. They were aware of the identity of these Gauls with the Celti of the Massilians. The Greek writers call both by the name of Κελτοί. Polybius says that the Celti inhabit the neighbourhood of Narbo and thence to the Pyrenees, and in another passage that the Carthaginians had subdued all the coast of Iberia or of Spain unto those rocks by which terminate at the sea the Pyrenean mountains: these mountains separating the Iberians from the Celts.† This refers to the Mediterranean coast and the extremity of the Pyrenean chain adjoining it. We know that on the northern part of this chain the Iberi reached into Gaul, or rather into Aquitaine.

The principal nations of Gauls known at that time and in the immediately following periods to the Greeks and Romans, were the tribes of Volcæ in the country between Spain and the Rhone, and the Salyes or Salluvians, in the region between the Rhone and Italy. To these nations the name of Celtæ or rather Celti—Κελτοὶ—and Galli appears to have been first given.

Cæsar, in dividing the remaining inhabitants of Gaul, as yet unconquered by the Romans, into three nations, and appropriating to one of them the name of Galli, identifies this particular nation with the previously known Gauls or Celti, in the Cisalpine and the Province. When he said that the Romans termed them Galli and they themselves Celtæ, his statement would probably have been more correct, had he re-

* Diodor. Bibl. v. c. 32. Ritson's Memoirs of the Celts.

† Polyb. lib. iii.

ported that by the Greeks they were termed Celti and by the Romans Galli. It does not appear clear that the Gauls ever recognised the name of Celtæ as a national appellation. It probably grew into general use among the Greeks from some particular tribe at first so termed.*

It will be important to my purpose to take notice in this place of Cæsar's division of Gaul. As the principal resource for investigating the relations of the Belgæ and Celtæ, and their colonies and languages, must depend upon what can be made out respecting the history of particular tribes, it will be requisite to examine the geographical division of Gaul laid down by Cæsar, and to compare it with those of Strabo and other writers. If it can be determined in some instances that particular tribes belonged to the Celtic, and in others to the Belgic division, we shall be enabled on this ground to pursue some further inquiries as to the history of these races.

## SECTION III.—*Subdivisions of Gaul according to the Races of its Inhabitants. Tribes in Aquitania, Narbonensis, Celtica or Lugdunensis.*

In the introduction to Cæsar's account of his Gallic war the boundaries of the three great divisions of Gaul are laid down in the clearest manner.† The division is founded not on any political partition of the country, but merely on the different races of people whose limits are marked out. "The Gallic or Celtic Gauls are separated from the Aquitani by the river Garonne, from the Belgæ by the Marne and the Seine." "That part of the whole country which has been said to be inhabited by the Galli, takes its beginning, as Cæsar says, from the Rhone, and reaches thence towards the north:" that is, on the side towards Italy it was bounded by the Rhone, so that a traveller from Italy would enter it after passing that

* This may be collected from Strabo. I do not think it worth while to discuss here the conjectures of Welsh etymologists.

† The Roman province itself is excluded from this tripartition, though occupied, as we have seen, as well as the Cisalpine, by subdued Celti.

river. "It is surrounded by the river Garonne, the ocean, and the boundaries of the Belgæ, but reaches to the Rhine, on the side of the Sequani and Helvetii." * It seems then that the Rhone, from its source to its great bending towards the south, was the south-eastern limit of Celtica; on the southern side of that river was a part of the Roman province.

We learn from this account that Celtic Gaul, in the time of Cæsar, comprised all the interior of France, bounded towards the sea by the Bay of Biscay, the Atlantic, and the British Channel; the Celtic coast extending from the mouth of the Garonne to the mouth of the Seine. Its northern and eastern boundary was formed by the Sequana or Seine, from the mouth of that river as far as its junction with the Marne, distant a few leagues from Paris: thence it turned eastward and continued along the Marne to the source of that stream in the Vosges mountains. From the Vosges the north-eastern boundary of Celtica appears to have taken nearly a direct transit to the Rhine, since on the side of the Sequani and Helvetii, including Franche Compté and parts of Upper Alsace and Switzerland, we are expressly told by Cæsar that the country of the proper Galli had for its frontier the Rhine, of which it occupied the left bank. The Belgæ, according to Cæsar's division of Gaul, reached southward not farther than the Seine and Marne, touching upon the Rhine a little to the southward of Strasburg. The territories of the Sequani and the Helvetii were therefore comprehended in Gallic Celtica.

Cæsar is so clear and consistent with himself in his account of the divisions of Gaul, that he seems to leave no room for doubt as to the different tribes which belonged to each nation; and the controversies which have been agitated on that subject would never have arisen if his successors had been equally accurate. The opportunity for mistake has arisen from the

* Germania, cap. 28. Tacitus expressly affirms that the Helvetii were a Gallic nation. With respect to the Sequani it may be collected that they were Celtic people, from all that we learn of their history and political relations, from their situation, and from the fact that they are never once mentioned among the Belgæ, or in any connexion with them; lastly, from the express declaration of Cæsar, that, on the side of the Sequani and Helvetii, Celtica Proper reaches to the Rhine.

fact that a new partition of Gaul was made in the time of Augustus, and the parts belonging to one division have been confounded with those of the other. Celtica, which after the time of Augustus was generally called Lugdunensis, from its capital city Lugdunum or Lyons, was now scarcely half so large in extent as the old land of the Celtæ. All the country between the Garonne and the Loire was taken from it and added to Aquitania, and all the territory eastward of the Saone and reaching from the Vosgesian mountains to the Rhine, was added to Belgica. The new province of Gallia Lugdunensis comprised only the countries between the Loire, the Seine, the Marne, and the Saone.* Such was the limitation of the different parts of Gaul, according to Pliny and Ptolemy. Unfortunately Strabo has confounded the older with the later division. He has taken Cæsar as his principal guide, but has so misunderstood his account as to have introduced numerous errors into the geography of Gaul, which have furnished a basis for a variety of hypothetical suppositions.

Strabo was so careless of his authority as to mistake entirely the situation of Gallia Celtica. He perceived not that Cæsar in his division of the three countries of independent Gaul, purposely omitted the Roman province, or Gallia Narbonensis, so named from its capital city Narbo, built by the consul Q. Martius Rex, 138 years before Christ, immediately after the conquest of that district by the Romans. Strabo terms the Roman province Gallia Celtica, or Κελτικὴ, and mentions no Celtic region in the northern parts of Gaul, or beyond Mons Cemmenus, the Cevennes, which he makes the northern boundary of Celtica. Gallia Celtica, according to Strabo, occupied the coast of the Mediterranean: it reached northward to the ridge or chain of hills just mentioned, and in length extended from the feet of the Pyrenees to those of the Ligurian Alps, or to the river Varno, in the neighbourhood of Nice and Antibes. The principal Celtic nations in this province were, as Strabo informs us, the Volcæ Tectosages and the Volcæ Arecomici, to the westward of the Rhone and in the mountainous countries to the eastward of that river, and

* See Mannert, Geographie der Griecher und Römer. Th. 2, i. b., i. 140.

the Salyes or Salluvians, considered by the early Greeks as a Ligurian tribe, but declared by later writers to have been Gauls. Strabo terms the Celtica of other writers merely Lugdunensis, from its capital city, and appears to have had no idea that it was inhabited by Celtic Gauls: he does not mark out the boundary between that province and Belgica. We therefore cannot wonder that he even looks upon the tribes in Britanny—the Veneti, Osismii, and others,—as Belgians, and terms them "Βέλγαι παρωκεανῖται," or Belgians of the sea coast.

Strabo's account throws everything that relates to the division of Gallic tribes into confusion, and his mistakes, as I have hinted, have furnished a pretence for some opinions maintained by later writers, which are quite at variance with what we collect from all other authorities. It is so much the more important to remark that his peculiar notions are entirely erroneous; and this will be the more readily admitted as he professes to follow Cæsar, while he has given a statement extremely different from that of his predecessor. In representing the Armoricans as Belgian nations he is not less in opposition to all other writers than in confining Gallia Celtica within the boundaries of the Roman province.

Pliny and Ptolemy, the latter apparently with the greatest accuracy, have enumerated the "civitates," or states, comprehended in the different Roman provinces of Gaul, as well as the principal towns in each district. A survey of the boundaries given to each province by these writers will assist us in coming to a conclusion in the inquiry what particular tribes belonged to each race.

It would appear that most of the tribes who lived on the northern border of Celtica, namely, on the Seine, possessed both banks of that river. These frontier nations are generally reckoned to belong to Gallia Lugdunensis or Celtica, though some of them appear from Cæsar's account to have been Belgæ: they were at least associated with Belgian nations in the great confederacies of that people. Thus, next to the mouth of the Seine we find the Caletes of Cæsar, the Caletæ and Calleti of Ptolemy and Pliny. On the sea-coast they reached nearly to the mouth of the Somme, and by Cæsar they are reckoned

as a Belgic tribe. Next to these, southward, were the Veliocasses, or Velii Casii, whose capital was Rotomagus, supposed to be Rouen. These were likewise, according to Cæsar, a Belgic tribe, though included in Lugdunensis. All the other tribes of the northern frontier appear to have been Celtic, namely, the Parisii, who inhabited the banks and islands of the Seine ; and whose close alliance with the Senones indicates that they were of the same division of Gaulish nations; the Meldi or Meldæ, who lived in the corner of land between the Seine and Marne, a little below Paris, and the Tricasses, about Troyes or Augustobona, which was their capital. These were probably Celts.

With respect to all the principal tribes of Gallia Lugdunensis, who were situated remotely from the boundaries which Cæsar assigns to Belgic Gaul, and in the central parts, there seems to be no room for doubt that they were of Celtic race. The Sequani and Helvetii in the east were transferred to Belgica, but the other nations known to the Romans before the first war of Cæsar against the Belgæ were always included among the Celts. They lived within the frontier marked out by Cæsar as the utmost limit of Celtica, and were further from Belgica than the Senones, who appear clearly from Cæsar's account of the Belgic war to have been Celts, and much nearer than the Rhemi, who, as the same writer affirms, were of all the Belgic tribes nearest to the Celtic frontier. Most of them were associated in the different confederacies of Celtic tribes which were formed on a principle of clanship or consanguinity. We do not indeed find in ancient writers the slightest hint that communities belonging to either of the great divisions were intermixed with or interspersed between others, or that nations living to the southward of the Seine were of Belgic origin, or that those far to the northward of that river were Celtæ. In the absence of particular information we have, therefore, a right to assume that tribes in the heart of Gallia Belgica were Belgians, and that those who were surrounded by the nations of Lugdunensis were really Celts. This is an important observation, because, if conceded, it will overturn the hypothetical systems of some late writers, who have assumed, without the slightest evidence, that there were Belgic tribes in the

middle of Celtic Gaul. It will still be worth while, for reasons which will hereafter appear, to enumerate the most remarkable tribes both of the Celtic and Belgic races. I shall begin with a short notice of the Aquitani and the nations to the southward of the Gallia Celtica of Cæsar.

I. Within the limits of Aquitania properly so termed, that is the old Aquitania of Cæsar before it was extended in the reign of Augustus, we have the following tribes:—

The Vasates or Vasatæ of Ausonius and Ammianus, are probably the Vocates of Cæsar, the Basavocates of Pliny, the Vasarii of Ptolemy, who inhabited the little territory of Bazadois. Their city was Cossium, soon termed Vasatæ, now Bazas.

The Elusates of Cæsar and Pliny in the present Condomois. The Auscii or Αυσκιοι were the most famous of the Aquitanian tribes: they inhabited Armagnac. Their city was Augusta, the Climberrum of Mela, the Peutingerian Table and Antonine's Itinerary, the Auscius of the Jerusalem Itinerary, now Auch, distant thirty-four leagues from Tolosa.

The Convenæ, a colony of mixed descent, relics of the Sertorian army, whose towns were Lugdunum, now St. Bertrand, Aquæ Convenarum, now Bagnères, Calagorris, Benebarnum, now Bearn. The Sociates, the Tarusates, the Garumni, the Bigerriones, the Preciàni, the Garites, Sibuzates, Cocosates are mentioned by Cæsar or Pliny. The Lectorates of Antoninus are supposed by Mannert to be the Sociates of Cæsar, whose town, not named by him, was perhaps the Lectura of the Itinerary.* The Tarbelli reached to the Pyrenees.

Nearly all these tribes bear names which evidently bespeak their Euskarian or Iberian origin. Except the Convenæ they were of the genuine Spanish, or Aquitanian race.

II. Tribes of the Roman Province, or of Gallia Narbonensis.

The Roman Province was considered by the ancients as a parallelogram, bounded by the Pyrenees on one side, and the feet of the Alps on the opposite, to the northward and southward by the sea and the ridge of Mount Cemmenus. It was

* These tribes and places are enumerated from Ptolemy and Pliny and from the geographical treatise of Mannert, in whose work they are mentioned more at length.

partly inhabited in remote times by Iberians and Ligurians. The principal Gallic tribes were—1. The nation called Volcæ, of whom the Tectosages and Arecomici were both branches. Nemausus and Tolosa, or Toulouse, were their principal towns. In the latter the Tectosages had deposited treasures accumulated in their expedition into Germany. The Arecomici inhabited the eastern parts of Languedoc. 2. The Allobroges, between the Rhone and the Isère. 3. Cavares. 4. Vocontii, between the Isère and the Durance. 5. Salluvii, reckoned by the Greeks of Marseilles as Ligurians.* These tribes came, long before Cæsar's time, under the Roman domination, and their country was called Gallia Braccata as distinguished from the Cisalpine, and Narbonensis at the foundation of Narbo; afterwards commonly the Province.† The names of rivers in the Province are evident relics of the Euskarian or Iberian languages, as Illerris, and Illiberris.‡

III. The following tribes are enumerated in that part of Gallia Celtica which was added to Aquitania.

1. The Pictones, from the mouth of the Loire southward to Poictou, which preserves their name. 2. The Agesinates. 3. Santones, from the mouth of the Gironde to Perigord eastward. 4. Bituriges Vibisci, or Iosci, or Vivisci, the only Celtic tribe to the southward of the Garonne. In the inland country were 1. the Lemovici in Limousin. 2. The Cadurci. 3. Petrocorii, of Perigord. 4. Nitiobriges. 5. Bituriges Cubi, of Berry, a powerful tribe who had twenty towns, separated from the Hædui by the Loire. 6. The Arverni, one of the most celebrated nations of Gaul. 7. Velauni. 8. Gabali, who worked silver mines in the Cevennes. 9. Ruteni.

* The Salyes or Saluvii, in whose country Marseilles was founded, were called by the Greek colonists Ligurians, as Strabo informs us, and they are so termed by Pliny: in later times, says Strabo, they were Celto-Ligyes, and Livy calls them "Salluvii Galli."—See Strabo, iv. p. 204. Zeuss conjectures that the Celtæ from the interior had conquered and had become mixed with the sea-coast Ligurians, who were hence called Celto-Ligurians, and by Livy, Galli. Zeuss, ubi supra, p. 163.

† These tribes of the Roman Province were, as we have seen, the nations who were first called Celti: to assume that they were Belgæ, on mere conjecture, as some late writers have done, seems to be setting all historical evidence at defiance.

‡ Humboldt, Prüfung der Untersuchungen, &c.

It may be remarked that all the tribes in the three subdivisions already mentioned, were separated from the Belgæ by the whole breadth of proper Celtic Gaul. The supposition that any of them were Belgians seems to contradict all historical evidence.

IV. Tribes of Gallia Celtica proper. 1. Tribes on the coast, from the Loire to the Seine.

1. Near the Loire were the Nannetes, Namnitæ, also Samnitæ, perhaps by mistake, in part of the diocese of Nantes. 2. The Venetes, in Vannes, known long before Cæsar to the Greeks, and mentioned by Scymnus Chius as a maritime people. 3. Corisopiti. 4. Osismii, near the promontory of Quimper-Corentin, known, according to Strabo, to Pytheas, who termed them—*τιμίους*,—honourable. 5. Biducesii, or Viducasses, in the duchy of Penthievre. 6. The Curiosolites, reckoned by Cæsar among the Armorican people. 7. Veneli. 8. Bodiocasses. 9. Lexubii.

2. Northern tribes in the interior.

1. Rhedones, near Rennes, reckoned among the Populi Aremorici, as were—2. The Ambibari. 3. Andicavi, the Andes of Cæsar. 4. Turones, in Touraine. 5. Aulerci, of whom there were three divisions, viz. the Diablintæ, the Cenomani, and the Eburovices or Eburaici, the two last of which were celebrated nations. The Aulerci Brannovices lived in the vicinity of the Hædui, to whose clientela or clanship they belonged. 6. Arvii, or Arubii. 7. Namnetæ of Ptolemy, different from the Nannetæ. 8. Abringcatui, supposed to have inhabited Avranches in Western Normandy. 9. Parisii.

3. Southern tribes in the interior.

1. Carnutes, inhabited an extensive territory on both sides of the Loire. Autricum, afterwards Civitas Carnotum, was their capital, now Chartres. 2. Trecasses. 3. Senones. 4. Meldi. 5. Vadicassii. 6. Mandubii. 7. Segusiani. 8. Hædui, who inhabited the country between the Liger and Arar, the Loire and the Saone, down as far as Lyons, namely, the greater part of Burgundy and the Nivernois. There is not the slightest reason for doubt that the Hædui were a Celtic tribe, as they were always considered by the ancients. They were most intimately connected with the Romans, whom they

assisted in wars against the Allobroges and Helvetii, and had they been of a different race from the other people of Celtica the fact would not have remained either concealed or unnoticed. 8. The Ambarri, mentioned, together with other tribes of this region of Gaul, in the celebrated invasion of Italy. 9. The Boii were, as Mannert observes, an ancient people of Celtic race, who dwelt, from the earliest times when known to us, partly in northern Italy, partly in the south of Germany, near the Danube. Pressed by German and other neighbouring nations, a part of the Boii passed into Bohemia; a part going westward became allies of the Helvetii, with whom they were defeated by Cæsar, and forced to seek refuge in the country of the Hædui, who took them into their protection. In all their political relations the Boii were quite separate from the Belgæ, among whom they have been reckoned by some late writers without a shadow of historical evidence. Cæsar was well acquainted with the Hædui and Boii at the time of his first war against the Belgæ, of whom he speaks as of a people hitherto altogether unknown. Cæsar indeed expressly affirms that the Rhemi were, of all the Belgian tribes, that situated most nearly to Celtica, that is the furthest towards the south.

## Section IV.—*Of the Belgæ.*

The existence of the Belgæ appears, as I have observed, to have been wholly unknown to the Romans until the time of Cæsar. They became an object of interest to the conqueror of Gaul on the occasion of a confederacy entered into by many of the Belgic tribes, with the view of resisting the encroachment of the Roman arms, under which a great part of Celtica had been already subjugated. On the first tidings of this confederation, Cæsar enjoined on the Senones and other Celtic tribes on the borders of the Belgæ, to watch their movements, and from the Rhemi, who of all the Belgic tribes lived nearest—viz. to the border of Celtica and to Italy—he inquired into the number and power of the states that were in league against him. "Quum ab his quæreret

quæ civitates, quantæque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat; plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis; Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse; solosque esse, qui, patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata, Teutones Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint. Qua ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria, magnam sibi auctoritatem, magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent." Cæsar afterwards enumerates the different Belgic tribes who entered into this alliance against the Romans, and it seems to be clearly implied that they constituted the great body of the Belgic nation. The tribes mentioned on this occasion are the Bellovaci, or people of the country about Beauvais, who were the most powerful of the Belgæ; the Suessiones, who had twelve towns; the Nervii, the most distant and the most barbarous tribe; the Atrebates, in Artois, the Ambiani, the Morini, the Menapii, the Caleti, the Velocasses and Veromandui, the Advatuci; lastly, the Condrusi, Eburones, Cæræsi and Pæmani, *who are comprehended under* the common appellation of "*Germans.*" From this enumeration it is worthy of remark that the Treveri are omitted, though they are elsewhere mentioned among the principal Belgian nations.

It is remarkable that although Cæsar had been told by the Rhemish people, in general terms, that most of the Belgæ were of German origin, he yet in coming to a particular enumeration mentions four tribes who were by distinction termed Germans, as if the claim of a German extraction was not so well established with respect to the rest.

The question, what Belgic tribes were of German origin and what were of the Celtic stock, or allied to it, seems to have recurred to several subsequent writers, and Tacitus and Strabo have attempted a solution.

Tacitus thinks it probable that Gallic tribes in earlier times frequently emigrated into Germany: he mentions the Boii, who occupied Bohemia, and the Helvetii, as undoubtedly Gauls. Respecting the Osi of Germany, and the Aravisci of Pannonia, both having the same manners and language, he is in doubt whether the Osi migrated into Germany or the

Aravisci into Pannonia.* Tacitus here seems to reckon Pannonia a part of Gaul, or rather of the country inhabited by Celtic nations, which we shall hereafter find to have been the case. The river which he supposes once to have been traversed by these two nations must be the Danube, and not the Rhine. He adds, speaking more particularly of the Belgæ, that the Treveri and Nervii are ambitious of being thought of German origin, as if the reputation of their descent would distinguish them from the Gauls, whom they resembled in person and effeminacy. The Vangiones, Tribocci, and Nemetes, who inhabit the bank of the Rhine, are, as he says, without doubt German tribes. To these Tacitus adds the Ubii and the Batavi, the last a tribe of the German Chatti.

We have here three Belgian tribes, besides the Ubii and Batavi,—which last are scarcely ever mentioned as Gauls,—comprehended, besides the four of Cæsar, under the appellation of Germans. It is plain that Tacitus disbelieved the claim to a German descent set up by other tribes. None of the great nations of Belgic Gaul are among the tribes allowed by Tacitus to have been of German origin. The Belgic communities really German were some small tribes near the Rhine, among whom the Ubii and Tribocci are hardly reckoned as Gauls, but as tribes recently descended from the Germans.

Strabo has taken some pains to distinguish the German tribes who had settled themselves among the Belgæ. He says—"Next to the Helvetii, in the descent of the river, the bank of the Rhine is inhabited by the Sequani and the Mediomatrices, among whom are settled a German nation, the Tribocci, who passed over from their own country. In the country of the Sequani is Mount Jura, which separates them from the Helvetii. Beyond the Helvetii and Sequani, towards the west, dwell the Hædui and Lingones, beyond the Medromatrices, the Leuci, and part of the Lingones." He then

* In another passage Tacitus seems to conclude that the Osi were from Pannonia, because they spoke the Pannonian language, viz. probably the dialect of the Aravisci. If these were not a Celto-Pannonian people, there seems to be no reason for mentioning them in this passage cited in the text, which refers simply to the mutual inroads of the Gauls and Germans on each other.

goes on to describe the situation of other Celtic tribes, and returns to the Belgæ and the Rhemi. "Next to the Medromatrices and Tribocci, the border of the Rhine is inhabited by the Treveri, in whose territory the bridge was lately built by the Romans in their invasion of Germany. The opposite side of the Rhine was the country of the Ubii, who were brought, with their own consent, by Agrippa to inhabit the southern bank of the river. Contiguous to the country of the Treveri is that of the Nervii, who are likewise a German nation."

It appears then that the Ubii and Tribocci are, according both to Tacitus and Strabo, certainly Germans; to these Strabo adds the Nervii. By thus admitting, in express and distinguishing terms, the German relations of some particular tribes, it is evident that these writers deny the same pretensions to the other tribes. The Treveri seem to be purposely excluded by Tacitus, and they are never once mentioned by Strabo as a German people.*

On comparing these observations and inspecting M. d'Anville's map of ancient Gaul, the reader will easily perceive what parts of Belgica were, in the age of Strabo and Tacitus, in the possession of German tribes. The Belgic Germans of Cæsar were the four tribes of Condrusi, Eburones, Cæresi, and Pæmani. These were afterwards included, together with the Batavi, Tungri†, and Toxandri, in the Roman province of Germania Secunda, or Inferior, the Cæresi alone among them encroaching upon that of Belgica Prima. On the banks of the Rhine in the same province were the Ubii, reckoned by Cæsar as Germans, but, by Strabo and Tacitus, mentioned among the German tribes settled in Belgica. The province of Germania Inferior bordered on the Lower Rhine, the Meuse, and the Saave. Germania Prima, or Superior, reaching along the Rhine from above Strasburg to

* That they were Gauls and not Germans is proved by the testimony of St. Jerom, already cited, who says that they spoke nearly the same language as the Tectosages. It cannot be imagined that the Volcæ Tectosages, who lived in Upper Languedoc, were a German people. Hordes of the same nation who invaded Thrace, under Brennus, were the ancestors of the people of whom Jerom made this remark.

† Mannert supposes that the Tungri, whose name was unknown in Cæsar's time, were a confederate people, comprehending the tribes of Condrusi, Eburones, Cæresi, and Pæmani.—Mannert, b. 1. p. 199.

Mentz or Moguntiacum, comprehends the country of the Nemetes, Tribocci, and Vangiones, who are the German Belgic tribes mentioned by Tacitus. The only tribe added to this number by Strabo are the Nervii, who inhabited the parts of Belgica Prima bordering on Germania Inferior.

It is very observable that the Romans, in distributing the countries of Northern Gaul into provinces, termed respectively Germania Superior and Inferior, and Belgica Prima and Secunda, appear to have recognised the difference of population above noticed.* The two Germanies on the left bank of the Rhine comprehended almost precisely the districts occupied by the tribes of undoubtedly German origin. These tribes are thus separated by a distinct line from the more populous and extensive nations, who inhabited the heart of Belgica, and to whom all the principal Belgic cities belonged. These Belgic Germans are still further separated from those Belgic tribes, who appear to have sent colonies across the channel, and to have constituted a part of the population of South Britain.

* The division of the genuine Belgic from the German tribes, which I have thus collected from the Roman writers, agrees nearly with the opinion of Schœpflin, of which coincidence I was not aware, until I had completed the enumeration in the text.

Schœpflin reckons the Eburones, Tungri, Nervii, Condrusi, Pæmani, Menapii, and Treveri as the "advenas Germaniæ populos, qui ante Cæsaris tempora in Galliam transierant." He adds, "Mediomatrici, Rhemi, Suessiones, Bellovaci, Veromandui, Ambiani, Atrebates, aliique plures ex priscis Galliæ indigenis fuerant."—Alsatia Illustrata, Period. Celt. s. 118.

M. Raoux, in a late memoir, which obtained the prize offered by the Royal Academy of Science and Belles-Lettres of Bruxelles, in 1825, has investigated the history of the different Belgic tribes. He concludes that those tribes were of German origin who occupied the districts between the Rhine and the Marne, Liége, Brabant, the two Flanders, and the provinces of Namur and Hainault, while the Belgic tribes nearer to the Marne, the Seine, and the Somme, viz. the Rhemi, Suessiones, Veromandui, Bellovaci, Ambiani, Caleti, Atrebates, and Morini, were proper Belgæ, having no affinity to the Germans. But Schœpflin and M. Raoux appear to have admitted the Treveri into the list of German tribes on no sufficient grounds. I must refer to what has been said upon this point above, where my reasons have been stated for believing them to have been Belgic Gauls, and I shall have occasion for some further remarks on this subject in a following section. In other respects, these writers appear to be nearly correct. M. Raoux thinks the boundaries of the ancient Belgic Germans to have been nearly those of the Flemish and Dutch languages; and that the Belgic Gauls occupied the country of the present Walloons.—Mémoire en réponse à la question proposée par l'Académie de Sc. et de Belles-Lett. de Bruxelles.

The original Belgæ were distinguishable from the Germans in many respects. They had more settled abodes, and cities well known by name, and what is a greater distinction, they had with the Celts one common religion, and submitted to the Druidical hierarchy. I shall hereafter adduce sufficient proof, that they had a language cognate to that of the Gauls, and unlike the German. At present I shall only venture on this assertion in reference to one of the Belgic tribes. The Treveri preserved their native language, which they spoke in the time of St. Jerom. That father of the church asserts that nearly the same language was spoken by the Galatians, in Asia Minor. The Galatians, as we shall find, came originally from the remote parts of Celtic Gaul. Their language was certainly not German.

It is probable that in Cæsar's time some of the most warlike tribes in the Belgic confederation were of the number of emigrants from Germany, who had lately taken their place among the inhabitants of Belgica, and had, perhaps, assumed the name of Belgians. The greater prowess and valour of these tribes rendered them conspicuous among the nations enrolled in the league for common warfare and mutual defence. They were not the great number, but it became a matter of boast and affectation, as Tacitus informs us, to be considered as belonging to that party. Even the Treveri affected it; and perhaps some families or clans among them may have crossed the Rhine, but the great mass of the nation were Gauls.

After this survey of the principal nations of Gaul, I shall proceed to enumerate the various colonies sent out by the Gauls into different countries; and, subsequently, I shall attempt to investigate the relations of the Belgæ and the Celts.

## Section V.—*Of the Settlements of the Celtic Nations beyond the Limits of Gaul. First, of the Celtic Colonies in Italy.*

The Gauls, as we have seen, inhabited extensive districts beyond the boundaries of the country which bore their name, and was considered as their proper abode. It is not clear that all these settlements were colonies from Gaul, but in

some instances we have evidence that this was the fact, as in that of the colonization of Britain, which however falls beyond the reach of history. There were historical traditions of the conquest of northern Italy by the Gauls, and of a migration, supposed to have taken place at the same period, into some parts of Germany. I shall collect the accounts which are left of these events before I proceed further.

In the time of Cæsar, and perhaps for some ages before, the power of the Celts seems to have been—owing to causes for ever hidden from our research—on the decline. We have the testimony of that writer that they had, in earlier periods, possessed much greater sway: "There was formerly," he says, "a time when the Gauls surpassed the Germans in bravery, and made war upon them, and on account of the multitude of their own people and the scarcity of land, sent colonies beyond the Rhine." * Tacitus confirms this account.† "That great writer, Divus Julius, asserts that the Gauls were formerly the superior people, in comparison with the Germans, whence it is probable that some Gallic colonies passed over into Germany: for how small an obstacle would a river be to prevent any nation, as it increased in strength, from occupying or changing settlements as yet lying in common and unappropriated by the power of monarchies!"

The earliest expedition of the Gauls, of which we have any account that bears at all the appearance of historical narrative, is that of the Bituriges and other confederate tribes, who are said to have overrun and conquered Cisalpine Gaul from the Etruscans, and, after expelling that people, to have retained the permanent possession of their country till the period of the Roman conquest. The following is the account of this event given by Livy: he says, "In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome, the Bituriges held the supreme authority among the Celtæ, and gave them a king named Ambigatus. The kingdom of Ambigatus was very flourishing, and so populous that in his own age the king found the multitude too great for easy government, and ordered his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, to lead a colony whither the gods

* Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi. 24. † Tacitus, De Germ. Mor. c. xxiii.

should direct them by augury. The Hercynian Forest fell by lot to Sigovesus, but the gods gave Bellovesus a far more pleasant province in Italy.

"He assembled the superabundant people from the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Hædui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci,—tribes situated in the heart of Celtic Gaul,—and marching out with great forces of foot and horse, came southwards into the country of the Tricastini, in Dauphiné. They were soon afterwards stopped by the Alps, which appeared to them impassable." Here Livy introduces the legend that the Gauls assisted the Phocæans in establishing themselves at Marseilles, in the country of the Salyes; which may have afforded the hint for his computation of the period of their march. He continues to relate that they passed through the Taurini and their pathless forests over the Alps. The Taurini were, according to Strabo,* a Ligurian people: they have left their name in Turin. "Having defeated an army of Tuscans not far from the river Ticinus, where they heard that the country where they had encamped was called Insubria, a name which belongs to a canton of the Hædui, they adopted that favourable omen, and built a city which they termed Mediolanum."

"Subsequently another body of the Cenomani, under the conduct of Elitovius and aided by Bellovesus, following the footsteps of the former, and having passed through the same wildernesses over the Alps, settled in the places where Brixia and Verona are now, then possessed by the Libui.†"

"After them the Salluvii, near the ancient people termed Lævi, who were Ligurians, settled near the river Ticinus."

"Afterwards the Boii and Lingones came over the Pennine Alps, and finding all the country between the Alps and the Po occupied, passed over that river by rafts, and expelled not only the Etruscans but the Umbrians also, from their territory; yet they confined themselves within the Apennines."

"Then the Senones, the last of the new comers, possessed themselves of the country reaching from the river Utens to

* Strabo, p. 202.

† According to Ptolemy, lib. iii. c. 1, the Cenomani had the Bresciano, the Cremonese, Mantuan, and the Venetian territory. But we know that the Veneti were not expelled by them.

the Aesis. This was the nation, as I learn, which came to Clusium and to Rome, but it is not certain whether they came alone or assisted by all the nations of Cisalpine Gaul. Livy adds that the expedition of the Gauls into Italy took place two hundred years before they laid siege to Clusium, which was in the year of Rome 363.

Polybius has given us a short account of the settlement of the Gauls in the Cisalpine. After describing Italy in general and the river Po, which he says was termed by the people of the country Bodencus, he adds that the Tuscans formerly possessed all the open country, and at the same time were masters of the coasts now called Phlægria, bordering on Capua and Nola. "The present Tyrrhenians are," he says, "of very limited power compared with their ancestors in the times which we describe." The Gauls, who lived in their neighbourhood and had intercourse with them, beholding so beautiful a country with envy, raised a numerous army, and attacking the Tuscans by surprise, forced them to abandon all the region bordering on the Po, and peopled it themselves. The first parts of it, near the sources of the river, were seized upon by the Laians and Lebecians.* Next to these were the Insubres, who were the greatest nation among them; afterwards, along the river, the Cenomani. Below all these, the country towards the Adriatic was possessed by the Veneti, a very ancient people resembling the Gauls in dress and manners, but speaking a different language. On the other side the Po, the first in order and nearest to the Apennines were the Ananes, and next to them the Boii. Between the Boii and the Adriatic were the Galli Lingones, and lower down upon the coast were the Senones. Polybius then proceeds to describe the manners of the Cisalpine Gauls. He says that they dwell in open villages without walls, had few or no movables, slept without beds, and lived upon flesh, their occupations being husbandry and war, their substance consisting in cattle and gold. They became not only masters of the country, but compelled the neighbouring nations to obey them. At length they made war upon the Romans, and took the city, except the capitol.

Both Livy and Polybius evidently suppose the colonisation

* Λάοι καὶ Λεβέκιοι.

of the Cisalpine countries by the Gauls to have taken place gradually, by successive migrations across the Alps, and to have commenced long before the taking of Rome by Brennus. Livy interposes two centuries between these events; and Polybius appears to separate them by a long interval. Niebuhr, however, maintains that this was a mistake. He asks, "Is it possible that any body, for the sake of upholding Livy's account, can seriously persuade himself that the same people, which, when it had crossed the Apennines, pressed forward in a single movement from Clusium to Rome, and then pursued its course, uninterruptedly, through the midst of the most warlike nations of Italy and their pathless mountains, as far as Apulia, should have taken two centuries to cross over, at a snail's pace, from the Alps to the Po?"* Niebuhr prefers the statement of Diodorus, that the migration of the Gauls over the Alps took place immediately before the taking of Rome, and as it coincides with his opinion, he attaches more than usual weight to the testimony of Plutarch in this particular.† But Plutarch, in his life of Camillus, expressly affirms that a considerable interval elapsed between the two events;‡ nor is there anything im-

* Otfried Müller contends strongly against this opinion of Niebuhr. He admits that the epoch assigned to the Celtic invasion of Italy is probably taken from that of the foundation of Marseilles, which is commonly referred to the age of Tarquinius Priscus; but he shows that there is nothing in this circumstance, or in the tradition of the Massillians, that they settled under the protection of the Segobriges, incompatible with probability. Müller shows, moreover, that the early date assigned to the Celtic invasion is supported by historical testimony. For an account given by Dionysius, probably from the Cumæan annals, stated that the Tyrrheni, driven by Celts from the neighbourhood of the Ionian sea, had, together with Umbrians and Daunians, assailed the city of Cumæ in the 64th Olympiad, and, therefore, as early as the reign of the second Tarquin. It appears also, from a speech of Alcibiades, reported by Thucyd. vi. 90, that the Celtæ were known to the Gauls as victorious and formidable barbarians in the 91st Olympiad. (Karl Otfried Müller, Etrusker, Einleit. s. 152.)

† Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 528, 552. Translation.

‡ Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπράχθη συχνῷ τινὶ χρόνῳ πρότερον. The way in which Niebuhr disposes of Plutarch's statement is quite characteristic. After showing that he undoubtedly took his statement, in the first instance, from the lost parts of Dionysius, he subjoins in reference to the passage above cited, that as *Plutarch had also Livy lying before him, he has added this last account in contradiction to himself*. But Plutarch's first account is brief and indefinite, and it is somewhat arbitrary to refuse him the privilege of correcting his own statement by a more particular reference to circumstances.

probable in the account given by Livy, that the destruction of Rome was the result of a new inroad of Transalpine Gauls. The colonising expeditions of the Gauls took place, as we have seen, in various directions, and it may be presumed that all these emigrations were not simultaneous. The causes which gave rise to them may have been something permanent in the social condition of the Celtic tribes, or in the physical circumstances of the country which they inhabited; and these movements were probably repeated from time to time, as in later ages were those of the northern Teutonic people, from the era of Marius to the invasion of Italy by the Langobards. What were the particular causes which gave rise to the earliest of these migrations from Gaul, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to determine. Niebuhr conjectures that they were occasioned by the pressure of Iberian tribes from the south, who were driving the Gauls out of the north of Spain, and out of Aquitaine; but we have no evidence that the Gauls ever possessed those countries, and it is very improbable that a people so feeble as were the Iberians, in comparison of the Celts, should have succeeded in expelling the latter, a warlike race of mountaineers, from the whole line of the Pyrenees. Thierry and others have imputed the same movements to the encroachment of the Belgæ from the north, supposing that at the same period they were crossing the Rhine, and driving the Celtæ out of the north of Gaul; but if such a movement ever took place, there is no sufficient reason for connecting it in point of time with the migration of the Celts from the southern provinces. An excess of population, and the desire of plunder and of possessing by force the towns and better cultivated lands belonging to neighbouring and less warlike people, were the causes to which the ancient writers ascribe these emigrations of the Gauls; and there is much probability that this is the true account: we are assured that similar circumstances have given rise to corresponding effects in later times, of which the repeated invasions of southern Europe by the northern nations are universally known examples.

Nearly all the tribes mentioned as dividing between them the Cisalpine territory were branches of nations cele-

brated among the Transalpine Celts. Strabo says expressly that the Italian Gauls were—ὁμοεθνεῖς—of the same races with the Transalpine tribes.* Ottfried Müller has observed that the accounts given by the ancient writers of their setting out and gradual advances, and of the circumstances attending the invasion of Italy, are consistent with all that we know of the manners of these barbarous nations, and even Niebuhr admits that Livy certainly drew his narrative, however he may have obtained it, from a genuine Celtic tradition. The migration appears to have taken place in two principal masses: the first movement was made by several nations, mostly from the neighbourhood of the Loire, combined, under a ruling clan, the Bituriges. This is a kind of federal relation frequent among the Celtic tribes. We find in Italy, in like manner, the Lingones, under the clientela of the Boii.† The Bituriges, with their confederate nations, possessed the centre of Celtic Gaul. In their land was Avaricum, a strongly fortified and populous town, in Cæsar's time the chief city of Gaul. The migratory march of these confederate tribes was at first directed towards the south of Gaul, where the Ligurian nations were at that time spread over an extensive region. The latter appear to have been subdued by the Celts, and to have accompanied them in their invasion of Italy as subordinate allies. Accordingly, in the midst of the new settlement conquered for themselves by these nations of the Loire, which had the name of Insubria and Milan for its metropolis, we find the city of Novaria founded by the Vertacomacores, termed by Pliny Vocontii, who, according to Cato, were a Ligurian people.‡ Near them, around Vercellæ, and likewise under the protection of the Insubres, the Salyes, or Salluvii settled themselves, together with the Libici, and lower down on the Ticinus, the Lævi and Marici, also Ligurians.§ The march of the Cenomani must be considered as a sequel or concluding part of this first migration, since the latter were a subdivision of the Aulerci, and among the subor-

* Strabo, lib. v. p. 298. Oxford ed.

† Cluver. Ital. Ant. p. 271. Müller, Etrusker Einl. p. 154.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. 21.

§ Plin. ibid. Polyb. 2. Müller, ibid. p. 155.

dinate clans of the same Bituriges. They likewise took up their abode at first in the countries near Marseilles;* and lastly, they passed by the same road as the troops of Bellovesus, viz. over the Taurine Alps into Italy. By these collective tribes, nearly all the country beyond the Po, which had belonged to the Etruscans, was subdued from the Western Alps down as far as the site of Verona. The second migration must be looked upon as an event altogether distinct from the foregoing. It happened later in time, from a different quarter, and by a different path. The Boii and Lingones issued from the eastern parts of Gaul, and descended into Italy from the north over the Pennine Alps, unmixed with Ligurians. The Lingones came from the neighbourhood of Langres and the sources of the Seine.† The Boii perhaps issued from a neighbouring region, but we know not the original position of this tribe. They passed through the settlements of the Insubres towards the south, and gradually advanced into that part of northern Italy which yet belonged to the Etruscans to the southward of the Po. Laus Pompeii, or Lodi on the Addua, was founded by the Boii, in their transit.‡ At a later period, all the country from thence to the mouth of the Po belonged to the Insubres, and the Boii were confined to the southern bank, where they occupied the region between the river and the Apennine, including the territories of Parma, Modena, and the Tuscan Felsina.§ The Senones came by themselves, and as their migration was the last, they were obliged to pass over the countries conquered by their predecessors, and find a new abode for themselves farther towards the south. They occupied, as we have seen, districts in Umbria, on the coast of the Adriatic.‖

The fate of these tribes in after times is briefly sketched by Strabo. He remarks that the country near the Po was for-

* Cenomanos juxta Massiliam habitâsse in Volcis, Cato auctor est. Plinius, H. N. 3, 19.

† D'Anville thus places them. Ptolemy says the Lingones and Leuci were under Mount Jura. He seems to make them conterminous with the Helvetii. Their chief town Andomatunum is Langres.

‡ Plin. 3, 17. § Polyb. 2, 32. ‖ Livius, Plin. ubi supra.

merly inhabited by numerous Celtic tribes. "The most considerable among these Celtic nations," he adds, "were the Boii, the Insubri, and the Senones, who with the Gæsatæ, destroyed the city of Rome. These last, the Senones, were afterwards entirely destroyed by the Romans; but the Boii were driven out of their seats. The Insubri are still in existence. They had Mediolanum for their metropolis, which was formerly a village, for they all inhabited villages, but now a considerable city beyond the Po, and adjoining the Alps. Near to Milan, they have Verona, also a large city, and the smaller ones of Brexia, Mantua, Regium, and Comum. Comum (Como) was at first also a small town."*

The Boii appear to have taken a principal share in this migration across the Alps, as in all the expeditions of the Celtic nations. Pliny, in describing the country in Cisalpine Gaul, from which they had been expelled, says that Cato reported the number of their tribes to have been one hundred and twelve.† Niebuhr seems inclined to suppose that the Gauls in Pannonia and Noricum were a part of these Boii from the Cisalpine, and it appears that Strabo had this meaning: but there was a great part of the Gallic race, as we shall presently observe, already in the countries beyond Helvetia, on the banks of the Danube, and in the eastern parts of Germany, and in Noricum and Pannonia.

I have been the more careful to collect the particular statements, and to illustrate the general tenour of information given by ancient writers, respecting the settlements of the Gauls in Italy, on account of certain disputed points connected with the history of this invasion. Some matters of importance in reference to the general history of the Celtic race, will be found to turn upon the question to what department of nations the Cisalpine Gauls belonged. Some have declared that the invaders were not Celtic, but Teutonic tribes, and they defend the assertion on the ground that the conquerors of Italy, as well as those of Asia Minor afterwards to be mentioned, are

* Strabo, lib. 5. p. 300. Ed. Oxon. † Plin. H. N. 3. c. 15.

reported by the ancient writers to have been a people of fair, or xanthous complexion. If it were demonstrated that the different complexions of mankind are specific characters, and as permanent as the difference between horses and asses, the circumstance that the Celts are reported to have resembled the Teutonic nations in this respect would be a very perplexing one: but that, as I have already shown in the former parts of this work, and as I shall have occasion further to prove hereafter, is by no means the case. Many ancient authorities testify that the Celtic tribes were in some instances as fair as the Teutones themselves. But postponing this consideration for the present, it will be admitted by those who candidly estimate the authority of the statements above collected, that the emigrants from Gaul into the valley of the Po were certainly Gauls, and not Germans. Neither is there any ground, however slight, for the assertion, that some of them were Belgic, while others were Celtic Gauls. The tribes of the first migration, who formed the great mass, or the clans led by the leaders of the Bituriges, came principally from the neighbourhood of the Loire, and from the heart of Celtic Gaul. This may be said likewise of the Cenomani, who are found near the upper country of the Loire, and to the westward of the Senones. The alliance between the Cenomanians and the Bituriges, whose leaders assisted their enterprise, confirms their Celtic origin. The Insubres were clans in the territory of the Hædui, and associated with that powerful nation, who, by all their political connections, are well ascertained to have been Celtæ, and who as such were known at Rome long before the Belgæ were ever heard of.* In describing them particularly, Cæsar evidently professes to give a specimen of the Gallic, which at that time meant the Celtic character. Indeed, the circumstance that the Hædui formed a part of the confederacy of the Bituriges, is of itself an argument that they were of the Celtic family. The Boii in Gaul, in Italy, and in

* Divitiacus, prince of the Hædui, a Druid, was the hospes, or family friend, of Atticus, and expounded to Cicero the Celtic doctrine of the metempsychosis.

their different settlements in Germany are always mentioned as Celts, and expressly so termed. All their connections were with Celtic tribes. Of all the tribes mentioned, the Senones were situated farthest towards the north: they approached the borders of the Belgæ. That the Senones were a Celtic tribe is sufficiently clear, from their situation to the southward of the Seine; and they are always mentioned by Cæsar and other writers in connection with the Celts, and as taking part in the disputes of the Celtic Gauls, but are not by any writer termed Belgians, or named as entering the frequent confederations of the Belgic race. Cæsar indeed evidently includes these among the Celtic Gauls when he says that the Rhemi were of all the Belgian tribes nearest to the province. Pinkerton, the principal abettor of the opinion which ascribes Belgic origin to the Cisalpine Gauls, asserts, without a doubt, that the Senones had no share in this migration; but that the people so termed were the Semnones, a totally different people, and inhabiting a remote part of Germany, and forming a subdivision of the great Suevic, or northern German race. Such a way of getting rid of difficulties which lie in the way of an hypothetical theory, is too bold an adventure on the ignorance or indolence of the reader.

On the whole, it appears to be the legitimate result of historical research, that all the Cisalpine Gauls are referable to the Celtic part of the Gaulish nations. Some additional confirmation of this opinion will be found in the sequel.*

* M. Thierry ventures to discriminate these tribes into two departments, and thinks one class Celtic and the other Belgic, that is, in his system, Welsh. The only ground for this attempt is his finding in the Irish or Gaelic language words which he conjectures to be etymons for the names of one class, and in the Welsh words which, with a little etymological ingenuity, will serve for epithets of the other set of tribes. Thus the Boii are said to have been Belgians by M. Thierry, merely because 'Bwg' means "*a bogle*," or ugly spectre, in Welsh. But if this etymology of the name were allowed, it would prove nothing to the purpose, unless it were first established that the Welsh was the dialect of the Belgæ.

## Section VI.—*Of the Expeditions of the Gauls across the Rhine, and their Colonies in Germany, Noricum, and Pannonia.*

Livy connects, as we have seen, the first expedition of the Gauls across the Alps, said to have been conducted by Bellovesus, with another migration under Sigovesus into the heart of Germany. Both these enterprises were undertaken, according to him, by tribes belonging to the confederacy of the Bituriges. The followers of Sigovesus made their way into the Hercynian Forest.

Several other writers mention emigrations of Gauls into the Hercynian Forest. By Tacitus the people who occupied that part of Germany are said to have been Boii, neighbours and allies of the Helvetii. Cæsar says, "that the most fertile parts of Germany in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian Forest, mentioned by Eratosthenes under the appellation of Orcynia, fell to the share of the Volcæ Tectosages, who settled in those parts and had ever since kept possession. They were in the highest reputation for justice and bravery, and no less remarkable than the Germans for poverty, abstinence, and patience of fatigue, conforming exactly to the customs of that people both in habit and the way of living."*

Cæsar appears to term the Gauls who inhabited the Hercynian Forest by a general epithet, Volcæ Tectosages. A people thus denominated are well known as a principal tribe in the south-western part of Gaul, between the Pyrenees and the mountains of Cemmenus, or the Cevennes. They are mentioned by Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy, Mela, Livy, and others; and by the concurrent opinion of all the ancient writers are identified with the Tectosages or Tectosagi, the most powerful and celebrated of the three divisions or clans of Galatæ, who held the greater part of Asia Minor in subjection. The Volcæ of Gaul were divided into Volcæ Arecomici and Volcæ Tectosages. The former inhabited the west side of the Rhone, and their capital was Nemausus. The latter approached the Pyrenean mountains and had for their metropolis Tolosa or

* Tacitus, Germ. 28. Cæsar, Bell. Gall. 6. 24.

Toulouse. They were a people well known to the Romans, for it was in their territory that the city of Narbo was built by the Consul Q. Martius Rex, which became the capital of the province of Narbonensis. The Tectosages joined the Cimbri against the Romans, and were defeated by Sylla, who took prisoner one of their kings named Copillus.

The Tectosagi in the Hercynian Forest, by which name the old geographers designated a vast tract stretching through all the southern part of Germany, from the Schwartzwald in Swabia along the whole course of the Danube as far as the limits of Dacia,* were neighbours and confederates of another Celtic tribe, who, of all others, were most celebrated for their repeated migrations. The Boii were among the most warlike of the tribes of Cisalpine Gauls, and they were joined with the Senones in the sacking of Rome. Posidonius, as cited by Strabo, relates that the Boii formerly inhabited the Hercynian Forest, and there repulsed the invasion of the Cimbri.† Ancient as well as modern writers differ as to the early seats of these people: Strabo was of opinion that the Boii of Germany were emigrants from Italy; that they had been a fugitive part of the Boii who had been long settled to the southward of the Po, in the Cisalpine; but the account which he gives of this passage in their history has been shown to be erroneous by M. Zeuss.‡ Strabo says "the greatest of the Celtic nations, viz. in Cisalpine Gaul, were the Boii, the Insubri, and the Senones, who, together with the Gæsatæ, made an incursion on Rome and gained possession of the city. These last, the Senones, were afterwards entirely destroyed by the Romans; but the Boii were driven out of their country, and passing over to the neighbourhood of the Danube, took up their abode with the Taurisci, and fought with them against the Dacians till they were completely extirpated, and

* Cæsar de B. G. 6. c. 24. 25. "Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus, rectâque fluminis Danubii regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium: hinc se flectit sinistrorsus." According to this representation the Hercynian Forest must have occupied Swabia, Bavaria, Austria, and part of Hungary to the river Theiss, and in the neighbourhood of the Theiss have reached northward towards Silesia and Bohemia.

† Strabo, lib. 7. p. 293. ed. Casaub.

‡ Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, von Kaspar Zeuss. München, 1837.

left their country, which was a part of the Illyrian territory, a desert and sheep-pasture for the neighbouring people." * "The region on this—the southern—side of the Po had been occupied by the Boii and Ligurians, and Senones, and Gæsatæ, for the most part: but after the Boii were driven out and the Gæsatæ and Senones were extirpated, the Ligurian tribes alone remained with the Roman colonies." † It seems very unlikely, as M. Zeuss observes, that while all the other Celtic nations in Italy were equally pressed by the Roman arms, the Boii should alone take flight; yet their emigration must be considered as an established fact, if Strabo's account should be confirmed by other authorities. But it is in reality contradicted. Strabo, as we have seen, separates the fate of the Boii from that of the Senones: the latter were extirpated, the former were driven out. But Pliny declares that both nations experienced the same fate. He even mentions the place where they were destroyed. "In hoc tractu interierant Boii, quorum tribus CXII fuisse auctor est Cato; item Senones." ‡ Livy, who describes circumstantially their subjugation by the Consul P. Cornelius Scipio, A.U.C. 561, or 191 B.C., declares that the Boii perished in an immense and unexampled slaughter, which left no survivors except children and men far advanced in age, and that their country was colonised by Romans,§ to whom the property of half their land was transferred. Thus the name of the Boii perished in Italy not by emigration, but by a massacre destructive of the effective strength of the tribe, and by the remainder becoming Romanised. M. Zeuss has further observed that Strabo, by enumerating, together with the Boii and Senones, the Gæsatæ ‖ as a distinct Cisalpine tribe, proves the carelessness or falsehood of the writer, or of the account which he has followed. There was no particular tribe of that name, and Gæsatæ was only the epithet of mercenary soldiers, hired from the neighbourhood of the Alps

* Strabo, lib. 5, p. 212, 213.
† Ibid. p. 216.
‡ Plin. H. N. lib. 3. c. 15.
§ T. Liv. lib. 36. c. 38, 39, 40.
‖ Gæsatæ were a sort of mercenary troops to whom recourse was had occasionally by the Celtic nations. Polybius thinks their name was taken from the circumstance that they were accustomed to serve for hire. Γαισὸς is the epithet of a sort of iron weapon used by the Gauls. (Polyb. 2. 22.)

and the Rhone, who were thus termed from the nature of their weapons. It seems then highly probable that the story of the expulsion of the Boii arose from a mere conjecture, that the Boii on the Rhine, who bore the same name and probably spoke the same language as the Boii of the Cisalpine, were the descendants of that conquered people.*

It is on the whole the most probable conclusion that the Italian Boii, or the tribe of that nation which had settled in Cisalpine Gaul, never returned into the north, and had no part in the late enterprises and misfortunes of their transalpine kinsmen. The latter were a widely-spread and most restless and warlike race, of Celtic origin, as all historians testify,† but who are not known to have had any fixed abodes to the westward of the Rhine or in proper Gaul: their name might be considered as almost synonymous with Celtæ of Germany. We find them frequently associated with the Tectosagi, and locally with the Hercynian Forest. There they were so powerful a hundred and fourteen years before the Christian era, as to resist successfully the invasion of the Cimbri. Cæsar describes the Boii as inhabiting the country beyond the Rhine. They had already invaded Noricum and had taken the city of Noreja: ‡ this indicates that their territory, or the country over which they wandered, was very extensive, and reached along the Danube from its source to the heart of Germany. There the city of Boiodurum,—situated on the traject of the Danube at the confines of Noricum and Vindelicia, where the river Oenus, or Inn, flows through both provinces, which, in a period when the Boii had become extinct, is enumerated by Ptolemy among the cities of Vindelicia,—seems to preserve a memorial of their abode. The principal country of the Boii was to the northward of the Danube; they bordered towards the west on the Helvetii, who, according to Tacitus, had been the inhabitants of the country between the Rhine and the Mayne, and towards the north-east they reached into Bohemia or Boiohemum, i. e. the Home

* Die Deutschen, &c., von M. Zeuss, s. 246.

† Tacitus expressly declares that the Helvetii and Boii were Gauls. (Ger. c. 27.)

‡ Bell. Gall. 1. c. 5.

or *Heim* of the Boii. Thence they were expelled by the Marcomanni, under Maroboduus, in the time of Augustus Cæsar.* The fugitives are supposed to have carried their name into Boioaria, now Bavaria.

The final extinction of the Boiic name in Germany is related at length by Strabo. It seems that after they had taken up their seat in Bavaria, they became allies of the Taurisci or Norici under a prince named Critasirus: then both parties carried on war with the Dacian king named Boerebistes, and were exterminated in a great battle. A remnant however escaped to the neighbouring Taurisci or Norici.†

### *Celtic Tribes of the Alps and the neighbouring Countries.*

The region of the Alps and the lower countries immediately surrounding those mountains were the immemorial abode of several nations of the Celtic race, who claim this country as its aboriginal inhabitants: that is, there is no record of their having come, whether from Gaul or any other quarter, nor is any trace discoverable in the country of earlier occupants. Polybius, who gives the earliest accounts of them, says that both sides of the Alps, as far as the ascent is practicable, are inhabited by various tribes. On that side which looks towards the north and the river Rhone, dwelt those termed Transalpine Gauls, who are of the same origin with the rest, meaning the Cisalpine tribes, and are only so termed on account of their local situation. On the other side, he adds, are the Taurisci, the Agones (Lingones ?), and other nations.‡ The tribes bordering on the Alps may be more particularly enumerated as follows: 1. Western tribes, including the Helvetii, who, however, had their original seat, according to Tacitus, somewhat further northward than the region now under survey, in the part of Germany between the Mayne and the Rhine, or in Swabia and Wurtemburg. To this

* Strabo, 7. c. 304.

† The Gothini, a tribe who remained in the mountainous borders of Bohemia in the time of Tacitus, and who, according to that writer, were Gauls, were probably a remnant of the Boii, who were left at the expulsion of that people, defended perhaps by their local situation.

‡ Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 2.

division belong several tribes mentioned by Cæsar, as the Veragri, Sedusii and Nantuates, all evidently Celtic tribes. 2. The Rhæti inhabited the southern parts immediately above the valley of the Po. Livy, as it is well known, supposed the Rhæti to be Etruscans. He extended this notion to other Alpine nations. He says, "Tusci trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo, usque ad Alpes tenuere. Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo est, *maxime* Raetis : quos loca ipsa efferarunt, ne quid ex antiquo, præter *sonum* linguæ, nec eum incorruptum, retinerent."* Pliny and Justin repeat the story of the Tuscan origin of the Rhæti, supposing them to have derived their name from Rhætus, a Tuscan leader. It seems that a part of the population of the southern Alps was of Tuscan descent.† M. Zeuss‡ supposes this to be confined to the inhabitants of the Euganean hills. Of the Celtic descent of the greater part of the Rhæti, or of the people inhabiting the Rhætian Alps, he observes that we can hardly doubt, when we consider the evidently Celtic names of the places within their territory, as Tarvesede, compared with Tarv-enna and Metio-sedum mentioned by Cæsar; Curia with Tricorii, Curiosolites; Magia with Magus, of frequent occurrence; Magontiacum; Matreja with Medio-matricum, Noreja, Celega; the names found in Ptolemy, Bragodurum, Ectodurum, Ebodurum, Drusomagus; Ταξγαιτιον compared with the personal name Tasgetius in Cæsar; Cambodunum, Brigantium, Brixentes; Οὐένωνες, Οὐέννιοι compared with Veneti, Venelli, Venicontes. These names, most of which appear in the Rhætian Alps, sufficiently prove the Celtic origin of the tribes among whom they are found. 3. All the northern part of Switzerland and the country reaching to the Danube was included in Vindelicia. 4. The eastern region, including the Tyrolese and extensive tracts further eastward, was the abode of the Taurisci, a celebrated and powerful race. That the Vindelici and Taurisci were Celts there is no doubt; it is proved partly by names of

* Lib. v. 33.

† Pliny mentions it as a prevalent conjecture rather than as matter of fact.—Plin. v. cap. 20. See likewise Justin, xx. 15.

‡ Zeuss, ubi supra, s. 299.

places and partly by the direct testimony of historians.* The name of Vindelici has the same etymon as Vindobona, Vindomagus, Vindonissa. The Vindelician names Artobriga, Bojodurum, Parrodurum, Consuanetes, compared with Suanetes, and Condrusi, Licus, Licates, compared with Ambilici, leave, as M. Zeuss observes, no doubt as to the origin of the Celtic people termed Vindelici.

The inhabitants of the Eastern Alps and the lower countries adjacent were included in later periods under the general name of Norici, which was synonymous with the older designation of Taurisci. This appears from Pliny: "Juxtaque Carnos quondam Taurisci, nunc Norici." Polybius, as cited by Strabo, connects the names of Taurisci and Norici. He says that gold was found at Aquileia—*ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νωρικοῖς*. Strabo† makes Norici a collective epithet, and Taurisci the particular name of a tribe. He says the country near the bottom of the Adriatic is inhabited by some Norici and Carni, and adds that the Taurisci are also Norici. Against this representation, as M. Zeuss observes, we must set not only the authority of Pliny as above cited, who makes the Norici of equal extent with the Taurisci, but also Ptolemy, who mentions no such people as the Taurisci in the Roman province of Noricum, but makes the Norici to be the only race inhabiting the eastern parts of it.‡ Tribes of Taurisci or Norici were scattered through the different Alpine valleys, but the great body of the nation occupied the eastern declivities towards Noreja, their principal town. The Norici had been allies of Rome long before their conquest, and the consul Carbo had led an army to the defence of Noreja when attacked in the Cimbrian war. That the Taurisci, as well as their neighbours towards the west, were of Celtic origin is clear, not only from the names of places in Noricum, but, as M. Zeuss has shown, from two passages of Strabo, in which that geographer expressly asserts them to have been Galatæ, *Γαλάται*, and Celtic tribes—*Κελτικὰ ἔθνη*. This last epithet he applies to the Boii, Scordisci, and Taurisci.§

* Plin. iii. 20. † Strabo, p. 206.

‡ Zeuss, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme.

§ Strabo, p. 296.

We hence find that the original settlements of the Celtic race, for no ancient writer has mentioned the Alpine nations as emigrants from Gaul, comprehended, as far as we can collect, nearly all the mountainous barrier to the northward of Italy as far as the Adriatic.

The Celtic tribes in Illyricum were known under the name of Scordisci, who are mentioned in connexion with the Taurisci.* They are described by Strabo, who says that the mountain-plains † of Pannonia extend northward to the Danube, and eastward to the Scordisci, and in the same direction to the mountains of Macedonia and Thrace. He adds that the Scordisci conquered the Triballi, who from the time of Herodotus had been the most powerful Thracian tribe in the neighbourhood of the Danube. Appian gives the same account. He says that the Triballi and Scordisci fought, until the former, who had been a flourishing nation till the time of Philip and Alexander, were destroyed, and their territory left desert.‡ Strabo places the Scordisci on the Danube. He says that they were divided into two sections: one of them dwelt between two rivers flowing into the Danube, the Noavus which runs by Segestica and the Margus; the other a little beyond this river.§ The Noavus and Margus are, in the opinion of M. Zeuss, the Save and the Morava.‖ The Scordisci also occupied the islands of the Danube, and made themselves formidable to all the neighbouring nations: their chief towns were Heorta and Capedunum. Ptolemy places the Scordisci in the southern extremities of Lower Pannonia, therefore near the mouth of the Save.¶

The Illyrian Celts were, until they were conquered by the Romans, always a warlike tribe, formidable to the surrounding nations, perpetually making hostile incursions into the neighbouring countries. The most celebrated of these was the attack on the temple of Delphi, under a leader named Brennus, of which a full account has been given by Pausanias.

* Pliny (iii. 23.): Mons Claudias, cujus in fronte Scordisci: in tergo Taurisci.
† ὀρεοπέδια. ‡ Appian. Illyric. 3. § Strabo, vii. p. 318.
‖ Zeuss, ubi supra, p. 174. ¶ Cl. Ptol. ii. 16.

Strabo mentions an embassy sent from the Celts of the Adriatic to the camp of Alexander during his expedition into Thrace. As the Celts had about this time settlements on the Danube, it is perhaps more probable that it was from this quarter that ambassadors were sent, namely, from the country of the Scordisci.

It does not appear that the Scordisci were old inhabitants of the borders of the Lower Danube: they had overspread the countries possessed of old by the Triballi and other Thracian tribes. It is probable that they arrived in this country shortly before the time of Alexander. They may with the greatest probability be derived from the nearest bands of the Celtic race, from those who had advanced furthest towards the east. These were the Taurisci of the Alps and the Boii and Tectosages of the Hercynian Forest.

On a general survey of the tribes spread through southern Germany, and in Pannonia and the Alpine countries, it appears that Celtic races, of whom the Boii and Tectosages are the most remarkable, were the earliest known inhabitants of the tracts comprehended in the Orcynia of the Gauls and the Hercynian Forest of Roman writers. The Boii are not to be traced from Gaul, and not further westward than the confines of the Helvetii: they were probably the primitive inhabitants of the countries on the Danube, and reached as far northward as Bohemia. It is probable that the Gythones, a small tribe who remained in the north-east of Germany in the time of Tacitus and spoke the language of the Gauls, were a remnant of the expelled Boii. The Tectosages appear to have been nearly allied to the Boii, since we find them joined in many parts. The other nations enumerated are evidently Celtic, as the Scordisci, Taurisci, Vindelici, Rhæti, but nothing indicates that they were ever inhabitants of Gaul.

## Section VII.—*Of the Colony of Gauls in Asia Minor.*

Of all the foreign conquests or settlements of the Gauls none is more celebrated than that in Asia Minor, where this

people were known, as indeed were the Gauls in general, among the Greeks, by the name of Galatæ.

It is important to determine from what tribes of European Gauls originated the Galatæ, or Gauls of Asia Minor. We have seen that of all the Gallic tribes, the Boii were the most powerful in Germany and the most widely spread. From no other tribe should we, upon conjecture, derive the Gallic confederacy in Asia with so much probability as from them. Tolisthoboii was in fact the name of one of the three divisions of people in Asia, into which the Galatæ were divided. In Greek their name is written Tolisthobogii, as that of the Boii is written Bogii.*

Together with Boii there were in parts of Germany other tribes, as the Volcæ Tectosages, spread through the Hercynian Forest. These Volcæ Tectosages came, as we have seen, from Celtica Narbonensis, and from the most remote part of it, near to the Pyrenees, or at least to the south-westward of Mount Cemmenus. Thus we find the Tectosages to have been a wandering warlike people, who had planted their name in two very distant countries, and there is so much the less reason for doubt when we find them in a third region. The Tectosages were in fact the leading and most celebrated tribe among the Galatæ of Asia. A third name not so easily traced is that of the Trocmi, of the origin of whom Strabo knew nothing, though he was satisfied of the derivation of the Tectosages from the Volcæ of Southern Gaul.

Strabo considered it as a thing ascertained that the Tectosages of Galatia in Asia Minor, were a branch of the Volcæ Tectosages of Narbonensis. He says that the disappearance of the two other names from Gaul, namely, those of Tolisthoboii and Trocmi, was not to be wondered at, since among tribes of

* It is very probable that the Tolisthoboii were a tribe of Boii, and that the prefix to their name is taken from some epithet, or perhaps from a place where they settled. In fact Ptolemy mentions a place termed Τόλαστα χώρα in their country. Lib. v. c. 6. This is observed by M. Zeuss, who remarks that another Celtic name was preserved in Macedonia. Livy observes that the third region of Macedonia contained the famous town of Edessa, &c., "et Vettiorum bellicosam gentem, incolas quoque permultos Gallos et Illyricos." Vettii appears to be a Celtic clan-name, since Solovettius is a personal name. Liv. lib. xlv. c. 30.

roaming habits, many become either extinct, or intermixed and lost. From the fact that the tribe of Tectosages still remained in the country of the Volcæ, he infers that the Tolisthoboii and Trocmi originated from the same part of Gaul. If the Tectosages of Galatia were really from the Volcæ Tectosages, they must have had some intermediate halting-place; and this is discovered to have been the fact, since, according to Cæsar, the Gauls of the Hercynian Forest were Volcæ Tectosages. In the same quarter, as we have observed, other writers place the Boii. Tolisthoboii may have been a particular tribe of Boii.

Livy has given the most detailed and particular account of the settlement of the Galatians in Asia, and of the depredatory attempts of the same people, which preceded their passage of the Hellespont. After mentioning the Tolisthoboii, into whose territories the Romans were led by the Consul Cn. Manlius, he adds, "These Gauls, a vast multitude, had made their way, induced either by the want of lands or by the hope of spoil, to the country of the Dardani under a leader named Brennus." Livy has given no intimation in this passage from what quarter he supposes the Gauls to have first emigrated, but in a speech which he puts into the mouth of Cn. Manlius, the Roman Consul, they are said to have been exiles who left their country for want of room, and sailing along the coasts of Illyricum into Pœonia, and thence into Thrace, gained possession of it by arms.* It is utterly inconceivable that such a multitude of barbarians as the Gauls are represented to have been, could find room in ships; and this must have been a mere conjecture of Livy, who was probably ignorant that there were extensive settlements of the Gauls upon the Danube. Pausanias, who has given a narrative of their invasion, says that the first adventurers who had proceeded to Thrace under their leader Cambaules, returned to their country, in order to

* The names of the chieftains of the Galatians are given differently by the writers who mention them. All however mention Brennus. Pausanias names the chiefs of particular bodies Cambaules (Cunobelin or Conmail ?), Cerethorius (Caradyr ?), Arichorus and Bolgius. Polybius terms the chief leader Brennus, as does Livy: instead of the Lomnorius of Livy he has Comontorius, and he names the last king of the Gauls who remained in Thrace, Cavarus.

collect a greater multitude. They cannot, therefore, have been at so great a distance from it as Livy supposed. According to that historian, the Gauls separated into two great bodies: the fate of Brennus and his followers, who invaded Greece, is well known; the other division, under Lomnorius and Lutarius, after many adventures, passed the Hellespont into Asia, and seated themselves finally in Phrygia, in the neighbourhood of the river Halys, after dividing Asia Minor by lot into three parts, and rendering each part tributary to one of their three clans. These clans were the Tolistoboii, Trocmi, and Tectosagi.* Strabo gives them nearly the same denominations. They retained their power till the war between Antiochus and the Romans. It may be observed that Polybius and Pausanias term these Gauls, Κελτοι or Celts; other writers call them Galatæ, Galli, and Gallo-Græci. Not one ancient historian or geographer has expressed a doubt that they were true Celtic Gauls; and certainly nothing can be more improbable than the supposition that a Belgic tribe had acquired in early times a settlement in the most remote region of Celtica, where, although they were well known to the Massilians and to the Romans who built the city of Narbo on the lands of the Volcæ, they were never suspected to be other than genuine Celts.

* M. Thierry has maintained that the Volcæ were Belgæ, and not Celts. The only proofs he brings forward are the following. In some copies of Cicero's Oration pro M. Fonteio, Belgarum is read instead of Volcarum. But this reading was totally rejected by Grævius, and probably arose from the blunder of some ignorant copyist who had never heard of such a people as the Volcæ, and supposed that the author must have alluded to the Belgæ. Ausonius terms the Tectosagi "primævo nomine Bolgas." But Ausonius being himself a Gaul would not have made a mistake in the name of a Gaulish people, and would have termed them Belgas, had he intended to identify them with the Belgæ so well known. Pausanias mentions that one of the tribes of Galatæ had a chieftain named Bolgius. The principal prop of M. Thierry's argument is St. Jerom's assertion, which we shall hereafter cite and comment upon, that the Galatians spoke nearly the same language as the Treviri, who were a Belgic tribe. This would be a good argument if it could be proved in the first place that the language of the Celtæ was not nearly the same as that of the Belgæ. I shall endeavour to show that the contrary was the fact, and that the difference between these dialects was very slight. On the whole we have no reason to doubt, what all the ancients uniformly testify, that the Volcæ were a tribe of the Celtæ properly so termed.

## Section VIII.—*Of the Cimbri.*

The Cimbri were the ancient inhabitants of Denmark, from them called the Cimbric Chersonesus. They first became known to the rest of the world on the occasion of their celebrated invasion of Southern Germany, Gaul, and Italy, in the time of Caius Marius. This was the first on record of those great migrations from the northern parts of Europe, by which the southern and more cultivated regions were laid waste, for the conquest of Italy by the Gauls cannot, though in other respects a similar event, be so termed, since that people originated or at least came into Italy from a different quarter. These movements continued to be repeated from time to time until the northern parts of the continent were finally subdued and civilized by Charlemagne and his successors, after which period we hear only of the maritime aggressions of the Northmen, whose piracies in like manner had their termination only when Scandinavia was christianized, and its inhabitants exchanged the habits of wandering freebooters for the industry of agriculture and commerce. The invasion of the Cimbri, like many later enterprises of the same description, was not the solitary expedition of a particular horde: it seems to have been a simultaneous movement among many different nations near the shores of the Baltic. The Teutones, who, next to the Cimbri, had been the most powerful and conspicuous among these tribes, came from the northern part of Germany bordering on the Elbe. A third body appears to have been formed by a people termed Ambrones, of whom, if they were a distinct tribe, we know nothing but their name. It was reported that all these nations were driven out of their country by a deluge which overwhelmed it, but this opinion was rejected by Strabo, on the ground of its supposed physical impossibility, and the want of room for the support of a vast multitude is assigned as the most probable incentive. Cæsar informs us that the Cimbri and Teutones were repulsed by the Belgæ in Gaul, in their attempt to pass the Rhine into the country inhabited by that people; they were likewise resisted by the Boii in the Hercynian Forest, but succeeded in making

their way into Celtic Gaul, which they overran, and whence they invaded Italy, taking with them in their train armies from the Tectosages, and from several Ligurian tribes. The Cimbri here separated from the other nations, and, as it appears, entered Italy through Noricum and by the passes of the Tyrolese, while the Teutones and Ambrones, with their Celtic and Ligurian allies, approached it by the coast on the western side. Little reliance can be placed on the accounts left us as to the number of these hordes. The army of the Cimbri and Teutones was reported to have consisted of three hundred thousand well-armed warriors, besides a more numerous crowd of followers, and Plutarch supposes that this estimate was much below their actual numbers. It appears that the power of the Cimbri was greatly weakened by this migration, since they are ever afterwards mentioned as an inconsiderable state, and in the time of Tacitus were almost extinct. It is therefore probable that nearly the whole nation emigrated.

Writers of the Augustan and the succeeding age, the historical period of Rome, have given us conjectures respecting the Cimbri, who were too distant to be within the reach of accurate inquiry. They were generally supposed to have been a German tribe, from the situation of their country: Cæsar, Strabo, and Tacitus considered them as such. Strabo informs us that among the Northern German tribes, whose country he defines as reaching from the mouths of the Rhine to those of the Albis or Elbe, the most remarkable are the Cimbri and the Sugambri. "Beyond the Albis," he adds, "all is unknown to us, for we do not hear that any navigator has sailed along the coast eastward towards the entrance of the Caspian Sea," —supposed to join the eastern extremity of the Baltic—"and the Romans have not gained access to the parts beyond the Elbe, nor have travellers penetrated into those countries by land journeys." The Sugambri of Strabo are the Sicambri of Latin writers, and it might be suspected that their name is a modification of that of the Cimbri.

The notion entertained by the geographers of Strabo's time, that the coast of the Baltic turned towards the south-east and was continuous with that of the Caspian Sea, seems to have connected in their minds the north of Europe with Scythia.

Hence the countries on the Baltic came in later times to be termed Scythia, of which we find an instance in Bede. The same mistake accounts for the notion, admitted by many ancient writers on the ground of a mere resemblance of names, that the Cimbri were the Cimmerii of Homer and Herodotus. Cimmeria was the dark and unknown coast of an imaginary ocean, supposed to reach from the Atlantic through the Codan or Baltic Sea to the Caspian, and thence to the utmost East. It was enveloped in perpetual fogs, and never visited by the solar rays. The lines in which it is mentioned by Homer afford a curious specimen of ancient cosmography.*

Posidonius appears first to have conjectured that the Cimbri were the same people as the Cimmerii. His opinion, which was approved by Strabo as a probable conjecture, became very prevalent among the Romans, as we learn from Plutarch. Undoubtedly it had no other foundation than the resemblance of the two names and the geographical error of the ancients, who believed the coast of the Cimbri to be continuous with that which the Cimmerii were supposed to have inhabited. The same notion has been adopted by modern writers, as by Karamsin, the historian of the Russian empire, and it has been often stated as a fact established by adequate testimony. On this account it will be worth while to collect, in a short compass, the sum of the information extant respecting the Cimmerii.

The history of the Cimmerii, so far as the account respecting them is really historical and not mythical, rests entirely on Herodotus, who collected his information respecting them in the course of his journeys in Asia Minor and on the coast of the Euxine, where the memory of their abode was still recent in his time. Accórding to Herodotus, the country then in the possession of the Scythians had been occupied in earlier times by the Cimmerians. The extent of their territory cannot be defined: it appears to have been on both sides of the Palus Mæotis, or the Sea of Asov, and the Bosphorus, termed from them Cimmerian. The peninsula termed afterwards the Tauric Chersonesus, now Crim Tartary, was likewise sometimes named Cimmerian. On this peninsula we are informed by Strabo that there was formerly a Cimmerian city, adjoining to which

* Odyss. xi. in initio.

were fortifications, enclosing the isthmus by an earthen wall. As vestiges of the Cimmerians still remaining in his time, Herodotus mentions an earthen monument near the river Tyras, under which had been interred a great multitude of that nation, as well as the names of several places in the Scythian country: there were the Cimmerian walls, the Cimmerian passage or ferry—πορθμήϊα,—and the territory itself was termed Cimmerian. The people had been driven out by the Scythians, who had been expelled from their country further towards the east by the Massagetæ, and entered Cimmeria after passing the Araxes. The Cimmerians, or perhaps only a part of them, living on the southern part of their country, as we may collect from the narrative of Aristeas related in another passage of Herodotus, escaped from the invaders by passing along the eastern shore of the Euxine: the Scythians are said to have pursued them, but passing to the eastward of the Caucasus, entered Media, and thus began the celebrated expedition of that people into Upper Asia, on which occasion they were said to have penetrated as far as the cities of Phœnice. The Cimmerians, taking a more western route, came down upon the coast of Asia Minor, which they appear to have overrun as far as Bithynia, since Strabo enumerates Cimmerians among the early inhabitants of that country. Herodotus says that they founded a colony in the Asiatic Chersonesus, where the Greek city of Sinope was afterwards built, near the promontory and river of that name. They likewise invaded Lydia in the reign of Ardys, B.C. 634, and kept possession of a part of it till they were expelled from Asia by Alyattes B.C. 613. Herodotus represents their conquest of that country as the immediate sequel of their entrance into Asia Minor, and not as a subsequent attack made by the Cimmerian colonists of the northern coast. But Strabo supposed the first incursion of the Cimmerians into Asia to have happened at a much earlier period, and thought even that some obscure notices of such an event had reached Greece before the time of Homer.

After the conquest of Cimmeria by the Scythians, it appears that the Tauric Chersonesus or Crim Tartary continued to be the abode of a peculiar people, termed Tauri, who are conjectured, with probability, to have been remains of the old

Cimmerian inhabitants. Panticapæum, a Greek city afterwards founded by the Milesians on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, became in a later age the capital of a flourishing state, which retained its independence till the age of Mithridates, when, being unable longer to defend itself against its barbarous Scythian neighbours, it submitted. It was very populous, and abounded in corn. The names of many kings of the Bosporiani are on record;* they are partly Greek and in part barbaric, and often identical with the names of the kings of Thrace. Hence an argument has been drawn to prove that the Cimmerians were of the same race with the people of Thrace; and this argument would have considerable weight if the people of the Bosphorian state were more clearly identified with the Cimmerians; but it is very possible that they may have been later inhabitants, and perhaps coeval in their settlement of that country with the Greeks.

It remains altogether uncertain to what race of people the Cimmerians belonged. The argument above mentioned, and the fact that there was a Thracian tribe termed Treres, which also was a name given, according to Strabo, to a part of the Cimmerians, induced Adelung to connect this ancient people with the Thracians, who are supposed to have been related to the Pelasgi and to the Greeks. On the other hand, it appears probable, from the account handed down by Herodotus, that the chain of Caucasus was within the region of the Cimmerians. If such were the fact, it may be inferred that the aborigines of that mountain chain, whose descendants yet retain their languages and barbarous habits, are the descendants and representatives of the old Cimmerii, and we may set them down as a people equally distinct from the Thracians and from the German or other Indo-European inhabitants of the north. The supposed affinity between the Cimmerii and the

* The history of the Bosphorian kingdom is briefly given by Strabo, book vii. p. 308. ed. Casaub. The names of the kings and many further particulars have been industriously collected by Casaubon. (Annot. ad loc. Strabonis.) Adelung has cited on the same subject a work by Cary, entitled "Histoire des Rois de Thrace." Among the names of the Bosphorian kings and those of Thrace are Cotys, Seleucus, Rhescaporis, Rhometalces, and several terminating in *sades*, as Masades, Berisades, Medosades. (Adelung, Mithrid. B. ii. s. 353.)

Cimbri rests assuredly, as we have already observed, on no other foundation than the resemblance, perhaps accidental, of the two gentile names.*

Though the conjecture of Posidonius that this northern people had descended from the Cimmerii received credit among the ancient writers, it was the prevalent opinion that the Cimbri were a German tribe. We have observed that several writers mention them as such. Pliny enumerates the Cimbri in that class of German tribes to which he appropriates the term of Ingævones, or maritime tribes. Plutarch likewise says that the Cimbri were supposed to be a German nation. The reasons on which he represents that opinion to have been founded are such, however, as plainly to evince that it was not the result of information but a mere conjecture. They were believed to be Germans, he says, on account of their tall stature and the blue colour of the eyes, and from the fact that the Germans in their language term robbers—Κίμβρους—Cimbri. As the Romans communicated little with the Cimbri,—who, however, sent ambassadors to Augustus,—and knew them only as living in a corner of Germany, they would naturally be led to suppose them Germans. Such an opinion has therefore little or no weight, especially as it is generally expressed with doubt as to the fact. The accounts left of the customs of the Cimbri certainly resemble what we know of the Celtic nations rather than the description of German manners. Tacitus describes them as, in his time, the feeble remnant of a nation, living in decay, and about to become extinct. He says, "In the same quarter of Germany, adjacent to the ocean, dwell the Cimbri, a small state at present, but great in renown. Of their past grandeur extensive vestiges still remain, as encampments and lines on either shore of the Cimbric Chersonesus, from the compass of which the strength and numbers of the nation may still be computed, and credit obtained to the account of so great an army."† The sacred rites of the Cimbri as described by Strabo resemble in their more

* The history of the Cimmerii is contained in the passages of Herodotus, lib. i. c. 7. c. 16.; lib. iv. c. 11. c. 12. c. 14. c. 99. Strabo, lib. i. p. 12.; lib. iii. p. 149. ed. Casaub. item lib. vii. p. 308. p. 494.

† Tacitus, Germ. c. 87.

sanguinary character the customs of the Celts. Their warlike expeditions were accompanied by hoary prophetesses, who wearing white robes fastened by zones of brass, ascended a throne or elevated seat, with drawn swords in their hands, and raising the captives by their hair, cut their throats, and received streams of blood in large brazen goblets, while others dissected the bodies of slaughtered victims, and from the appearance of the entrails predicted victory to the Cimbrian arms. In battles they fought, like the Britons, in chariots: to them were fastened drums, which when beaten produced a formidable sound.*

All these considerations afford some probable evidence of the Celtic origin or relations of the Cimbri; but a stronger argument arises from a very few names and words preserved from their language. Pliny assures us that the Cimbri termed the Baltic Sea *Moremarusa*, which expression in their language signified the Dead Sea. Môr-marw, nearly the same words, have in Welsh precisely this meaning, which does not belong to similar vocables, as I believe, in any German dialect. Again, Boiorix was the king of the Cimbric army which invaded Italy, a compound name of which both the elements are Celtic. Boii is a gentile name, as we have seen, and belonged particularly to the Celtæ of Germany: *orix* is a frequent Celtic termination, and represents a word yet extant in the Welsh dialect. To this we must add the name of Cimbri, corresponding and nearly identical with that of the Cymru or Cumri of Britain. We must likewise take into the account the probability of migration from the Cimbric Chersonesus to the country of the Ottadini in the northern part of this island, and the fact that the Picts, probably one people with the Caledonians, derived their descent, according to Bede, from the shores of Scythia, that is from the coasts of the Baltic Sea.

I know not whether any conclusive argument can be founded on the circumstance that Holstein and Denmark abound in those rude erections termed Druidical remains; but the fact is remarkable, especially as we find similar remains in countries known to have been inhabited long by Celts, as in the departments of Morbihan in Britanny.

* Strab. Ger. lib. vii. p. 294.

On the whole it appears to be the result of this comparison of facts relative to the history of the Cimbri, that they were a Celtic people allied to the inhabitants of Britain; and it is by no means improbable that they were the people who first colonized North Britain.

## Section IX.—*Of the Population of the British Isles.*

On entering into an inquiry respecting the tribes who formed the population of the British Isles, I approach the subject of a controversy agitated among Celtic antiquarians; but I shall endeavour to avoid disputed questions at present, and postpone the discussion of them till I can enter upon it with greater advantage, after having surveyed the whole field within which it has been carried on.

It is generally considered as certain that the whole population of Britain was derived from Gaul. Ancient writers, however, have afforded us no direct testimony that may be looked upon as conclusive upon this subject, and such an inference can only be collected from topographical names, from the history of languages, and from the remains of ancient dialects.

Cæsar says, "It has been handed down to memory—a most improbable subject for tradition—that the people who inhabit the interior part of Britain were produced in the island itself; the maritime part is possessed by those who passed over from the Belgæ, for the sake of plunder and of hostile invasion, and these are mostly distinguished by the names of those states from which they originally came to fix their abode in and to cultivate the newly conquered lands. There is an infinite number of people; their houses are very numerous, and nearly resemble those of the Gauls, and their cattle are in great numbers." *

Cæsar was informed that the sea-coast of Britain was inhabited by Belgæ from the continent. No other writer has given the same statement, but it is confirmed by our finding, from Ptolemy and others, that there were British tribes or states which, as Cæsar has hinted in the passage above cited,

* Bell. Gall. v. c. 12.

had the same names with communities in Belgic Gaul. On the south coast we find a tribe named merely Belgæ, whose capital was Venta Belgarum, or Winchester. To the eastward of the Belgæ was another tribe, named Regni, also Rhemi, and to the northward of both of these were the Atrebatii. These are tribes nearly synonymous with Belgic tribes in Gaul. There was no other British tribe known to us by name to which the above observation of Cæsar can be supposed with probability to refer. A corner of land to the northward of the Humber is said to have been inhabited by a tribe termed Parisi, or Parisii; and Parisii was the name of a tribe in Gaul to whom belonged the banks and the islands of the Seine. But the British Parisii were apparently but a subdivision of the great nation of Brigantes, who, near the centre of the island, occupied the whole breadth of Britain: they were, perhaps, too far to the northward to have come within the sphere of Cæsar's information. The Parisii of the Seine were never reckoned among the Belgæ, although near the Belgic frontier. They were said, as we have already observed, to have been a Celtic tribe; besides, their inland situation excluded them from the number of maritime invaders of Britain. Cæsar appears therefore to have made a statement in more general terms than later accounts fully support. But although there are but two or three British tribes synonymous with tribes in Belgic Gaul, there may have been some other tribes chiefly or even wholly of Belgic origin; and it is very probable that we shall be correct in reckoning all the parts to the southward of the Atrebatii, or of a line drawn in continuation of the northern boundary of that tribe, as belonging to Belgic Britain. This line, which prolonged towards the east and the west would join the Severn and the Thames, would cut off to the southward the Cantii and the Trinobantes, as well as some other tribes connected by political relations with Belgic states on the continent, and therefore to be included with the greater probability among the tribes of Belgic origin. This last consideration renders it probable that the Iceni, who were among the most civilized of the Britons, were also Belgæ. On the other hand it may be doubted whether we ought to include among the Belgæ either the Damnonii of Devonshire

and Cornwall, or the Durotriges in Dorsetshire, since that part of the coast of Gaul which lies opposite to them was occupied by Celtic tribes, to whom, as we have seen, all the country westward of the Seine belonged.

Cæsar has said nothing to indicate a suspicion that the Britons of the inland country were akin to any people in Gaul. It is apparent that his information respecting them was very defective, and it seems that he did not consider himself to have entered their territory. What part of the entire island he meant to designate by the phrase "interior pars," has been a matter of dispute. Some who have a particular theory to support, carry us as far as the Highlands of Scotland, and will have it that the supposed indigenous Britons were the Gaël of those countries; but this is a very forced and improbable interpretation, for if the Western Highlands were at that time occupied by the Gaël, which we have reason to believe not to have been the fact, it is very improbable that Cæsar's information extended so far. It is likewise hard to suppose that he would have termed that part of Scotland the interior of Britain. It is much more likely that Cæsar meant to describe the country northward of the line above marked out, which cuts off to the southward all the tribes known to have been Belgic, of whom the most northerly were the Atrebatii. This line, as we have observed, passed from the Severn to the Thames. The aborigines will thus be the ancestors of the Britons, who are well known to have been driven by the Saxons into Wales, Cumberland, and the south-western parts of Scotland, termed the kingdom of Strathclyde.

Tacitus * treats the origin of the Britons as a subject entirely left open to conjecture. Nothing was known historically as to the question whether they were natives of the soil or of foreign extraction. "In their persons they vary, whence different opinions are formed. The red hair of the Caledonians, and their large limbs, indicate a German origin. The swarthy sunburnt complexion of the Silures, their curly hair, and their situation opposite to Spain, furnished ground for believing that the Iberi have passed over the sea and gained possession of the country."

* Agricola, xi.

Tacitus was then under the mistake of supposing Spain opposite to South Wales. As M. Ritson has observed, h have been led to form this notion from some erroneou of Britain, such as might be collected from Ptolemy, actually in Richard of Cirencester. It is very probabl this is the principal circumstance that suggested the i attributing an Iberian origin to the Silures, on which so stress has been laid by various writers, and which even buhr has adopted. It was not, however, the deliberate o of Tacitus that the Silures came from Spain; for, aft serving that the Britons who lived nearest to Gaul rese the people of that country, he adds, "On a general estim probabilities—in universum tamen æstimanti—it is to lieved that the Gauls originally took possession of the bouring coast." He then adds the reasons which conf him in this opinion: "The sacred rites and superstition Gauls are discoverable among the Britons, nor is there difference in the language of these two nations." It seem, as we shall further have occasion to remark, tha last observation is not limited to the Belgic or sea-Britons. The sacred rites indeed of the Britons to whi refers, are those of the Druids, of which the most conspi display was in Mona or Anglesea; and the mentioning of in connection with the language of the Britons indicate ficiently that the allusion of the writer extends to the inl ants of South Britain on a larger scale.

This last observation of Tacitus seems to be all th torical evidence that we have for the kindred origin c Proper Britons—meaning those not Belgic—with the C But even this is not historical, for it was an inference c from the fact that the Britons and Gauls resembled in guage and religion. This testimony, however, will form important part of the evidence to be collected for ethn phical inquiry. The unity of religion is certainly a s argument, for it is scarcely credible that two distinct should be found subject to such a hierarchy as the D and to such a system of rites and superstitions as is k to have been maintained by them. But the Druidism

Bardism said to have belonged both to the Celtæ and the Britons, afford not so strong an argument of kindred origin as the possession of one common speech, if this only can satisfactorily be proved; and to the investigation of this subject we shall immediately proceed.

## SECTION X.—*Of the Language of the Belgic Nations, and of their relation to the Celtæ.*

We are informed by Cæsar that the Belgæ, as well as the Aquitani, differed from the Celtic Gauls in speech, in customs, and in laws. It does not appear from this account whether the difference of idiom between the Belgæ and Celtæ amounted to an entire diversity of language, or only to some variety of dialect sufficient to serve as a distinguishing mark between the two races. The former meaning is the most consistent with the context, since we have reason to believe that the Aquitanian language was entirely different from the Celtic. But the latter sense is likewise applicable to the words, and we are at liberty to adopt it if it can be shown to be the most consistent with truth.

Tacitus expresses himself as if the idiom of all the Gaulish nations were one and the same. In estimating the probable evidence that the Britons were a colony from the people of Gaul, he says that there is not much difference between the languages of these nations—"nec sermo multum diversus." If this resemblance had been confined to the maritime people on the opposite coasts of the two countries—that is, if the Belgæ of Britain, or the maritime tribes only, had resembled in idiom the Belgic people of Gaul, Tacitus, the relative of Agricola who had subdued nearly the whole island, could not fail to be aware of the fact, and he was bound to mention it, since it materially impaired the force of his argument. But he takes no notice of any such thing, and we may infer that, according to the opinion of Tacitus, the Gaulish nations, at least the great mass of them, had one language, and that their language was very similar to that of the Britons. The Iberian Aquitani beyond the Garonne were so small a body that he

might well omit to take them into his account, especially as the greater part of the population of Aquitania, as that province had been extended before the age of Tacitus, were in reality Celtic tribes. I allude to the states between the Garonne and the Loire.

Strabo delivered his opinion more clearly on the subject of the languages of Gaul. He says that some writers separate into three departments the inhabitants of that country, terming them Aquitani, Belgæ, and Celtæ. "The Aquitani," he adds, "differ wholly from the others, not only in language but likewise in person, resembling the Iberians more than the Gauls.* The others, namely, the Celtæ and the Belgæ, have personal characters which belong to the Gauls in general; yet they are not all of the same speech, but differ a little in this respect, and there is also some variety in their political institutions and manners of life."

From this statement we may conclude, if the authority of Strabo is to be trusted, that any differences of speech which may have existed between the various tribes of people in Gaul, the Aquitani being excluded, and particularly that which we learn from Cæsar to have distinguished the Belgæ from the Celts, were but slight variations of dialect, and at least not such as to prevent one people from being intelligible to another. Had it been otherwise, had the Belgæ spoken a language which the Celts could not understand, the affinity of the two idioms would never have been discovered by people so incurious of such matters as were the Romans and Greeks. Languages, for example, differing from each other as do the Welsh and Irish, would never have been known to be kindred dialects. These races do not at all comprehend each other in conversation. It is only by an examination of grammatical analogies and of particular relations in the vocabulary of the Welsh and Irish languages, which in many instances require, in order that they may be detected, a previous acquaintance with certain rules of variation, that the affinity which exists between these idioms could ever be discovered, and the fact would have remained unknown to the ancients, who never made use of such methods of investigation.

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 176.

By other and later writers the language of the Gauls has been mentioned as if it were, in all parts of their country, one and the same. The "lingua Gallica or Gallicana" is alluded to as distinguished from the Latin of that province, under the Roman government, but we nowhere find any hint that there were two vernacular or native languages in Gaul. The question at which period and in what degree Latin superseded the ancient language in popular use, has been much controverted among French writers. The Benedictines of St. Maur, the authors of the learned work entitled "Histoire littéraire de la France," maintained that Latin had become the vulgar idiom of the Gallic provinces under the Roman empire; and Ducange went so far as to suppose that the native speech was entirely forgotten. In opposition to this opinion several passages from authors of a later period during the Roman domination, have been cited, in which the Gallic idiom is described as still extant, but it is always mentioned as one particular language. One of these passages is from a law in the Digest, taken from Ulpian, and it is found also in the fragments of that celebrated lawyer, who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Alexander Severus. In this it is said that the acts termed "fidei commissa" may be made in any language; and the language of Gaul is mentioned in the singular, and as one idiom, known by the term of "lingua Gallicana,"* distinguished from Latin, but without allusion to any other dialect extant, in the same province. Had a totally different speech prevailed in so great a portion of Gaul as the Belgic countries formed, when taken collectively, we should either find the Gallic languages mentioned in the plural or the Belgic distinguished from the Gallic.

There is one passage which may be referred to, as affording a positive proof that the languages of Gaul differed very little from each other, and it is difficult to evade the inference

* "Fidei-commissa quocunque sermone relinqui possunt, non solum Latinâ vel Græcâ, sed etiam Punicâ, vel Gallicanâ, vel alterius cujusque gentis linguâ." (Digest, lib. 32.) I cite from M. Raoux's Mémoire en réponse à la question proposée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles, Quelle est l'origine de la différence qui existe, &c. entre les provinces dites Flamandes et celles dites Wallonnes? &c. Brux. 1825.

without calling in question the testimony of a witness deemed unimpeachable. I allude to the celebrated passage of St. Jerom, in which that learned and venerable writer compares the Belgic speech of the Treviri to that of the Galatæ in Asia Minor. The weight of this testimony, or its application to my present purpose, depends upon the premises that the Treviri were a Belgic tribe and spoke the Belgic language, and that the Galatæ of Asia Minor, who were principally Volcæ Tectosages, were Celtæ, and spoke the Celtic dialect. On these points, as on everything connected with Celtic antiquities, controversies have been raised during late years. All these objections I have endeavoured to anticipate, and I think sufficient proof has been already adduced to establish both positions. If this be conceded, we shall have the direct testimony of St. Jerom for the fact that the Celtæ and Belgæ had nearly the same language. St. Jerom had lived at Trèves, among the Treviri, and he heard the Galatians speak their language with some slight variation of dialect. St. Jerom, as it is well known, had made languages his particular study. He was the greatest linguist of the early Christian Church. He says, " Unum est quod inferimus—Galatas excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pænè habere quam Treviros: nec referre si qua exinde corruperint, cum et Afri Phœnicam linguam non nullâ ex parte mutaverint et ipsa Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore."*

These evidences from ancient authors would be sufficient to render the conclusion extremely probable that the Belgic and Celtic tribes spoke nearly approaching dialects, and idioms so closely resembling each other that either would be understood by persons who had only learnt the other. But there is room for a further investigation of this question. I have already observed that Baron William von Humboldt, in his learned investigation of Spanish antiquity, has succeeded in establishing the general conclusion that the Euscarian or Biscayan language was common to all the tribes of the Iberian race, although these, as it may be opportune here to remark,

* Hieronym. Præf. lib. 2. Comment. Epist. ad Galatas, tom. 1. p. 255. Edit. Paris, 1706. M. Raoul, ubi supra.

are said by ancient writers, particularly by Strabo, to have differed from each other in dialect. This inference was deduced from the evidence afforded by topographical names. A similar proof may be applied, even with greater force, to the Celtic question. A remarkably uniform and easily detected character pervades the names of places in undoubtedly Celtic countries. The frequent and almost perpetual recurrence of certain elements of compound names, and even in many instances of the names themselves, is sufficiently striking to arrest the attention even of a careless reader, or of one who cursorily surveys the maps of Celtic countries. Some of these phenomena, though by no means the whole, were long ago pointed out by Schœpflin, the historian of Alsace, and they have been referred to in the preceding chapter on the Euskaldunes. I shall now take occasion to make a more distinct enumeration of Celtic names, and shall endeavour to ascertain how far they are common to both of the great nations of this race on the continent, and to the two departments into which the population of Britain has been divided. I shall consider those names of places as belonging to the language of the Belgæ which are of frequent occurrence in Belgic Gaul, and in the parts of Britain inhabited by the Belgian tribes. The names occurring in the Celtic parts of Gaul are to be considered as derived from the Celtic language properly so termed; and in the same class I shall venture to include similar names when such are found in the Gallic conquests or colonies, whether in Spain, Italy, Noricum, Pannonia, or in parts of Germany which are known to have been occupied by Gallic colonies. The inland parts of Britain beyond the Belgian or maritime tribes may be reckoned as a separate department, and its toponomy may assist in determining what opinion we are to form as to the supposed Celtic origin of its population.

Among the most frequent components of local names in Gaul and Britain, as well as in other countries inhabited by colonies of Gauls, are the four following: DUNUM or DINUM; DURUM or DURO; MAGUS; ACUM, ACUS, or IACUM.

The following examples will serve to show the frequency of these terms in countries known to have been inhabited by Celtic Gauls.

## 1. *Names of places in Celtic Gaul terminating in* dunum *or* dinum.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Noviodunum | in the Bituriges | now Nevers. |
| Novodunum | Diablintes | Jubleins, near Mayenne. |
| Lugdunum | Hædui | Lyons. |
| Augustodunum | Hædui | Autun. |
| Uxellodunum | | in Guienne. |
| Segodunum, Lugdunum | | Convenæ, a Gaulish tribe in Aquitania. |
| Noviodunum | Aulercorum | Lemboul. |
| Cæsarodunum | Turonum | Tours (?). |
| Melodunum | Senonum | Melun. |
| Nœodunum | | Nion, on the Leman Lake |
| Ebrodunum | Caturiges | Embrun, or Yverdun. |
| Vindinum | Aulerci Cenomani | Le Mans. |
| Sedunum | Seduni. | |
| Vellaunodunum | Senones. | |
| Minnodunum | Helvetii. | |

## 2. *Names of places in Celtic Gaul containing* durum *or* dur

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ernodurum | in the Bituriges. | |
| Salodurum | Helvetii. | |
| Ictodurum | Caturiges. | |
| Durotinium | Medulli. | |
| Divodurum | | near Paris. |
| Duria Major | | near Turin. |
| Breviodurum † | in Lugdunensi. | |
| Ganodurum | Helvetiorum | Constanz. |
| Velatodurum, Epamanduodurum. | Sequanorum. | |
| Antissodurum | Senones | Auxerre. |
| Duranius | | the river Dordogne. |
| Octodurum | | in the Valais, near the Rhone. |
| Brivodurum | Aureliani | Briave. |
| Vetodurum. | Helvetii. | |

## 3. *Names of places ending in* magus *in Celtic Gaul.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Noviomagus ‡ | Biturigum | in the Bourdelais. |
| Vindomagus. | Volcæ Arecomici | West of Nismes. |
| Noiomagus | Tricasteni | Aouste. |
| Noiomagus | Vadicassii | Nemours or Nuis. |

* I have taken these lists of names principally from Ptolemy. Some are inserted from the Itinerary of Antoninus. The names of tribes to which the places belong are chiefly copied from Ptolemy, and the modern names from the editions of that writer. These last may in some particular instances be erroneous, but on the whole they are probably as correct as they can be expected to be.

† Antonin. Itin. ‡ Cl. Ptolem. Geogr. c. 55.

Noiomagus..... Lexubii ..... St. Salvator.
Rhatomagus.
Rotomagus..... Veneliocassii ..... Bayeux.
Hebromagus.
Argantomagus..... (Anton. Itin. 29.) ..... Argenton.
Juliomagus ..... Andicavi ..... Angers.
Rigomagus..... Taurini.
Bromagus ..... Helvetii.
Caventomagus. ..... Cadurci.
Condatomagus ..... Ruteni..... on the Garonne.
Cassinomagus. ..... Lemovices.
Sermanicomagus .... Santones ..... Chermez.
Licidomagus..... Vellari.
Catorimagus ..... Caturiges. ..... Chorges (Mannert).

1. *Names of places ending in* acum *in Celtic Gaul.*

Ebrolacum..... Bituriges.
Saloniacum. ..... near Bordeaux.
Cerbelliaca..... Segelauni.
Annedonacum ..... Santones.

IN THE CELTIC COLONIES.

.. *The names of places ending in* dunum.

n Noricum and Pannonia and along the Danube:

Serviodunum.
Gesodunum.
Idunum..... Udino.
Carrodunum. ..... Kharnburg.
Novidunum.
Cambodunum ..... in Vindelicia.
Singidunum. ..... on the Danube.
Camdunum. ..... beyond the Danube.

n the southern parts of Germany:

Lupodunum. ..... near Mentz.
Lugidunum ..... Glogau.
Segodunum ..... Nuremburg.
Meliodunum ..... Mileuske.
Tarodunum ..... Dornstadt.
Rhobodunum ..... near the Danube.
Carrodunum ..... Cracow.

2. *Names in* durum *in Celtic colonies:*

Gabanodurum. ..... in Noricum.
Bragodurum ..... southward of the Danube. Bibrach.

Ebodurum.....
Ectodurum. ..... } on or near the Danube.
Boiodurum. .....
Caturigidorum ..... in Graiis Alpibus.
Duria Major and Minor, branches of the Po.
Durius ..... the Duero, in Spain.

### 3. *Names of places in* magus *in the Celtic colonies.*

Drusomagus ..... in Rhætia ..... Mummingen.
Gabromagus ..... in Noricum.
Rigomagus ..... near Turin.
Bodincomagus ..... on the Po.
Scingomagus ..... near Mount Vesulus.
Cameliomagus ..... near Placentia.

### 4. *Names of places in* acum *in Celtic colonies.*

Teutobodiaci, a Galatian tribe in Cappadocia. (See Diefenbach, Geschichte der Kelten.)

### In Germany:

Mattiacum ..... Marburg.
Bibacum ..... Bibarch.
Arenacum (Tac. Ann. v. 20.) ..... Arnheim.

### In Noricum:

Abudiacum ..... Αβουδιακον, Ptol.
Badacum.
Olimacum..... Lymbach.
Laureacum.

### In Vindelicia:

Vallacum ..... Wilnpach.
Cornacum ..... at the mouth of the Drave.

The preceding examples, to which many others might be added,* are sufficient to prove the frequent occurrence of the above-mentioned elements of local names in the Celtic countries. I now proceed to show that they are equally prevalent in the districts occupied by Belgic tribes.

* Besides the above, many places in the same region, viz. in the countries to the southward of the Danube, in Vindelicia, Noricum, and Pannonia, and a few on the northern bank of that river and in Bohemia, have manifestly Celtic names. The following will serve as a specimen:—

Badorigum.....Breslau.
Marobudum.....Prague.
Cantiabis.....Amberg.
Setuacatum.
Medoslanium.
Anduetium.

## *Names ending with* dunum *or* dinum *in Belgic Gaul.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Noviodunum | | in the Rhemi. |
| Verodunum | Verodunenses | Verdun. |
| Lugodinum, or Lugdunum | Batavorum | Leyden. |

## *Names of places containing* durum *or* duro *in Belgic Gaul.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Durocortora | Rhemi | Rheims. |
| Divodurum | Mediomatrici | Metz. |
| Batavodurum | Batavi. | |
| Duroicoregum | Morini. | |
| Marcodurum | Tungri | Duren on the Roer, M. |
| Duronum | Nervii | near Bavay. |
| Durocatalaunum | | Chalons sur Marne. |

## *Names of places ending in* magus *in Belgic Gaul.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cæsaromagus | Bellovaci | Beauvais. |
| Augustomagus. | | |
| Noviomagus | Nemeti | Speyer. |
| Borbetomagus | Vagii | Worms. |
| Breucomagus. | Tribocci. | |
| Rhatomagus | Subanecti. | Rohan. |
| Lattomagus | Morn. | |
| Marcomagus | Tungri | Marmagen. |
| Durnomagus. | | |
| Noviomagus | Batavi | Nimwegen. |
| Rotomagus | Veliocasses | Rouen. |
| Noiomagus | Subanecti. | |
| Noiomagus | Veromandui | Noyon. |
| Rigomagus | | Rheinmagen. |

## *Names of places ending in* acum *in Belgic Gaul.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nemetacum | | Arras. |
| Gesoriacum | Morini. | |
| Origiacum | Atrebates. | |
| Moguntiacum | Mentz. | |
| Antunnacum | Andernach (Mannert). | |
| Camaracum. | Nervii | Cambray. |
| Hermonacum. | | |
| Bagacum | | Bavay. |
| Cortoriacum | | Courtray. |
| Tolbiacum | Tungri | Tolbiac. |
| Tiberiacum, Mederiacum | | near the Ubian territory, on the Rhine. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Minariacum ..... | Morini ..... | near Terouenne. |
| Geminiacum ..... } Perniciacum ..... } | Aduatuci. | |
| Ricciacum ..... | | near Trèves. |
| Catusiacum ..... | Veromandui. | |
| Turnacum. ..... | Nervii ..... | Tournay. |
| Oromarsaci ..... | Morini. | |
| Bellovaci. | | |
| Blaviacum ..... | Menapii. | |
| Rauraci.* | | |

It now remains to show the prevalence of the same terminations in Britain. The following are found in that small part of Britain supposed to have been inhabited by Belgian tribes, mostly to the southward of a line drawn from the Severn to the Thames.

1. *Names containing* dun *or* din *in Belgic Britain.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sorbiodunum..... | Belgæ ..... | Old Sarum. |
| Dunium or Muridunum | Durotriges ..... | Bridport. |
| Londunum or Londinium } | .... Trinobantes ..... | London. |
| Camalodunum ..... | Trinobantes ..... | Malden or Colchester. |

2. *Names containing* duro *and* durum *in Belgic Britain.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Durovernum..... | Cantii ..... | Canterbury. |
| Durobrivæ. ..... | id..... | Rochester. |
| Durolevum. ..... | id..... | Milton. |
| Durolitum ..... | Trinobantes..... | Leyton. |
| Durnovaria ..... | Durotriges ..... | Dorchester. |
| Durotriges. | | |
| Durocornovium. | | |

3. *Names containing* magus *in Belgic Britain.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cæsaromagus ..... | Trinobantes ..... | Holwood Hill, Sussex. |
| Noviomagus..... | Regni..... | Woodcote. |
| Sitomagus. ..... | Cenimagni. | |

4. *Names containing* acum *in Belgic Britain.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Segontiaci..... | A tribe above the proper Belgæ. | |
| Vagniacum ..... | Cantii ..... | North Fleet. |

The following list contains names of places occurring those parts of Britain supposed to have been inhabited by aboriginal Britons of Cæsar.

* Cæsar, Com. i. 5. Ammian. Marcell. 16. 11.

1. *Names of places in* dunum *or* dinum *among the Ancient Britons.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Maridunum | Silures | Carmarthen. |
| Rhigodunum* | | Rippon (?). |
| Camulodunum | Brigantes | Holderness. |
| Cambodunum | Brigantes. | |
| Rigodunum | Sedantii | Warrington. |
| Margidunum | Coritani | Nottingham. |
| Branodunum | Iceni | Brancaster. |
| Dunum Æstuarum | Brigantes | Mouth of Tees. |
| Rhigodunum * | Brigantes | Halifax (?). |
| Ottadini. | | |
| Gadeni. | | |

*Names containing* durum *or* duro.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Durocobrivium | Catieuchlani | Stony Stratford. |
| Lactodorum | Catieuchlani | Towcester. |
| Durobrivæ | Catieuchlani | Caster. |
| Durolipsus | Iceni. | |
| Durocorinium | Dobuni | Cirencester. |
| Durnomagus | Iceni. | |

*Names containing* magus *among the Ancient Britons.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sitomagus | Iceni | Woolpit. |
| Durnomagus | Iceni | Water Newton. |
| Cæsaromagus. | | |
| Magiovinium | Catieuchlani | Dunstable. |
| Vacomagi | Tribe in North Britain. | |
| Macolitum | Mull in Ireland. | |

*Names containing* acum *among the Ancient Britons.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Eboracum | | York. |
| Braboniacum | Brigantes | Overborough. |
| Sulloniacum | Catieuchlani | Brockley Hill. |
| Galacus | Brigantes | Appleby. |
| Bremetauracum | Brigantes | Brampton. |
| Olenacum | Brigantes | Old Carlisle. |
| Epiacum | id. | Hexham. |
| Brovonacium | Brigantes | Kirkley Thure. |
| Curnonacæ (?). | | |

*Briga* and, what is perhaps only another form of the same ord, *Briva*, are frequent components of local names through- t the Celtic countries. They are particularly numerous in e names of places in Spain, and according to the observa- n of M. de Humboldt, especially in parts of Spain in-

* Possibly the same place.

habited by Celtiberian or Celtic tribes, or under the influence of those nations. We find Arcobriga, Segobriga, and Augustobriga, at no great distance from Numantia, and the same termination occurs in various parts of Lusitania, and in the north-western parts of the Peninsula.

The following are a few instances occurring in Celtic Gaul and in other countries where the Celtæ had colonies:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Eburobriga ..... | Senones ..... | near Sens. |
| Limnobriga..... | | near Noyon. |
| Amageubriga ..... | | on the Arar. |
| Pagus Arebrigius ..... | | on the Arar. |
| Briva..... | Arverni. | |
| Brivates Portus ..... | | Brest. |
| Brigantia ..... ... | | Constanz (?). |
| Brigobanne ..... | | to the northward of the Lake of Constanz. |
| Litanobrige ..... | Anton. Itin. | |
| Netiobriges ..... | | Agen, in the South of Celtic Gaul. |
| Allobryges (?). | | |
| Brigiosum..... | Pictones. | |
| Brivodurum ..... | Aureliani ..... | Briave. |
| Bragodurum. | | |
| Brigania ..... | Ligures. | |
| Artobriga ..... | | on the Danube. |
| Brigetium ..... | Upper Pannonia. | |

In Belgic Gaul:

Latobrigæ, Cæsar, B. G. 1—5.

Samarobriva, or Samarobriga, on the river Samara, or the Somme, in Anton. Itin.

In Britain:

1. In Belgic Britain:

Brigæ, in Belgis, near Venta Belgarum.—Durobrivæ, Durocobrivæ.

2. In the Northern parts, among the ancient Britons:

Brigantes, a principal tribe of Britons.—Brigantes, in Ireland.—Isubrigantes.—Bravinium.—2. Brivinium in Ordovicis.

The above examples belonging to each particular word in Britain are comparatively few, but they bear a very large proportion to the whole number of local names on this island, which contained by no means so many towns or cities, in reference to its extent, as Gaul.

Besides the preceding words, which are of most frequent occurrence in the topographical nomenclatures of the countries

compared, there are others which though not so numerous may be looked upon as almost equally characteristic of Celtic habitation, and among them we find the same terms appropriated by nations of all the different divisions of the Celtic family.

### SEGO or SEGE.—*Names of Places or of Tribes beginning with* Sego, Sege.

#### In Spain:

Segobriga, of the Edetani in Tarraconensis.—Segobriga, of the Celtiberians.—Segontia, of the Arevaci in Tarraconensis.—Segontia of the Celtiberi.—Segessamo and Saguntia, two cities in Spain.—Saguntum, of the Edetani.—Segienses, Segeda.

#### In Celtic Gaul:

Segovellauni, Segalauni, in Gall. Narbon.—Segodunum, Ratenor. in Aquitan.—Segone, the Saone.—Segobodium, in Sequanis.—Segobrigii, in Southern Gaul.—Segustero, Sisteron, (Mannert).—Segusium, Piedmont, near the Ligurian.—Segusiani, near Mons Cemmenus.

#### In Britain, Germany, and Belgica:

Segontium, i. e. Caer Segent, Silcester, in Belgic Britain.—Segontiaci, the tribe.—Segedunum, in Britain.—Segelocum, of the Coritani, in Britain. Itin. Antonin.—Segontium, near Anglesea.—Segodunum, near Cologne.—Segeste, Segestice, in Pannonia.—Seguacatum, in Germany.

### EBURO, EBOR.

#### In Spain:

Eburobritium, (Alcobaza,) in Lusitania.—Ebora, several towns in Spain, e. g. Ebora on the Anas.

#### In Celtic Gaul:

Eborica, town of the Aulerci-Eburovices also called Eburones, Eburovices, and Εβουραικοι.—Eburovix, their chieftain.—Eborodunum Caturigum. Επεβροδουνον in Gall. Narbon.—Eburobrica, Gall. Lugdun.—Eborolacum, G. Aquitan.—Eporædia in the Cisalpine.

#### In Belgica:

Eburones.

#### In Britain:

Eboracum.—Caer Eborauc.—York.

### TRI, TRE, TREV.

#### In Celtica:

Tricasteni, Tricassii, Tricovii.—Tridentum.—Tricorii, near the Vocontii, in Provence.

#### In Belgica:

Treviri.—Tribocci.

In Britain:

Trinobantes.—Trisanton fl. near Southampton.

NEMO, or NEMETO.

Nemeto-briga, Tiburi in Asturia.—Nemanturissa, Spain.—Νεμεταται, Tarracon.

In Celtic Gaul:

Nemausus Colonia, Tectosages Arecomici Nismes.—Nemeturici, in Plin. 3. 20.—Nemossus, or Augustonemetum, (Strab. 4.) in A Clermont.—Vernemetum.

In Belgica:

Nemetacum, Atrebates.—Nemetæ, in Belgica, near Speyer.

In Britain:

Verno-nemetum, Willoughby-on-the-Wold.

MEDIOLANUM OF LANIUM.

Mediolanum or Mediolanium, Insubria, in Gall. Cisalp. Milan.—Medi Santonum, Xantonge, in Celtica.—Mediolanium, in Biturig. Cub.– lanium, Aulerci-Eburaici.—Mediolanium, in Germania Prima.—I nium Ordovicum, in North Wales. Two towns of this name in according to Baxter.—Diefenbach, 328.

NANT.

Nannetes, in Britanny, Nantes.—Nantuates, Nantueil.—Nantuacum, N Burgundy.

VENTA.

In Britain:

Venta Belgarum, Venta Silurum, Winchester, Caerwent, in the province o —Venta Simenorum.—(Ptol. 34.)—Norfolk.

In Gaul:

Veneti, in Armorica.—Vinduna.—Tauro-ventum, near Toulon. (Manr —Ventia in Allobrog. (Dio. Cass. Mannert, 93.)—Vindulum, on th (Strabo.)—Vindomagus, in Narbonensis.

N.B. Here are cognate names in Celtic Gaul and in Britain, both Be Interior.

CON, CAN, CANT.

In Spain:

Canaca, Cantabri, Concana, Contestani, Contrabia.

In Celtic Gaul:

Condate, on the Loire.—Condate, near Lyons.—Condatomagus.—Co near Toulouse, Cenomani.—Condivincum, in Britanny.—Vocontii, bonensis.

In Britain:

Concanguium.—Mancunium, Manchester.—Canonium, near the Thame conium, in Herefordshire.—Urioconium, Wroxeter.—Veroconium.

CAD, CAT, CASS.

Cadurci, in Celtic Gaul.—Cadurinus ager, in Venet. Frioul. hodie Il Cad Caturiges, in Gall. Narb.—Catorimagus, their city.—Catobriga, in L

Veneliocassii, in Britanny.—Abrincatui, ditto, Avranches.—Beducasses, ditto, Bodiocasses, Bayeux.—Cassinomagus. Lemovices, G. Celt.—Vadicassii, Burgundy.—Tricassii.—Durocassium.—Peut. Tab. c. 6. Durocasses, Ant. Itin. Dreux.

Caturiacum, Belgica.

RIT, RID.

Augustoritum Pictonum, Poictiers.—Vago-ritum ?—Majoritum.—Aricii.

RIC, RIG.

Dariorigum Venetorum, Britanny.—Caturiges, Bituriges, Celtica.—Avaricum.—Bourges.—Mediomatrici.

In Britain:

Durotriges.—Carbanto-rigum.—Rhigodunum.

LAUNUS, LAUNI, LAUN.

Velauni, Celtica Aquitan.—Segelauni, Gall. Narbon.—Landobris, island in Lusitania.—Λανδοσια, town of the Galatian Tectosages.—Launi, Alauni, and Benlauni, in Vindelicia and Noricum.—Orolaunum.—Cassi-vellaunus, Caswallon ?—Catalauni, in Gall. Belgic.—Catuvellauni, in Britain.—Alauna, Alaunum, Gall. Lugdun.—Alauna of the Damnii, in Caledonia.—Alauna, in Ordovicibus, and many others in Britain.

VIC, VECIS, IC, ECIS.

Lemo-vices.—Branno-vices; Avatici; Narbon. (Mannert, 83.)

In Britain:

Interior, not Belgic; Ordovices.—Gabranto-vici.

ĀTUM, ĀTES.

Brivates Portus, Brest.—Atrebates, in Belg.

*Note.* A great number of particular analogies might be added. Compare, for example, Uxella in Devonshire, and Uxellodunum in Guienne.

## SECT. XI.—*Results deducible from this comparison.*

### *Paragraph* 1.—Unity of language throughout the Celtic and Belgic countries.

The first result to which the foregoing comparison of local names leads us is, that one language prevailed through all the countries of which we have surveyed the topographical nomenclature. The amount of evidence which the facts bring out in support of this conclusion may be estimated by referring to some analogous examples. Any person who looks over a map of ancient Palestine, or one of Egypt, in which all the local terms are marked down correctly, would find no difficulty in

recognising the Hebrew or Egyptian names wherever they appear, and in ascertaining by such a comparison the extent to which either the Israelitish race or the Egyptian people, with their respective languages, reached. If we examine a modern chart of North America, we easily perceive by the names of places where the settlements of the Anglo-Americans terminate, and where the Spanish territory begins; and a map of the United States would afford unequivocal proof, if the people and all records of their history were swept away, that they were of English origin. If any one asserted that the people of Virginia were of a different race from those of New England, a sufficient refutation would be furnished by the local terminology of the two countries. Precisely parallel is the evidence afforded by the names of places in the countries which we have surveyed that, throughout the whole extent of these countries, one mother-tongue was prevalent. This conclusion, as it must be observed, extends to the territories of the Belgic and Celtic Gauls; it comprehends in Britain the maritime parts said to have been inhabited by colonies from Belgica, as well as the interior, of which the natives are said by Cæsar to have been aborigines, and it includes all the settlements of the Gauls in Spain, Italy, Germany, Noricum, and Pannonia. We are informed by the ancient writers cited in the preceding section, that dialectic differences existed in the idioms of these nations; but these, as we have already observed, are said to have been but inconsiderable—*μικρὸν παραλλαττόντων*—and they were, as the topographical nomenclature shows, not so strongly marked as to leave any perceptible results in the names of places and tribes. We cannot therefore admit that any diversity existed between the speech of the Belgic and the Celtic Gauls which can bear analogy to the difference between the Welsh and Irish languages. This conclusion, which we have already drawn from a consideration of what the ancient writers have said, is thus confirmed by local investigations, for the names of towns and countries, of tribes and of individuals, are often identical in Belgic and in Celtic countries; in other instances they are compounded of the same elements. In addition to numerous examples of this kind already adverted to, an attentive exa-

miner will perceive the same kind of formation pervading all the local names of Gaul. As soon as we pass the border into the north of Germany, or southward into Spain or Tuscany, or in any other direction from the boundaries of the Celtic countries, a totally different character becomes apparent in the construction and in the elements of names; but one common character prevails through Belgic and Celtic Gaul.

It appears then certain as far as such a fact can be ascertained, that all these nations had one common idiom, and that the slight difference of speech which existed among them was scarcely greater than that which discovers itself when we compare one dialect of the British language with another, as the Welsh with the Cornish or Armorican; and this is the sense in which we must understand Cæsar's assertion as to the difference of speech between the Celtic and the Belgic Gauls.

*Paragraph* 2.—Inquiry to what modern dialect was the ancient common language of all Celtica and Belgica related.

It remains to be inquired what relations the ancient language, which we thus find to have prevailed through all the countries of the Gauls and Britons, can be discovered to bear to the presently existing idioms of the so termed Celtic nations, and whether it approached most to the Erse or the Welsh. As the decision of this question may lead to some conclusions important in regard to the history of the race, I shall state all the evidence upon the subject that I can collect; and first I shall endeavour to show how far the elements of local names above collected can be referred to Welsh or Irish etymons.

1. The syllables *duro* at the beginnings, and *durum* at the end of local terms, occur in the names of towns or places situated near rivers on the sea. We find in Welsh, *dwr*, i. e. *dŵr*, and *duvr* or *dūvyr*, water.*—Cornish *dour*, Armoric *dur*. This is a word in common use among the Welsh.

The Irish and Gaëlic word corresponding is *uisge*. Lhuyd and Armstrong give *dobhar*, *dovar*, as obsolete Erse words.

* O'Reilly and O'Brien have *dūr*, water, without any authority,—inserted perhaps conjecturally,—as an etymon for names of places.

2. *Magus*, terminating names of places. Irish and Gaëlic have *māgh*, a field, or plain. *Maes*, pronounced *mās*, is the same word in Welsh and Armorican.*

3. *Dunum.—Dùn*, according to Bede, signified a hill-fortress in the ancient British language, viz. the language of Wales and the Strathclyde Britons, and according to Clitophon it had the same meaning in the ancient Gaulish.†

In the names of places in Britain, *dun* and *din* appear to have been used indifferently one for the other: we find Londunum and Londinum. Maridunum was the old name for the modern Caer-mhyrdhin, Carmarthen; Dindryvan, the old name for Dunraven. The modern Welsh word *dinas*, meaning city, has doubtless the same etymon.

*Dùn* is explained by Irish and Gaëlic lexicographers a fortified hill, or fortress.

4. *Briga.*—In Irish Gaëlic lexicons—O'Reilly, Armstrong, Lhuyd, &c.,—*brug*, *brugh*, and *burg* are marked as obsolete Irish words for a town or borough.

It may be doubted whether this term, which seems appropriated to objects foreign to the wild manners of the ancient Irish, is really an Irish word. It is more probably one borrowed from the Saxon and Danish invaders of Ireland.

In Welsh, *brig* means a summit or top, applied to branches, trees, twigs, hair. *Bro* is a country, chiefly a low and plain country.‡ *Brô*, in Armorican, a country or region.

In Spain, *briga* occurs very frequently in the Ibero-Celtic countries, generally appropriated to towns on great rivers. So in Gaul, Amageubriga on the Arar, and Pagus Arebrigius, also on the Arar. Is this Ararbridge, as we say Axbridge? But this etymology is hardly applicable to such names as that of the Brigantes.

* *Ae* in Welsh often denotes the omission of a guttural, as *chwaer*, i. e. *chwa-her*, or *chwa-cher*. Pers. *khu-her*, sister. So *maes* is probably *magus*.

† Δοῦνον καλοῦσι τὸν ἐξέχοντα. See Armstrong's Gaëlic Dictionary, under *dun*.

‡ *All-bhro*, exiles into another country. Can this be the etymon of Allobroges? The termination *broges* may be from *bro*, which may have been originally *brogh* and connected with *brugh* in Erse. This, if an originally Celtic word, is more likely to have had the meaning appropriated to *bro*. But *brugh*, *brogh* are too remote from *briga* to furnish probable etymon.

Briva also occurs, probably cognate with Briga. We find Briva in Brivates Portus, Brivodurum, Durobrivæ, Briva Isaræ, now Pontoise, or the bridge over the Oise, in the Isle de France, Briva-Curretia, now Brive la Gaillarde, where there was a bridge over the Courèze. It appears hence that Briva was connected with places where there were bridges. We are informed by Strabo that Mesembria, in Thrace, was a colony of the Megarenses, formerly called Menembria from its founder Mene. He adds that the Thracian word for city is Βρία. Hence the city of Selys is Selybria, and Ænus was called Poltiobria.*

On the whole it appears probable that the ancient Celtic had some word or words no longer extant in its dialects whence the places before enumerated derived the epithet *briga*, which forms a part of their names. One such vocable meant bridge, and was cognate with the German *brig*, *brücke*. It is likely that another word existed analogous to the Thracian βρια, and to the *bro* of the Welsh dialects.

5. *Sege*, or *sego*, as in Segedunum. *Sigh*, in Erse, honour, dignity. *Sêg*, in Welsh, whence *segain*, *segaidh*, a covering, septum, tegmen.

It is very doubtful whether the frequent commencement of proper names in *sege* and *sego*, as above, can be derived from either of these words.

Sigovesus, king of the Bituriges, had from this etymon his name.

It is probable that the Celtic had formerly a word cognate with the German *sieg*, victory.

6. *Nêv*, (i. e. *Nêmh ?*) Welsh, *Heaven ; Neamh* is the same word in Erse. Can this be the etymon of Nemet, which meant a temple, according to Fortunatus? Hence Drynemetum,† Vernonemetis, ‡ and many names of places celebrated for tem-

* Strabo, lib. vii. p. 319.

† Drynemetum was a place where the Council of Three Hundred, from all the three nations of the Gauls in Galatia, assembled. (Strabo, b. xii. p. 567.) Probably from *derw*, oak, and *nemet*, a temple.

‡ Vernemetis was the name of a celebrated temple in the territory of Bordeaux, the name of which, according to Fortunatus, signified "Fanum ingens." Perhaps "vawr" great, is prefixed to the word which we thus learn to have been used for temple in the old Celtic, and which is no longer extant. See Mithridates, ii. p. 77. There was likewise a Vernonemetum in Britain, mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

ples, as Clermont or Augustonemetum in Auvergne, where was the temple of Vasa, Nemetacum, by Cæsar Nemetocenna, now Arras. The latter was in Belgica,* the former in the heart of Celtica.

Adelung conjectures that Nem, i. e. *nemus*, was a different root from the above-mentioned, whence the Nemetis, near Speyer, the Nementuri on the Alps, and the Nimidæ, in Concil. Lipt. "de Sacris Sylvarum quas Nimidas vocant."†

There is an Erse word *naomh*, sacred, pl. *naoimh*, probably the etymon of the above.

7. *Nant*, valley, rivulet, Welsh: not extant in the Erse dialect. It is in common use in Wales, and in the same sense is understood in Savoy, where Nant de Gria, Nant de Taconay, are well known, and Nant Arpenaz, a torrent flowing over a summit, which is exactly described in Welsh by Nant-arpenau. Hence many local names in Gaul, as Nantuacum, now Nantue, in Burgundy, situated in a narrow valley on a lake between two mountains; also Nantuates, at Nanteuil, who, as we are informed by Strabo, occupied the valley of the Rhine immediately below its source; and Nannetes, or Nantes, in a country intersected by rivulets.‡

8. *Ebor* or *Ebur*.—I find no probable etymon for names containing Ebor, except the Welsh *Aber*, which means a confluence of waters. The use of this word *Aber* was not confined to Wales, since Aberdeen, Aberborthrick, Abercurnig, &c. are well known in Scotland. Havre de Grace has probably hence its name.§

9. *Tre*—in Treviri, Tricastini, &c. Tre, Trev, a town, Welsh. No similar word is extant in Erse.

10. *Launi*, *Laun*.—Llan, Welsh, an enclosure, τεμενος. Hence Segelauni, Catieuchlani, &c.

11. *Cad*, *Cat*, *Cas*.—Cad in Welsh means troops; whence *caterva*, from *cad*, battle or fight; and *tyrva*, i. e. *turma*, *cad-tyrva*, *caterva*, a troop of soldiers.

* Cæsar, viii. 46—52.

† See Adelung, Mithrid. ii. p. 65. Radlof's Neue Untersuchungen des Keltenthums. Bonn, 1822, p. 399.

‡ Adelung, Mithrid. ii. p. 64.

§ Is it probable that the words containing Ebor are derived from a lost Celtic word analogous to *ufer*, banks, in German? Ebor-ach, might then express a place on the banks of a river, or water, a more applicable designation than any derivable from the Welsh *aber*.

12. *Acum, iacum*—as in Nemetacum, Epiacum, Gessoriacum. *Aig* (Welsh), a herd, flock, troop; *aig* and *aich* are likewise common terminations in Welsh.

13. *Ates* and *iates, atus.*—*Iaid, aid,* in Welsh, a frequent termination of adjectives, as Ceisariaid the Cæsarians or Romans, easily convertible into *ates, iates*: likewise *aeth,* a termination of nouns, as Cattraeth.

14. *Ritum*—in Augustoritum, Poictiers; Anderitum, Javols; Camboritum, Cambridge; Durocoritum, Vannes. *Rhŷd,* Welsh, *Rŷd,* Cornish, a ford; whence Rhyd-ychan, the Welsh for Oxford. Erse has no corresponding word approaching to this root.

15. *Triges*—in Durotriges. *Trig* in Welsh, to stay, to abide; whence *trigan,* to remain; *trigadiad,* inhabitants; hence Duro-triges, dwellers near water.

16. *Lhwch,* Welsh—*loch,* Erse, lake, inlet of water. This word occurs chiefly as *lūg* or *lūc,* as Loukotokia, Paris. Lugdunum, the capital of the Segusiani, between the Rhone and the Dubis, was situated under a hill, where, according to Strabo, the Arar and Rhone join.

From the preceding collection I think it appears that the extant Celtic dialects have probably lost many words which were known to the ancient people who spoke the Celtic and Belgic languages, and were common to both; but that a greater number of the elements of compound names are discoverable in Welsh than in Erse. I shall now make an attempt to analyse some proper names and titles of persons, and a few particular epithets.

1. *Brennus* occurs twice in the scanty record of Celtic names. Brennus who sacked Rome was a king of the Senones. The Brennus who commanded the Celtic invaders of Greece, was probably a chief of the Tectosagi. Both these nations were, as we have seen reason to believe, Celtic Gauls.

Brennus has been supposed to be Brenhin, the Welsh word for king. Perhaps this word is originally allied to the proper name Bran or Brân, which is of frequent occurrence among the chieftains of Welsh tribes: there was a Bran ap Lhyr, the father of Caradoc or Caractacus, a Bran ap Llywarch, and a Bran ap Dyvnwal. Bren is the Armorican word for king.

In Erse there is an obsolete word Braes, meaning prince, but this is too remote.

2. *Orix* is the termination of many names of Gaulish chiefs, as Ambiorix, Cingetorix, Vercingetorix, Eporedorix, Dumnorix, Orgetorix. Boiorix was a chieftain of the Cimbri.

*Goruch*,* or in construction *oruch*, the initial *g* being omitted by rule, means in Welsh 'sovereignty, supremacy:' there is also an adverb *goruch*, which means 'above, superior.' *Orix* may be derived from this etymon, but I rather think it comes from *gorwych*, meaning *præpotens*, ὑπεράλκιμος, a word of admitted use. Thus Cingetorix is easily resolvable into Cyncad, meaning the *first in battle*, and Orwych. The compound name, which is perfectly in the genius of the Welsh language, Cyncad-orwych, could not otherwise be so easily written by a Roman as by Cingetorix.† Dumnorix is the valiant or mighty Dwvyn or Dymhyn, or Dymhn. This in one syllable enters into the composition of Welsh or British proper names, as Dyvnwal Moelmud, or Dunwallo Molmutius, Dyvnaint, Dumnacus, a prince of the Andes.

*Ver*, in Vercingetorix, and in other names, is probably the Welsh *gwr*, *wr*, Irish *fear*, meaning *vir*, ἥρως. *Gw* in Welsh, commonly represents *vi* in Latin, as in *gwraig*, virago; sometimes *vo*, as in Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern in a Latinised orthography), that name meaning "*vir princeps*."‡ Strabo writes the name of Vercingetorix Ουερκιγγετωριξ. It may be observed that *ουερ* quite as nearly resembles *gwr* and *wr* as the Irish *fear*. Hence Ver-cinget-orix is Gwr-cyncad-orwych, and Orget-orix is Gorcad-orwych. Ambiorix has the same *orix*, following *Ambi*, which occurs in other Celtic names, as in Ambigatus.

* *U* in Welsh is pronounced almost as *i*, or as *ue* in the vulgar pronunciation in some parts of Germany.

† O'Brien derives Cingetorix from the Erse words Cin-go-toir, meaning '*leader of the expedition*.' He supposes it an official title, not a proper name. But this would make only a term for a merely temporary appointment; whereas Cingetorix, if not a proper name, was a perpetual and constant designation of a particular person. Something more is wanting to explain the termination *ix*, which is not a Latin ending; and the *orix* is probably of the same origin in this as in other names. The Welsh etymon above given is preferable, as it fulfils all these conditions. It affords a personal and constant designation, it explains the termination in *ix*, and it elucidates all the other corresponding names above enumerated.

‡ Vortimer is, however, Gorthevyr, *gor* answering to the Welsh *vor*.

It will afford some confirmation of the conclusions drawn in the last section, as to the identity of language among different Celtic nations, to observe that those names terminating in *orix*, and formed from the same etymons, are common to tribes belonging to all the different branches of the race. Cæsar mentions two chieftains named Cingetorix, one a chief of the Cantii, or people of Kent,* the other a prince of the Treviri :† the latter of these tribes were Belgæ, the former, inhabiting the south-eastern extremity of Britain, were also probably Belgæ.‡ Vercingetorix was the son of Celtillus, of the tribe of Arverni,§ whose father, as Cæsar says, had obtained the principality of all Gaul, that is of all Celtica, for the Belgæ had no concern with the relations between the states of Celtica. To the same confederacy we find several Celtic states united under this Vercingetorix, as the Senones, Parisii, Pictones, Cadurci, Turones, Aulerci, Lemovices, Andes and others, extending to the sea-coast. All these were genuine Celtic tribes, and with the Arverni, they occupied the heart of Gallic Celtica. There can be no doubt that Vercingetorix was a Celt, which the name of his father would alone indicate him to have been. Dumnorix was a prince of the Hædui, and Orgetorix of the Helvetii, both of which nations were undoubtedly Celts, since they inhabited the southern region of Gaul, remote from Belgica, and were, especially the former, in relation with the Romans, and certainly well known to them at a time when the very name of Belgæ was unheard. The Helvetii had defeated a Roman army, and the Hædui, before Cæsar's time, were allies of Rome, and Divitiacus, the brother of Dumnorix, who was a Druid, was the hospes of a Roman family. Ambiorix again was a Belgian, being prince of the Eburones, between the Rhine and the Meuse.‖ Ambigatus, whose name was the same, with a

* Lib. v. c. 12. † Lib. v. c. 3. ‡ Lib. vii. c. 4.

§ Strabo describes the Arverni as a most powerful people in Gaul. The metropolis of Ουερκιγγετωριξ was Gergovium. Adjoining to the Arverni was the country of the Mandubii—between the Hædui and the Senones. In their territory was the great Gaulish town of Alesia. Λουεριος ὁ Βιττου or Βιτιτου πατηρ was a rich Arvernian citizen. Λουεριος is, perhaps, Llywarch (pronounced Λουαρχ).

‖ Lib. v. c. 24.

different termination, was king of the Bituriges, who were Celts. Lastly, Boiorix was chieftain of the Cimbri, whom his name seems to connect with the Boii and other Celts. Divitiacus affords another instance of a name common to the two nations, for Divitiacus the Druid was a Hæduan, and there was another, a Belgic Divitiacus, who is said to have acquired great power in Britain.

In general the names of men in Belgica and Celtica are very much alike, and have similar elements. Many end in *atus*, as Ambigatus; others in *acus*; and still more in *marus*, as Civismarus, Indutiomarus, Viridumarus. These last are probably compound names, *marus* representing the frequent Welsh epithet *mawr*, as Britomarus, the Insubrian chief mentioned by Florus, was Brito the Great, or Brython mawr.

The names of Gauls and Britons mentioned in history appear then to furnish abundant proof that the language of the different parts, both of this island and of Celtic and Belgic Gaul, was the same, and that this language was nearly akin to the Welsh.

Boadicea, the queen of the Iceni, was the daughter of Prasutagus. She is called by Dio and Xiphilin, Bonduca. Nearly the same name occurs in an old inscription in the country of the Silures, in which Bodvuc is said to have been the son of Catot.*

It has often been observed that the names of two rivers in Southern Gaul are descriptive of them, when referred to Welsh etymons. Arar, which flowed "leni amne," is perhaps derived from *arav*, mild, gentle, in Welsh; and Garonne, from *garw*, rough, impetuous. The initial part of Lugdunum, and many other names, is perhaps the Welsh *Lhwch*, a lake or inlet. The Erse *loch* is somewhat more remote. *Lhwch* is probably the first syllable of the Gallic term for Paris, namely, Lukotokia or Luketekia, as Strabo and Ptolemy have the name of that city.†

* On Margam mountain is an upright stone on a small barrow, with an inscription, mentioned by Camden, and still very legible. It is "Hic jacet Bodvuc, filius Catotis, Urni pronepos, æternali in domo." This must have been erected previously to the introduction of Christianity.

† From *lhwch* (*lŭch*), water, and *toki*, i. e. toki, to cut. The Parisii lived on the islands divided by the Seine.

Armorica, a sea-coast land, from *ar mor*, Welsh; in Erse, *air muir*.

Arelatum, Arles, from *ar*, upon, and *llaeth*, morass.*

I shall now add a few authentic Gaulish words, preserved in classical authors, together with their meanings. As these are termed "vocabula Gallica et Celtica," they may be considered as component words of the Celtic or Gallic idiom, properly so termed, and they will tend to elucidate the question, to which modern language the old Celtic most approximated.

1. *Petorritum*, a four-wheeled carriage, according to Quintilian, Varro, Sestus, and Gellius, derived its name from the language of the Galli.† *Petor*, four, is Welsh and Cornish; *rhod*, a wheel, in Welsh. This word could not be derived from the Gaëlic or Irish, in which *keathar* is the term for *four*.

2. *Pempedula*, cinqfoil, according to Dioscorides, so termed from the (Celtic) Dacians. *Pemp*, *pump*, five, Welsh, Cornish, and Armorican; and *deilen*, Welsh for a leaf. The Irish word for leaf, *duille*, would answer as well for the etymon, but the Irish word for five is *cuig*.

3. *Bascaude*, a basket. A British word. "Barbara de pictis venit bascauda Britannis."‡ Welsh *basgawd*, a basket, from *basg*, to net or plait. The Erse has *baskeitt*, a basket, but without the root, and perhaps derived from English.

4. *Trimarkisia*, according to Pausanias, a Galatian word for a knight fighting with two horsemen, as helpers. Etym. *tri*, three, and *march*, horse, both in Welsh and Erse.

5. In the life of St. Caprasius, it is said that the town of Agen in Guienne or Agennum, had its name "ab hiatu speluncæ." *Agen* is a Welsh word for a cleft or cave. There is no similar word in Erse with this meaning.

6. *Bagaudæ*, the rustic multitude who made an insurrection in Gaul in the time of Diocletian and Maximian. Welsh *bagad*, a multitude.

* Mithridates, ii. 4.

† Aul. Gellius says, "Petorritum enim est non ex Græca dimidiatum sed totum Transalpibus. Nam est vox Gallica."

‡ Martial, xiv. 97.

7. *Bastard*, in Du Fresne, derived evidently from the Welsh word *bas*, shallow, and *tardd*, springing.

8. *Vergobretus*, according to Cæsar,* was a term for the chief magistrate among the Hædui.

O'Brien, in the learned preface to his Irish Dictionary, derives this term from the Erse word *breath*, judgment. *Fear go breith* means in Irish "vir ad judicium."

The Welsh affords an equally apt etymology. *Gwr*, that is *wr, vir*; and *cyvraith*, judicial proceedings. *Gwr-gyvraith*, meaning "vir ad leges," would be written in Latin Vergobretus.†

9. *Calliomarchus*, the plant termed Equiungula. The name is derived, according to Marcellus Burdigalensis, from "*marc*" *equus* and "*cal, calus*," *ungula*. *March*, equus, *caled*, durus, are words now extant in Welsh. Armoric *kalet*, Erse *cala*.

10. *Caterva*, according to Vegetius and Isidorus a word of Gallic origin. *Cad* and *tyrva*, a troop of soldiers, or a battle-troop in Welsh. The Erse has *Cath*, battle; but no word answering to *tyrva*. *Torva* or *tyrva* (turmha) answers to *turma* in Latin, and is the other component of *caterva*.

11. *Rheda*, a four-wheeled carriage, a cart, or small waggon. According to Quintilian, lib. i. c. 5, derived by the Romans, together with the term, from the Gauls. Described by Fortunatus, lib. ii. Carm. 20.

The etymon is in Welsh *rhe*, swift; whence *rhedu*, to run; *rhêd*, a course; *rhedeg*, to run a course. Arm. *redek*, Erse *reathaim*, I run.

Both Erse and Welsh have this root, but the Welsh is nearest to the old Gaulish.

12. *Candetum*, a land measure of one hundred feet, in Columella. *Cant*, Welsh and Arm. a hundred.

The Erse is *kêd*. The Welsh word is plainly the etymon.

13. *Tarwos Trigaranos*, an inscription on a stone found A.D. 1711 in the cathedral church at Paris, representing the form

* Lib. i. c. 18.

† This etymology was pointed out to me by my late excellent friend Dr. West, of Dublin.

of an ox on which three birds are sitting. Etym. *tarw*, meaning bull in the Welsh and Armorican; *tri*, the number three, and *garan*, a crane. The Erse words are *tarbh*, *tri*, *corr*, which are much more remote from the Gaulish.

*Paragraph* 3.—Second result deduced from the preceding examination.

We may venture to draw from the whole of this examination some further inferences.

It appears that a very large proportion of the old Celtic words found to have entered into the composition of local names in Gaul and other countries inhabited by the Celtic race, or forming either in part or wholly the proper names or epithets of individuals, are to be recognised in the British or Welsh language, while a much smaller relative number are extant in the Gaëlic or Erse. A parallel observation may be made respecting the etymons of genuine Celtic words preserved in classical authors either in terms for objects, of which the Romans happened to derive the names from the Gauls, or as epithets of Celtic gods, warriors, or magistrates. We must hence conclude that the dialect of the ancient Gauls was nearly allied to the Welsh, and much more remotely related to the Erse or Gaëlic.

It appears on the whole evident from this comparison that Strabo was correct in stating the difference between the languages of the several nations in Gaul, the Aquitani being excluded, to have been little and inconsiderable. We have reason to believe from a consideration already adverted to, that the various tribes of Gauls and Belgians mutually understood each other in conversation; and it is probable that the difference between their dialects was nearly parallel with that which subsisted between the Welsh and Cornish at the time when both these idioms were spoken in South Britain. The Welsh, which is the relic of the language of the inland Britons or Cæsar's aborigines, is most probably akin to the dialect of Gallia Celtica, and the Cornish to the idiom of the Belgæ, who overran the southern district of England, and probably sought refuge in the west when the Saxons

were extending themselves from the eastern part of the island.*

It may further be observed, that the etymons of several local names are not clearly discoverable in any Celtic dialect extant. In one or two instances the Teutonic languages seem to supply this defect, as in that of the numerous names ending in *briga*. The existence of such words in the Celtic language cannot be attributed to intermixtures of Germans and Gauls, according to the usual summary way of explaining such phenomena. It implies that many vocables were common to the languages of these two great races in ancient which are not extant in modern times.

When we consider the extreme paucity of true Celtic words expressive of ideas that denoted some progress in refinement, and compare this fact with the state of civilisation which existed in some parts, especially, of Celtic Gaul, the conviction forces itself upon us that we have extant but a very small part of the Celtic language. The ancient civilised Celts must have had vernacular words suited to their stock of ideas.† They

* To this conclusion my late excellent friend Dr. West, of Dublin, had been led by his learned researches into the history of the inhabitants of the British islands. His inquiries had been pursued on a different path from my own, and they had brought him to the same result.

It is very satisfactory to me to find a similar inference drawn by a writer of great research, whose work has appeared long since the above remarks were written—I allude to Dr. Lor. Diefenbach, whose treatise, entitled "Versuch einer genealogischen Geschichte der Kelten," has been published at Stuttgart in the course of the present year, 1840. He says, after adopting a different conclusion from that which I have drawn on some particulars, and especially as to the Welsh, whom he supposes to have been Belgæ: "Der Ueberblick der obigen Quellen-Aussagen zeigt uns die Unterschiede der Galli und Belgæ bey weitem nicht so stark als Cæsar's Aeusserung auf den ersten Blick vermuthen lässt. Schon bey ihm wird Galli und Gallia häufig in umfassenden Sinne gebraucht," u. s. w. Celtica, ii. p. 57.

† Thus it is probable that the Celts had a native word for bridge, perhaps analogous to *brig*, and furnishing the etymon of names of towns ending in *briga*. The Welsh has no other word than *pont*, evidently Latin. If *pont* had been an old Celtic word we should somewhere find it in Celtic toponomy. Writers of the age of Pelloutier confounded both German and Celtic nations under one name. When this error was pointed out it became the custom to go to the other extreme. It is true that the Celtic and Teutonic languages are very distinct in structure and formation, and yet they have most extensive relations. A large proportion of roots are common to them. This subject has been discussed by Dr. J. E. Radlof, in a work entitled "Neue Untersuchungen des Keltenthumes, zur Aufhellung der Urgeschichte der Teutschen." Bonn, 1822.

probably did not supply their place, as do the modern Welsh and Irish, by a host of words borrowed from foreign languages. The natives of the British isles had but a small part of the Celtic language, as the sphere of their ideas must have been far more limited than those of the Continental Gauls. The Britons bore nearly the same relation to the Gauls, which the Lapps bear to the civilised Finns. A great part of the Celtic language is irrecoverably lost.

We must now advert to the history of those branches of the Celtic race who speak the dialects of the Erse or Gaëlic language, and principally to the Scots and Irish, the latter of whom have preserved from early times a peculiar literature. We must commence this part of our undertaking with a short survey of the history of Ireland.

## Section XII.—*Of the ancient Inhabitants of Ireland.*

### *Paragraph* 1.—Of the accounts of Ireland left by the ancient writers.

Writers of the first century after the Christian era are agreed in representing the natives of Ireland as very barbarous. Strabo speaks thus of the island and its inhabitants: "There are other small islands near that of Britain, and one larger than the rest lying over against it, on the northern side, named Ierne, which is greater in length than in breadth. Concerning this island we have nothing certain to relate except that the inhabitants are more savage—ἀγριώτεροι—than the Britons. They are voracious cannibals, and even think it a laudable thing to eat the dead bodies of their parents."* These stories Strabo reports, as he says, without having derived them from any witnesses worthy of confidence. Diodorus has also asserted that the Irish were man-eaters. This relation, however, would not have obtained much credit, had it not been supported by a passage in the writings of St. Jerom, in which that celebrated father of the Church declares that while he was resident in Gaul he saw human flesh eaten by

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 201. He adds that they lived in promiscuous intercourse.

certain Scots or Attacotts. The Scots or Attacotts to whom Jerom alludes, were probably slaves or other persons who had been brought from Ireland to Gaul. That the Irish people in the time of Jerom were in general savages of a description such as this account suggests, cannot be credited.*

If it is true, as Strabo and Diodorus assert, that in their time the people of Ireland were very barbarous,—and I suppose their testimony must be admitted, unless any evidence can be found to contradict it,—a rapid progress in civilisation must have been made during the two first centuries after the conquest of Britain by the Romans. This is evident from the brief notices to be found in Ptolemy, who describes Ireland as containing several cities. Among them were Eblana, or Dublin; Manapia, Waterford; Dunum, Down; Nagnatæ, supposed to be Limerick, which last is termed—*πόλις ἐπίσημος*†—a distinguished or famous city. Marcianus Heracleota,‡ an industrious collector of geographical information extant in his time,—which was between the age of Ptolemy and the building of Constantinople, § therefore long before the time of Jerom,—describes Ireland as containing sixteen nations—*ἔθνη*—or tribes, and eleven famous cities—*πόλεις ἐπισήμους*. As early as the fourth century, the Irish people are said to have had possession of the Isle of Man, which implies the previous acquisition of some maritime power. This is probably the real era of the monuments of pagan antiquity in Ireland which have excited so much interest among the antiquarians of that and other countries; for it is scarcely possible, if Ireland had been civilized by earlier colonies from Phœnice, or Carthage, ‖ or Spain, that all

* "Cum ipse adolescentulus in Galliâ viderim Scotos [or Attacottos], gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus : et cum per silvas porcorum greges et armentorum pecudumque reperiant, puerorum nates et feminarum papillas solere abscindere, et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari." (Hieron. Op. tom. ii. p. 75.)

† Claud. Ptol. Geog. tab. 1. See some excellent remarks in Mr. Turner's History of England, Reign of Henry II.

‡ Marcian. Heracl. Periplus. Hudson. tom. i. p. 58.

§ Marcian. Heracleot. Dodwell supposes that Marcianus wrote in the third century.

‖ Until some Phœnician inscription shall be found in Ireland—a discovery which, after so much diligent research set on foot by the learned antiquarians of that country, may well be despaired of,—the Phœnician colonisation of that island will rest on no better ground or proof than the supposed settlements of Phœnicians

knowledge of the real state of the country should have escaped the Romans, who certainly looked upon the Irish people as barbarous, and even more rude than the Britons. It is not improbable that the Roman conquest of Britanny and Belgica may have induced many from among the tribes who were possessed of shipping to pass into Ireland, and to found cities or towns in that country, and that a speedy improvement took place among a people so highly gifted by nature as the Irish are well known to be, and so susceptible of the highest culture both moral and intellectual.

It is very remarkable that we find the Irish designated in the third century by a new name, namely, that of Scoti. Ptolemy termed the island Iuernia—Ιουερνια. The people are called Scoti in the third century by Porphyry, and in the fourth by St. Ambrose, Claudian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Ethicus, and afterwards by Orosius, Gildas, Isidore, and St. Adamnan, Bede, Nennius, and King Alfred. Whence they obtained this name it is impossible to determine and difficult to conjecture. It seems to have been entirely unknown in the time of Ptolemy, who though he mentions the tribes of Taxili, Creones, Damnii, and Gadeni, of whom no traces now remain, has no notice of a people termed Scoti.

The great era in the improvement of Ireland was the introduction of Christianity, and with it of literature. The date of this event is disputed. Some ecclesiastical writers, who are followed by Usher, state that there were four bishops in Ireland in the time of Constantine. But Prosper says that Ireland, or the country of the Scoti, was a barbarous island in the time of Palladius, who is said to have been sent thither by Pope Celestine; and Probus, in his life of St. Patrick, says that Palladius could make no impression on the "immites et feri homines" of Ireland, and passed over to the country of the Picts. A passage has been cited from the "Annals of the Four Masters," a well-known document of Irish history, from

at Culm and elsewhere, in the Baltic. It has been well observed by Gesenius, in his late admirable work on Phœnician Palæography, that there is no proof of any Phœnician or Carthaginian settlement on any point of the coast of Europe beyond the Straits of Gibraltar.

which it appears that paganism prevailed in Ireland in the middle of the fifth century.*

Some further changes were introduced in the state of Ireland by Northmen, or by Danish settlers on the northern and eastern coast. By the Danes it is supposed that several towns were built. The first appearance of the Northmen is variously dated. According to the Irish authorities which appeared to Abbé Geoghegan the most trustworthy, their first arrival took place in 795. O'Flaherty dates it in 798, and Keating in 820.

Ireland still remained in a very rude state in the time of Henry II., as we learn authentically from the narrative of Giraldus Cambrensis.

*Paragraph* 2.—Survey of the ancient Irish traditions.

A very prevalent opinion, supposed to be founded on ancient tradition, derives the people of Ireland from Spain; another tradition describes one particular body of them as Fîr Bolg, or Belgians. Modern writers have been much disposed to give credit to one or both of these relations. In order to form any opinion of the degree of credence due to them, it will be necessary to consider the series of legends or sagas on which the so termed history of Ireland is, previously to the age of St. Patrick, founded. They have been collected by Keating and O'Flaherty, the former of whom travelled in Ireland, in order to obtain information from priests and Irish bards, during the reign of Charles I. The chief sources of history in regard to times antecedent to St. Patrick, who went to Ireland from Scotland about 432 A.D., and probably introduced the use of letters, are ancient historical poems, said to have been composed between the sixth and tenth centuries. The earliest of the monkish annals are dated from between

* It is stated in these Annals that Laoghaire, the son of Neill, having been in the year 457 taken captive in a battle against the inhabitants of Leinster, swore by the Sun and the Wind that he would never again demand a tribute for cows. The history further declares that this chieftain having violated his oath, was in consequence killed by the Sun and Wind. See Wood in Trans. R. I. A., vol. xiii. This relation proves that Christianity had not spread through Ireland till some time after the arrival of St. Patrick.

the tenth and twelfth centuries. We have therefore nothing approaching to the character of contemporary records of early times.

The bardic story of Ireland, as collected by Keating and others, contains a wild and grotesque mixture of the rhapsodies of a poetical fancy, with legends taken from scriptural and profane history, blended together with more absurd anachronisms than the fabulous history of any other country in Christendom presents. Ireland, according to these accounts, was peopled from many different quarters. The different colonies are, however, not very important as sources of the population of Ireland, since one is said to have perished before another arrived, or to have been soon exterminated by the horde that succeeded it. They are enumerated with an accuracy, as to dates and circumstances, which is perfectly ridiculous. Later Irish writers who have perceived the absurdity of these statements, instead of adopting the resolution of estimating them fairly by their merits, and rejecting the whole in a mass, unwilling to give up the boasted remains of Irish antiquity, have contented themselves with stripping the legends of the most palpable absurdities. They have thus disguised their real character, and have set them forth as pieces of real history. But it is evident that mere tales, composed by poets and romancers, are the sole original authority for all that is pretended to have been handed down from the pagan antiquity of Ireland. In proof of this assertion I shall lay before my readers a very brief abstract of this famous series of legends.

Keating has cited a bardic tradition that three daughters of Cain were the first persons who came to Ireland.* This is recorded in the Leabhar Dhroma Sneachta. Several colonies arrived before the Flood, but the principal one consisted of the followers of Ceasar—a singular name for an antediluvian,—

* The General History of Ireland, collected by the learned Jeoffry Keating, D.D., translated from the original Irish by D. A. Raymond, of Trim; London, folio, 1732. See also Dr. Wood on the mixture of fable and fact in the early annals of Ireland, &c., Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xiii.; and an Inquiry concerning the Primitive Inhabitants of Ireland, by T. Wood, M.D. London, 1821.

persons who could not obtain entrance into the ark, but were persuaded by the devil to build a ship, in which three men and fifty-three women were tossed about seven years from sea to sea, and landed at last in Bantry Bay.*

2. Partholan or Bartholomew, fifth in descent from Magog, son of Japhet, arrived at Connamhara three hundred and twelve years after the Deluge, on Tuesday the 14th of May, with his wife Ealga and four sons, each under the care of a nurse, and all guarded by one thousand soldiers. The whole colony, six hundred and forty-two years after their arrival, died of the plague at the Hill of Howth, and left the island uninhabited.† Who preserved the veracious story, after this terrible catastrophe, is of course a question which never troubled the minds of these scrupulous historians. It is remarkable, as Mr. Sharon Turner has well observed, that this legend of Partholan or Bartholomew is to be found not only in the Irish records, but in the Historia Brittonum of Nennius, supposed to have been written in Britain during the seventh century.

3. The third colony which found Ireland uninhabited was more famous than any of the preceding. They are termed "Clanna Neimhidh," Nemedians or followers of Neimhidh—*Poetry*‡—son of Aghnamhain—*Song*—allegorical personages, but descended, like the leaders of all the other Irish colonies, from Magog and Japhet. They landed at Dalriada in the north of Ireland, but were driven to the south by the Fogh-

* This story was found, as it seems, in the celebrated collection of old Irish poetical traditions called the Psalter of Cashel. Keating cites that work in relating it.

† See Dr. Wood's Inquiry. It seems from Keating that this story is taken from the Psalter of Cashel, and from the poems of a celebrated bard named Eochaidh ó Flinn. See Keating, ubi supra, p. 28.

‡ The allegorical origin of this Nemethean colony is shown in a distich cited by Dr. O'Connor from an historical poem, said to have been written by Torne Eigis, bard to the O'Niuls in the fourth century, but really of much later date. It is as follows:

"Iar bannul faidh Fionn go fail
Mic NEIMIDHE, mhic ADHNAMHOIN."

After dangers long the Finns to Erin came,
The sons of Poesy, sons of Song.

Neimheadh is poetry, science; Adhnamhoin, *Song*: O'Reily.

mhoraice, or African pirates, navigators of the race of Ham, who had fled from Africa to avoid the descendants of Shem.

4. The Fîr-Bolg, or Belgæ, also descendants of Neimhidh —*Poetry*—came to Ireland from Thrace. Five thousand of them came in boats made of the leathern bags in which they had been obliged by the Greeks, as slaves, to labour in carrying earth. Among their leaders were five sons of Deala—*Kindred*, the son of Loch—*the Sea*, son of Teachta—*Possession*, Treabhnaith—*Offspring of the earth*, descendant in the fifth degree of *History*, the son of *Poetry*. Five leaders of the Fir-Bolg divided Ireland between them; before them there had been no king of Ireland. Their reign is differently stated. From Coemann the bard, O'Flaherty learnt that there were but nine Bolgian kings in Ireland, who reigned thirty-six years; but Keating says that they reigned fifty-six. Loch—the sea—was, according to some,* the last king of the Fir-Bolg race. During his reign one hundred thousand of the Fir-Bolgians were slain by the silver-handed Nuadha, king of the Tuatha De Danánn. Keating says that the Fir-Bolg, who were all finally exterminated, "erected no royal residence nor cleared the lands of wood."†

5. Tuatha De Danánn, descended, like the former, from the patriarch Neimhidh. Near Athens they learnt necromancy, and conquered Ireland by charms and spells. Expelled by the Syrians from Ireland they went to Lochlann, and afterwards to the north of Scotland.‡

6. The Milesians are the most celebrated and heroical of all the conquerors of Ireland, and the great boast of the Irish bards. Their history is taken from the Book of Invasions or

* Wood's Dissertation.

† The history of the Firbolg is derived in great part, according to Keating, from the archæological bard Tanuidhe ô Maol Conaire. The list of Kings is cited from the "Book of Invasions."

‡ The history of this colony is contained in a poem to be found in the book of Invasions, from which Keating has made large extracts. The most remarkable particular recorded of the Tuatha de Danánn is that they brought to Ireland the famous stone, which roared when their kings were crowned on it. This continued till the Christian era, when the devil having lost much of his power, the magical stone was silenced. It was afterwards carried to Scone by Fergus, who conquered Scotland, and is now in Westminster Abbey, in the seat of St. Edward's chair.

Conquests, and from the Leabhar Dhroma Sneachta, or the snow-backed book, by some said to have been written before St. Patrick arrived in Ireland.* From Magog were descended the Nemedians, the Fîr-Bolg, and the Tuatha De-Danánn, and from the same patriarch came Niul, a particular friend of Aaron and Moses,† who married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, and afterwards saw his father-in-law drowned in the Red Sea. Their son was Gaodhal, from whom the Gaoidhil or Gaël are named. They went to Scythia or Gothia, and thence to Spain, in four ships, led by Oige—*Youth*—Uige—*Knowledge*, and the two sons of Allod—*Antiquity*, and obtained many victories over the people of Spain, till at length one of their princes Mileadh—a soldier, usually termed Milesius of Spain, sailing abroad became marshal of the army of Pharaoh Nectonibus, then fighting against the Ethiopians. He went then to Spain, and beat the Gothi who ravaged that country—doubtless the Visigoths. We find here an anachronism of two thousand years. After fighting fifty-four battles he expelled them from Spain. Vexed by a famine he despatched Ith—*Corn*—in quest of the Western Island. Ith and his company came to Ireland, and conversed with the nations who spoke the Gaoidhealg, Gaëlic or Irish language. According to the Book of Conquests, not only the Milesians or Gaoidhil, but likewise the other descendants of Neimhidh, including the Fîr-Bolg and the Tuatha De-Danánn, spoke the Gaoidhealg or Gaëlic language. Richard Creagh, primate of Ireland, says that Gaëlic was constantly used in Ireland since the arrival of Neimhidh, namely, 630 years after Noah's Deluge. The Milesians arrived in 1300 B.C., at Inmhear Slainge or Wexford harbour, the name of which is a proof that the Milesian story was written after the seventh century, since in the second that place was called "Modoni ostia" by Ptolemy, and in the seventh Moda by St. Adamnan.‡ The remains of the Tuatha De-Danánn were

* Keating, p. 54.

† Niul had his camp at Capacirunt, near Egypt, when Moses and Aaron arrived in the neighbourhood. Moses cured Niul's son Gadelus, who had been bitten by a serpent, by laying his rod upon the wound, and thereby conciliated the friendship of the Gaël. He moreover prophesied that they should settle in a country free from venomous reptiles.

‡ Dr. Wood's Inquiry.

banished, and Ireland became the sole possession and dwelling-place of the Milesians or Gaoidhil.

These traditions are preserved in poems or metrical fragments of Fiech,* Cennfaolad, Maelmur, Coemann, Eochod, and other Irish bards, who composed their poems between the sixth and tenth centuries. These compositions, some of which have been printed from Irish manuscripts, were the materials which the monkish chroniclers of a somewhat later period worked up in their annals. Of the monkish chronicles, those of Tigernach, Innisfallen, Ulster, and the Psalter of Cashel are the most celebrated. A part of the poetical fictions are even too wild to have obtained credit with the more sober of the chroniclers. Tigernach allows that all the Irish monuments are uncertain down to the age of *Kimbaoth*, or that of the first Ptolemy.

Nearly the same enumeration of the colonies said to have settled in Ireland has been deduced by the learned Dr. O'Connor from the various annals above mentioned, the compositions of the Irish chroniclers.† The following is a brief abstract of his statement. He terms the first colony that of Partholanus, who lived in the third age of the world, according to the computation of ages supposed to have been made by Bede, and adopted by the monastic historians of the Irish. The third age commences with the time of Abraham.

This first colony, led by Partholan, was followed by a second under Nemethus, about the time of the patriarch Jacob. The third colony was that of the Fîr-Bolgs, who came to the south of Ireland. From these were the first dynasties of Irish kings, whose names and successions are given by Keating and O'Flaherty, as these writers have collected them from the old poets above mentioned. The fourth were the Tuatha De-Danánn, who came under their leader Nuadha. All these colonies were in the third age of the world, i. e. before the time of Solomon. After that time, in the fourth age of the world, came the Scoti from Spain. Such, according to O'Connor, is the uniform and constant

* Fiech is said to have been a pupil of St. Patrick.

† See the Prolegomena to O'Connor's collection of Irish historians.

assertion of all the Irish chronicles. This learned writer allows that all the previous part of Irish history is uncertain and partly fabulous. He conjectures that the Tuatha De-Danánn were a colony of Damnonii from South Britain, and that the Fîr-Bolgs were Belgæ. Their descendants, he says, remained until the third century of our era in the north of Ireland,* having been expelled from the southern parts by the Scoti.

The Scoti were the Milesians. Whence they came, appears to Dr. O'Connor a puzzling question. He thinks the solution can only be collected from poets and chroniclers who wrote before the tenth century, viz. Fiech, Cennfaelad, Cuanac, Maelmur, and Nennius. All these writers deduce them from Spain. There is nothing improbable in the opinion which Dr. O'Connor adopts, that the inhabitants of that peninsula, when oppressed by the Carthaginians and Romans, may have emigrated into Ireland; but as this colony is uniformly said to have consisted of people who spoke the Gaëlic language, which we know indeed from other information to have been the idiom of the Scoti, the Spanish colony, if it ever existed, must have come from the parts of Spain inhabited by Celts. From what is known of the Celtic people in Spain, it may be supposed they were too barbarous to have had shipping and the means of transporting themselves beyond seas. The historical evidence of such a colonisation from Spain is the legend of Milesius above stated, which, as it may be seen, is the most romantic of all the Irish sagas.

It seems evident on comparing this enumeration of Irish colonies with that which has been set down in the preceding pages, that the contents of the annals are merely the bardic story reduced to a sort of chronological system adopted by the monks of Britain and Ireland. Dr. O'Connor has omitted the fabulous circumstances which are so striking in each relation. But it is better to take them as we find them if we wish to form an estimate of their credibility. The rationalising method of such writers as Dr. O'Connor, imposes

* "Connaciæ pars quæ nunc Erros dicitur, Erros Damnoniorum appellatur ab Adamnano, qui scripsit ante Bedum, anno 694." (Dr. O'Connor, Proleg. 26.)

upon the reader by making him believe facts on the supposed evidence of sober history, while their existence only rests on the credit of the wildest rhapsodies.

*Paragraph* 3.—Critical remarks on the Bardic stories and on the Monkish annals of Ireland.

When we consider the general character of the legends connected with the history of Ireland, it seems surprising that writers of a late period, men of learning and intelligence, have thought it worth while to attempt any analysis of them, or have supposed that any truth can be elicited from such a mass of absurdities. It has been well observed, that even in events and circumstances of a late date, in respect to which it may be supposed that correct information might have been easily obtained by Irishmen of the period to which these compositions are referred, the most palpable ignorance is displayed. Thus it is stated that the city of Dublin was built by the Danes in the fifth century; whereas it is mentioned by Ptolemy as a city existing already in the second century. They omit to mention Nagnata, though that city is termed by Ptolemy πόλις ἐπίσημος, which implies that it was a place of great importance in his time. They preserve chiefly the names of places which were monastic establishments, as that of Rhobog, a small episcopal village.* The authors of these legends were evidently monks of the most ignorant and credulous class. It appears that the Irish inventors and their brethren of Wales had some common germs of fiction, which were developed differently in after times. Thus in the fabulous chronicles of Nennius or of Mark we find a brief notice of the Trojan origin of the Britons, and the story of Partholan as the leader of the first colony to Ireland. It was by working upon these materials that the monks of Wales and Ireland at length accumulated that mass of fictions which in both countries passed for history. The Irish monks embellished their fables by bringing in occasionally stories from the Old Testament; while those of Wales seem to have preferred the fictions of the classical poets, with which they were perhaps better acquainted than their brethren in Ireland.

* Dr. Wood, ubi supra.

In the compositions of both we detect the most glaring anachronisms. A slight review of these compositions is sufficient to show that no reliance can be placed on the traditions which they contain. The Spanish origin of the Milesians or followers of Mileadh—whose name is a corruption of the Latin word *miles*—rests on no better authority than the Trojan origin of the Britons, or than the alleged origination of other Irish tribes from Thrace, Greece, the shores of the Euxine, Egypt, and Africa ; but the situation of Spain is nearer to that of Ireland, and the statement is therefore not so obviously absurd. This tale has been alluded to by writers of late times as a probable tradition, while the other parts of the same story have been considered as altogether unworthy of credit. It may be true, and is not improbable, especially as there were Celtic tribes in the north of Spain, but the testimony of Irish legends in its favour is of little or no weight.

One fact of some importance may be collected from the works of the Irish annalists. It is that one language prevailed through Ireland during the age of their earliest compositions, as well as during that which their fuller developement embraces. It is expressly stated that the successive colonies of Neimhidhians, Fîr-Bolgs, Tuatha De-Danánn, and Milesians, though said to have come to Ireland from different countries, all spoke the Gaoidhealg or Gaëlic language. We may infer that no great diversity of language existed in any great part of the Irish population, and that whatever settlements may have been made on the coasts of Ireland, either by Northmen or by the Welsh Britons of the Roman or subsequent times, consisted of very small bodies, whose members were insufficient to produce any effect on the language or stock of the previous population.* Gaoidhil, or as the Welsh have the

* It is repeatedly stated by Keating that no language except the Erse or Gaëlic was spoken by any of the different colonies said to have arrived in Ireland. After showing that all the Irish tribes, from Partholanus and his followers (whose arrival he considers a piece of authentic history, and supposes to have happened three hundred years after the Flood), were descended from the same ancestors, of the family of Magog, he says, "These tribes, notwithstanding they were dispersed into different countries, retained the same language, which was Scotbhearla, or the Irish, and it was spoken as the mother-tongue of every tribe. This we have reason to believe, from the testimony of authentic writers, who relate that when Ithus, the son of

term, Gwyddyl or Gwydhil, they originally were; and although that name is given especially to the Milesians, still all the other respective tribes were apparently of the same stock, since they are expressly declared to have spoken the same Gaëlic language, and to have been descended remotely from the same ancestors. The derivation from Neimhidh, whose name means "*Poetry*," may be referred to its proper source, as well as the story of the earlier descent from Japhet and Magog; but several common ancestors besides these are mentioned, whose names, omitted for the sake of brevity in the foregoing summary, evidently designate real or imaginary persons, believed as such to have been the ancestors of all the Irish races.

*Paragraph* 4.—Concluding observations on the history.—Probable origin of the Irish race.

We must conclude from what has been collected respecting the Irish bardic story, that we really possess no information whatever from history respecting the origin of the population of Ireland. We are left to form a probable conjecture on that subject from the evidence afforded by the language and by the geographical circumstances of the country.

The affinity of the Irish language to the dialect of the Britons and Gauls affords reason for supposing that the colonisation of Ireland took place from some country inhabited by Celtic people. There were Celts in Britain, Gaul, Spain, and perhaps in Denmark at the time when those countries became known to us. The first inhabitants of Ireland and the ancestors of all the Gaëlic people may have descended from the Celtæ of Spain. We have no proof to the contrary, as we know not what Celtic dialect the Spanish Celts spoke: it may have been the Erse; but we must admit that there is an entire want of evidence in proof of such a conclusion.

If the evidence which has been collected respecting the dialects of the Celtæ and Belgæ of Gaul is sufficient to prove that these dialects were more nearly akin to the Welsh than to the Erse, it will be somewhat less probable that the Irish emigrated from Gaul. The same difficulty attends the hypothesis that they

**Breogan, arrived in Ireland from Spain, he conversed with the Tuatha de Danánn in their own language." (History of Ireland, p. 30.)**

came from Britain or from the coast of Germany, which may be supposed to have been in ancient times extensively inhabited by tribes akin to the Cimbri. Among the tribes mentioned by Ptolemy in Ireland, there are two, namely, the Munapii and Cauci, whose names bear a striking resemblance to those of two tribes in the western parts of Germany, the Menapii and the Chauci; but these were German and not Celtic tribes, and the German language was never introduced into Ireland, except by Danes and Norwegians, who settled on the coast at a comparatively late time.

It is remarkable that a principal tribe of Britons, the Brigantes, who possessed, until they were conquered by Ostorius, a great part of the north of England, including Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire on the western coast, had the same name with one of the tribes in the southern part of Ireland. Nothing seems, if we judge from local circumstances, more probable than the supposition that Ireland received its inhabitants from the country of the British Brigantes, the Isle of Man lying in the midway to facilitate the transit. They might have passed still more easily from the country of the Ordovices in North Wales, or the Demetæ or Silures in South Wales, or from that of the Selgovæ and Novantii in the western parts of Scotland. But here the difference of language occurs as a never-ceasing encumbrance on every hypothesis. The countries of the Ordovices and Silures, and the south-western parts of Scotland, which afterwards formed a part of the kingdom of the Strathclyde Britons, are precisely those parts of the island where we know most certainly that the Welsh and not the Gaëlic language was spoken. It is very improbable that the Brigantes differed in speech from their neighbours on both sides, and evidence might indeed be collected to prove that they were genuine Britons.

There are two suppositions, one of which, if I am not mistaken, must be true.

First, that the Gaël were an earlier wave of population, as it has been termed, which passed over Britain before it was occupied by the proper British race. This, as it is well known, was the opinion of Lhuyd, who came to such a conclusion from observing such words as *usk*, *ax*, *ex* contained in the names

of many rivers in England and Wales. He supposed this syllable, common to so many names and rivers, to have been derived from *uisge*, the Gaëlic word for *water*. This, it must be admitted, is a very slender foundation for an opinion on any historical fact. The Welsh language may have had such a word, and may have lost it, as it has lost many others.*

Secondly, it may be observed, that since the affinity of the Gaëlic and Welsh languages is so near, notwithstanding their great difference, as to leave no doubt that the Irish and Welsh people are descendants from one stock, the diversity of their idioms must have originated at some period or at another. It appears just as probable that the Celtic tribes diversified their once common speech by different developement, and by adopting certain changes in pronunciation in which one set of elements were substituted for others, or in part by inventing new words or borrowing from the vocabulary of other nations subsequently to the colonisation of Britain and Ireland, as at any former period. If this were allowed, no further difficulty would remain to prevent our adopting the opinion that the western was peopled from the eastern island. But there is one consideration which renders the admission not so easy as it previously appears to be. The differences between the Welsh and Erse are systematic, not merely accidental. The substitution of guttural for sibilants for example is regular. In this and other like respects the Irish approximates to the Sanscrit and the Welsh to the Zendish and German subdivisions of the Indo-European languages. Does this argue a separation of the two Celtic races previously to their emigration from the East? Some have thought so. Yet the analogies discoverable between the several branches of the Celtic language and other Indo-European idioms are not such as can be attributed to the influence of these idioms, or to communication with the tribes of people to whom they respectively belonged; and we know that similar variations have arisen in the speech of different families springing from the same stock without any external

* See however O'Brien's defence of this supposition in the learned and able Preface to his Irish Dictionary.

influence, as in the dialects of the Æolic Greeks, and in the idioms of the old Italian nations.*

On the whole it seems as yet very difficult to discern the grounds of a decided preference between the two suppositions above proposed; but I think the most probable one is that the Irish Celts were a peculiar tribe, distinguished from the British and Gaulish Celts before they left the East; and that they either arrived in the west of Europe and passed over Britain before the Welsh, or made their way into Ireland through Spain and across the Bay of Biscay, which is the favourite path of the Irish romance writers or bardic fabulists. From Ireland they passed, as we shall find, to the west of Scotland in the third century of our era, and to the Isle of Man, where their language is intermixed with that of the Northmen.

## Section XIII.—*Of the Inhabitants of North Britain, viz. Caledonians, Picts, Scots, and Britons, of Strathclyde, and Cumberland.*

The origin of the ancient and modern inhabitants of Scotland has been a theme of still greater doubts and controversy than the history of the South Britons. Scarcely any conjecture relating to it that could be put forth with the slightest degree of probability has wanted the support of able and zealous advocates. I shall not enter upon the subject with any hope of clearing up all the obscurities which envelope it; I shall merely endeavour to point out as briefly as possible what is really known or can be known with certainty respecting the nations of Scotland, and what still remains doubtful.

* The antiquities of Ireland are extremely interesting, as belonging to one of the most ancient and in some parts unmixed races in the world. Much may yet be done to elucidate them, particularly by local researches; and some of the present members of the Royal Irish Academy are most laudably devoting their attention to this subject. We may expect much from the zeal and energy of Dr. Wilde. It is impossible to advert to this subject without deploring the premature death of Dr. West, a man whose great attainments and rare excellence, both moral and intellectual, were a distinguished ornament to the literary societies of his country.

### *Paragraph* 1.—Of the Caledonians.

The Roman writers do not speak of the inhabitants of Scotland as distinct in race or language from the more southern tribes. They supposed them to be Britons. Tacitus indeed notices the tall stature and red hair of those who inhabited Caledonia as giving rise to a conjecture that the country had been peopled from Germany, as the swarthy complexion prevalent in South Wales seemed to afford ground for imagining that the Silures came from Spain; but his opinion on the whole was that Britain derived its inhabitants from Gaul, and he did not except the natives of the northern part of the island. He has never even given them a particular name, nor is it clear that he meant under that of Caledonia to comprehend the whole of North Britain.

The Caledonians are, however, mentioned by Ptolemy; but they were only one of many tribes of Albion enumerated by that writer as known to have occupied the northern parts of the island. Ptolemy mentions these tribes in the following order. 1. The Novantes, who are the people of Galloway. 2. The Selgovæ, to the eastward of the former, northward of the Solway, which preserves their name. In their country were two towns with names evidently British and Celtic, viz. Carbantorigum and Uxellum. 3. Damnii, to the northward and eastward of the preceding. Their name is probably the Welsh or British *Dyvni* or *Dymhni*. *Dyvyn* meaning valley or glen is likewise the etymon of Devon and Dumnonia. They are placed in the parts lying to the southward of the friths or of the Forth and Clyde. 4. Gadeni were, according to Ptolemy, to the northward; and the fifth tribe, or Ottadeni, more southward in the northern parts of the kingdom of Northumbria. All the preceding tribes are supposed to have lived southward of the wall of Antoninus, which reached across the narrowest part of Scotland, from the Clyde to the frith of Forth; their country at a later period of the Roman domination formed the Roman province of Valentia. They are, however, distinguished by Ptolemy in no respect from the twelve northern tribes. He proceeds: "Next to the Damnii, to the northward from the Epidean promontory—supposed to be the Mull of Cantyre—

reaching thence eastward, are the Epidii. 7. The Cerones. 8. Creones. 9. Carnonacæ. 10. Careni. 11. Cornabyi. All these tribes inhabit the western coast, which Ptolemy regarded as the northern up to the extremity of Caithness, occupied by the Cornabyi,* whose name, if it is the Welsh Cernywi, would describe the inhabitants of a promontory or projecting land. 12. From the Lælamnonian gulf to the Varar,"—that is probably from Lismore or Linnha Loch to the Murray frith, which includes the interior of Inverness-shire,—"are the Caledonii, above whom is the Caledonian forest.† 13. To the eastward are the Cantæ ; 14. after whom are the Logi, adjoining to the Cornayii. 15. Above the Logi are the Mertæ. 16. Below the Caledonians are the Vacomagi, in whose country are the cities Banatia, Tamîa, Alata Castra, and Tuesis, the last supposed to be Edinburgh and Berwick. 17. and 18. The Venicontes and the Texali are in the eastern parts of Scotland."‡ He adds, that below the Elgovæ and the Ottadeni are the Brigantes, who reach across the island from one side to the other, viz. from the Solway firth to the mouth of the Tyne.§

Such is the enumeration of the tribes of Britons given by Ptolemy, who indicates not the slightest suspicion that any of them were of a different nation from the inhabitants of the southern parts of the same island.

Herodian has given a short description of the inhabitants of Caledonia in his account of the expedition of the Emperor Severus. He uses no distinguishing epithet, but terms them simply Βρίττανοι, or Britons, and ascribes to them many peculiar customs which we know from other authors to have been characteristic of the Britons in general. He says that they knew not

* Their name is written both Κορναξυοι and Κορνανιοι.

† Καληδόνιος δρυμὸς exactly expresses what would be denoted in Welsh by the word *kelydhon*, thicket, coverts in a forest.

‡ *Tachiali* in Welsh means the inhabitants of a plain, open country, such as Mar and Buchan.

§ I am aware that this outline of the tribes of Britons inhabiting Scotland is a very imperfect sketch. All the attempts of modern geographers have been spoiled by the mixing up the spurious statements ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, with the authentic statements of Ptolemy. I have strictly followed Ptolemy's account of Albion in the third chapter of his second book of Geography.

the use of clothing, but ornamented their necks and loins with girdles of iron, which they looked upon as a token of opulence just as other barbarians esteem gold: they also tattowed their bodies with various figures of all kinds of animals. "They are very warlike and greedy of slaughter. They have for arms a narrow shield and a spear, and a sword in defence of their naked bodies, having no idea of the use of breastplate or helmet, which would burden them while swimming through their stagnant lakes, from the evaporation of which the air is thickened with perpetual fogs."* With this account we must compare the expression used by Tacitus in the speech of Agricola made to his troops before they engaged in battle with Galgacus. The Roman general is there made to assure his troops that the enemies against whom they were about to engage, viz. the Caledonians, were the same people against whom they had already waged war nearly fifty years.† It appears clearly that the inhabitants of the north of Scotland were considered by the Romans as the same nation with the Britons, against whom they had carried on war since the time of Claudius or of Julius Cæsar: the traits they have described in their character and manners seem to leave no ground for setting up a different opinion. Among these northern tribes, the Caledonians, though only one, being the most warlike and valiant, acquired an ascendency, and their name has in later history eclipsed all the others, though among the Roman writers it never comprehended all the natives of Scotland. Dio, however, divided the independent Britons into two sections. He declares that the two most considerable nations of Britons, meaning the country as yet unconquered and lying to the northward of the wall of Antoninus, or of the friths of Clyde and Forth, are the Caledonians and the Mæatæ. "The Mæatæ dwell near the very wall which divides the island in two parts; the Caledonians are next to them. Both nations inhabit mountains, very rugged and wanting water, and also desert fields, full of marshes: they have neither castles nor cities; they live on milk and the produce of the chase, as well as on fruits; they never eat fish, of which there is a very great quan-

* Herodian, lib. iii. Ritson's Annals of the Caledonians, vol. i.

† Tacitus, Vit. Agricolæ. This is Ritson's remark.

tity. They dwell in tents—without shoes and naked; and have their wives in common, each one bringing up his own offspring. Their governments are for the most part popular: they are given to robbing on the highway: they fight in chariots: their horses are small and fleet; their infantry are as swift in running, as brave in pitched battle. Their arms are a shield and short spear; upon the top of the latter is an apple of brass, with which they terrify their enemies by the noise it makes when shaken; they have besides daggers. They bear hunger and cold and all kinds of hardships well, for they accustom themselves to it by immersing themselves in marshes, leaving only their heads above water, and by living in woods upon the bark and roots of trees. They prepare a certain food for all emergencies, a piece of which of the size of a single bean will prevent their either hungering or thirsting." *

Many circumstances in the preceding description are probably stated more strongly than the truth fully warranted. The main part, which we have no reason to discredit, is sufficient to prove the northern Britons to have been one of the most savage nations that ever existed. How different from the romantic heroes of Ossian! The account given by Dio compared with that above cited from Herodian contains so many traits which are peculiar to the Britons as to leave no room for doubt that the Caledonians were tribes of the same nation as the people who had fought against the Romans under the command of Cassivelaunus and of Boadicea. Their nakedness, their painted or tattowed bodies, their strange and truly savage associations,—resembling the societies of Arreoys in the Polynesian islands, except in the circumstance that the Caledonians were not accustomed, as far as we know, like the Tahitians, to murder the children produced by such connections,—their method of fighting with armed chariots, distinguish them strongly from any other European race, and particularly from the Germans, from whom some writers have supposed them to have descended. The evidence that can be collected in regard to the language of the Caledonians will be stated in the sequel. At present I shall only remark, that if their speech had been German or a German dialect, the fact could not have remained

* Dio, i. 76. c. 12.

unknown to the Romans, since there were Suevic bands, as Tacitus informs us, in the army which fought under Agricola against Galgacus. Yet Tacitus had certainly not the slightest suspicion, at least he has suffered no hint to escape him, that the Caledonians had really any affinity in speech with the Germans; and in the passage in which he compares the physical constitution of these two races, there was an opportunity which could not fail to draw out the remark had he known the fact to have been such.

*Paragraph* 2.—Of the Tribes of North Britons between the two Roman walls, or in the province of Valentia.

We find in the table of provinces belonging to the Roman empire which is appended to the Itinerary of Antoninus a fifth province added to the four into which the Romanised parts of Britain are usually divided. Besides the provinces termed Britannia Prima and Secunda, and those of Flavia and Maxima Cæsariensis, there is one termed Valentia or Valentiana. It was constituted a province at a very late period of the Roman domination in Britain, viz. during the reign of Valentinian, in whose honour it was named. After the Britons had revolted and were reconquered by Theodosius, the country between the two Roman walls, that of Antoninus and Severus, was only kept in control by means of fortifications and a regular government. In this province of Valentia, which reached northward to the line connecting the Gulf of Bodotria, or the Frith of Forth, with the Clotara Sinus, or the Frith of Clyde, were included several tribes of Britons who in former wars had probably been connected with the Caledonians.*

After the formation of this province, the Valentian tribes are still reckoned among Britons, while the new and foreign names of Picts and Scots appear to the northward in the place of the old one of Caledonians.†

* Viz. the Novantes, Selgovæ, Damnii, Gadeni, and Ottadini.

† Provinciarum Romanorum Libellus, ad calc. Itinerar. Antonin. Ammianus Marcellinus gives an account of the war of Theodosius, and the establishment of this province. See Ammian. Marcell. cap. 20, 26, 27, 28. The account usually given of this province and its inhabitants is taken in great part from the work ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, now generally considered as a forgery. It is, however,

Whatever opinion may be formed as to the fate of th northern tribes, whether they were exterminated in the wa against the Romans, and utterly vanished, as some think, t make place for entirely new races, or only appear again unde new names, viz. those of Picts and Scots, it is certain that th tribes within the wall of Antoninus remained after the departur of the Romans. We know that these tribes were Britons, an that their language was the Welsh. At least this was the fac in regard to a considerable part of the population of Valentia The Ottadini and the Gadeni in the eastern part were soon con quered or expelled by the Saxons, who founded the kingdom o Bernicia; but the Novantes, the Selgovæ, and the Damnii ap pear to have become the subjects of the kingdom of Strathclyde Britons or Cumbrians, the capital of which is well known to have been Alcluyth or Dumbarton. This town, called by Bede Alcluith (ad Cludam), is described by him as "civitas Brittonum munitissima." Bede says that the frith of Forth formerly separated the Britons from the Picts, and that the Britons have still that strong fortress called Alcluyth. It is called by Adamnan Petra-Cloithe, and by other old writers Arecluta, Alcwith, meaning Ar-Clwyd, a rock or elevation on the Clyde, now Dun-barton, or Dun-Britton. According to the author of St. Ninian's life* this kingdom existed as early as the fourth century, and it can be traced with certainty down to the close of the tenth. Several famous ecclesiastics of the British church were natives of this kingdom, among whom were St. Gildas and St. Kentigern, whose name is written in Welsh Cyndeyrn, and St. Asaph. The princes of Strathclyde, as Morcant Mawr and Aeddon Uragdog, Rederec or Rhydderch, have Welsh names, and many of them are intimately connected with Welsh history. To the southward of Hadrian's wall was the kingdom of the Cumbrians, another Welsh or British state connected more or less with that of Strathclyde, and often reckoned a part

mentioned in the authorities above cited. Ammianus says: "Valentia deinde vocabatur arbitrio principis." Valesius says that this comprehended the country whence the Count or Comes Theodosius had expelled the Barbarians: "Relatione ad principem missa petiit ut pars provinciæ Valentia diceretur, et in eam rector consularis mitteretur." (Lib. xxviii.)

* Vita Nennii, auctore Aethelredo Rievalense, Vitæ Antiq. 88. Scotiæ. Ritson, vol. ii.

of it. The name of Cumbri or Cambri, as Camden observes, recalls that of Wales; and numerous topographical terms betray a Welsh affinity, as Caerluel or Carlisle, Caerdonoc, Penrith, Penrodoc. According to Caradoc of Llancarvan, the well-known Welsh historian, it is certain that Cumberland, as well as Galloway as far as the Clyde, remained in the possession of Britons till the year 870, when, oppressed by the Scots, Danes, and Angles, and having lost their king Constantinus at the battle of Lochmabar, they were obliged to migrate into Wales and join their kindred the Welsh.*

Even the Ottadini in the eastern parts of Northumbria appear certainly to have been Welsh. Llywarch Hên is supposed to have been a prince of the Ottadini and Aneurin to have been of the royal family of that tribe. The famous Welsh poem, entitled the Gododin, celebrating the battle of Cattraeth fought between the chiefs and people of the Ottadini and the Saxons, is one of the oldest, if not singly the oldest, composition of authentic fame known in the compass of Welsh literature.

### *Paragraph* 3.—Of the Picts and Scots.

After the greater part of this island had been subject nearly three centuries to the Roman power, we find the name of Britanni no longer ascribed to the independent barbarians who inhabited the remote parts in the north. The Britons now formed a civilized and powerful community governed by imperial prefects, who on several occasions assumed the purple, and maintained for years possession of the whole province against the arms of Rome. The barbarians of the north were thenceforward designated by names previously unheard; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain whether under some of these names the old British tribes are designated, or new piratical bands who had come into the conquered part of the island from beyond seas. The only possible way of coming to any conclusion on this subject is by taking fully into consideration the passages of ancient authors in which the

* Caradoc's Hist. of Wales by Wynne, 1697, p. 37. Ritson, Annals of the Caledonians, &c., vol. ii. p. 199.

northern assailants are occasionally mentioned by Roman historians.

In the year 296, as M. Ritson and many other writers have observed, we find the first mention of a nation or people in Caledonia, or the north of Britain, called the Picti or Picts.* This occurs in a panegyrical oration delivered in the presence of the emperor Constantius Chlorus, on occasion of his victory over Alectus, a usurper in Britain, at Treves, in Belgica, by Eumenius, a professor of rhetoric at Augustodunum, now Autun, in Gaul. Speaking of the island of Britain as having been first entered by Cæsar, who wrote that he had found a new world, he affects to diminish the value of his conquest, by adding that, in Cæsar's age, Britain was provided with no ships for naval war, while Rome flourished not more by land than by sea. Moreover, he says, the nation he attacked was rude, and the Britons, used only to the Picts and Irish, enemies then half naked, easily yielded to the Roman arms and ensigns. They are mentioned a second time by the same orator in a panegyric pronounced at the same place before Constantine, the son of Constantius, in 309 or 310. "The day would fail," he says, "sooner than my oration, were I to run over all the actions of thy father, even with this brevity. His last expedition did not seek for British trophies, as is vulgarly believed, but the gods now calling him, he came to the secret bounds of the earth. For neither did he, by so many and great actions, I do not say the woods and marshes of the Caledonians and other Picts, but not even Ireland, near at hand, nor the farthest Thule, nor the Isles of the Fortunate, if such there be, deign to acquire." It appears, likewise, from the fragment of an ancient Roman historian, that in the year 306, in which Constantius died, he had defeated the Picts, who are afterwards repeatedly noticed by Ammianus Marcellinus and by Claudian the poet. What these new people were, whence they came, or why they were so called, are questions which, though frequently discussed, have never yet been satisfactorily decided.†

* "Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta." By Hiberni he perhaps meant the Scots.

† Ritson, vol. i. p. 71.

There is a passage apparently genuine, but of an unnamed Roman author, in which Constantius, the father of Constantine, is said to have conquered the Picts. "Post victoriam Pictorum, Constantius pater Eboraci mortuus est, et Constantinus, omnium militum consensu Cæsar creatus."*

In the reign of the second Constantius we find the Picts mentioned, together with the Scots, as assailants of Romanized Britain. Ammianus Marcellinus thus expresses himself: "Consulatu Constantii decies, terque Juliani, in Britanniis cum Scotorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus, ruptâ quiete condicta, loca limitibus vicina vastarent,"—"Cæsar verebatur ire subsidio transmarinis, ne rectore vacuas relinquent Gallias."† In another passage we find besides the Scots and Picts two other names, viz. Saxones and Attacotti: "Picti, Saxonesque, et Scotti et Attacotti Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis." All these nations are distinguished from the Britons. The Attacotti appear to have been a tribe of the Scoti, and to have come from Ireland.

Ammianus again mentions the Picts, in the reign of Valentinian, as divided into two nations: "Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicaledonas et Vecturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti per diversa vagantes multa populabantur."‡ In the following book he says that Theodosius repaired the cities and presidiary camps, and defended the boundaries with watches and out-guards; and that having recovered the province which had been in the power of the enemy, he so restored it to its pristine state that it was thenceforward called *Valentia*, by the will of the prince, as it were by way of triumph. This was in 369, when he left the island. Claudian alludes to these victories in several passages, which are important notices. He says:

"Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas."

And again:

"....maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

* Excerpt. ad calc. Ammian. Marcell. Ed. Paris. 1681, p. 657.
† Ammian. Marcellinus, lib. xx. c. 1. ‡ Lib. xxvii. c. 9.

Claudian here mentions the Picts and Scots as native a country foreign to Britain, one nation coming from Tl and the other from Ierne or Ireland. He speaks more ex citly of the latter tribe in another passage:

"....totam cum Scottus Iernem
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys."

Where the Thule of Claudian was, whence came the P we have no information, but it must have been some lanc removed from Britain, as we learn from the following pass

"Terruit Oceanum, et nostro procul axe remotam
Insolito bello tremefecit murmure Thulen."

The British writer Gildas, who lived at the time when the mans had finally departed from Britain, likewise mention Scots and Picts as nations coming into Britain from be the seas. He says that after the tyrant Maximus had le the armed youth of Britain with him to Gaul, about after Christ, the island became, for the first time, a prey t barbarians. "Britannia omni armato milite spoliata, et o belli usus ignara penitus, duabus primum gentibus t marinis vehementer sævis, Scotorum a circione, Pictorur aquilone calcabilis, multos stupet gemetque per annos." quite evident that Gildas meant here to describe two fo nations,as did Claudian in the cited verses. They are menti again by Gildas in the sequel; and this author seems distii to assert that the Picts on this occasion first acquired a pe nent settlement in Scotland. He says, after the abandon of the island by the Romans, "tum emergunt certatir curicis, quibus sunt trans Tethicam vallem vecti, tetri torum Pictorumque greges, moribus ex parte dissidente unâ eâdemque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordes, ciferosque magis vultus pilis, quam corporum pudenda dendisque proxima vestibus, tegentes." They drove the tons before them and laid waste the country. After a they relaxed. Then, "revertuntur *impudentes grassator Hibernas domos*, post non multum temporis reversuri. in extremâ parte insulæ tunc primum et deinceps re vêrunt." Some have understood "Hibernas domos" to winter-quarters, not habitations in Ireland; but the pa which immediately follows, relating to the Picts, plainl

dicates it to have been the opinion of Gildas, who was more likely to be well informed than Ammianus or any foreign writer, that the Picts now for the first time remained in Scotland, while the Scots returned by sea to Ireland. We may therefore consider Gildas's testimony, as far as it goes, as conclusive for the foreign origin of both these tribes.

We thus find that all the writers of the times immediately succeeding the first invasion of the Scots and Picts regard, with the exception of Ammianus, both of these nations as foreigners in Scotland, who came, sometimes joined with Saxons, from beyond the sea: the Scots came from Ireland; the Picts were supposed to proceed from Thule, which meant, as used by writers of late times, Scandinavia.*

From Bede and the Saxon Chronicle we have accounts of the settlement of the Picts and Scots in Britain, which fully coincide with the notions of Gildas, though not founded on the obscure passages of that writer, but evidently drawn from different sources of information. Bede relates that this island was first peopled from Gaul, and he deduces the Picts in late times from Scythia. Ancient geographers, as we have before remarked, supposed the Baltic Sea to be continued eastward to the Pontus, and hence the opinion became established which transferred the nations of Scythia to the north of Europe. Bede says, "After Britain had been peopled from Gaul and nearly occupied, *it came to pass* that the Pictish people, from Scythia as it is reported, arrived in a few long ships in the north of Ireland, where they could not obtain leave from the Scotti, who had got the start of them, to form a settlement. 'Respondebant Scotti quod non ambos eos caperet insula,—sed *possumus salutare vobis dare consilium* quid agere *valeatis*.'—You had better go and take possession of another island to the eastward of this, which we can espy from hence in a clear day; and if any body opposes you, send to us for aid." The Picts, continues the venerable Bede, accordingly took possession of North Britain, the Britons having already occupied the south, and not having any wives they begged their friends the Scots to supply them in this par-

* The name of Thule is used by Procopius for Scandinavia.

ticular, who consented on the condition that the female succession should be preferred to the male, which still holds among the Picts.

Bede has not informed us at what period he supposed the arrival of the Picts to have happened. All that we can infer from his account as to the time of this event is that it was subsequent to the first population of both Britain and Ireland. He gives the following account of the arrival of the Scots or Gaël in the western parts of Caledonia.

After the Britons and the Picts had long inhabited Britain, says Bede, "procedente tempore, tertiam Scottorum nationem in parte Pictorum recepit, qui duce Reudâ de Hiberniâ progressi, amicitiâ vel ferro sibimet inter eos has sedes quas hactenus habent, vindicârunt: à quo videlicet duce, usque hodie Dalreudini vocantur: nam linguâ eorum *Daal* partem significat." He then describes Ireland as a land abounding with milk and honey and fatal to serpents. "*This* was the native country of the Scotti, until they settled to the northward of that *frith* which formerly separated the Britons from the Picts, and where the Britons have still that strong fortress called *Alcluyth*."

It seems to have been the firm persuasion of Bede that the Picts had gotten possession of all Scotland to the northward of the firths before the arrival of the Scots, and that the latter had gained a footing in the western part of the country before the departure of the Romans. As far as the question refers to the Scots, there seems to be no doubt that the story of their foreign origination is well founded. With respect to the Picts the matter is not so clear. However, as history affords no testimony that can be opposed to the statement of Bede, we must acquiesce in it. It only remains to inquire what had become of the old northern Britons, the Caledonians as they were termed by later Roman writers. Had they been exterminated, or did the British population remain and only receive an accession or a new colony at the appearance of the Picts?

In the failure of historical information we are disposed to seek in other quarters, and particularly in philological researches, for some supplementary aids. Unfortunately there are no remains of literature, not even a single sentence, and scarcely an ascertained word preserved as a specimen of

the language of the Picts. The Picts had a distinct idiom, since Bede says that in his time divine worship was celebrated in the Isle of Britain in five languages, namely, in those of the Angles, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins. Hence it has been inferred that the Picts were not Britons, because the languages of both are enumerated as two separate idioms, but the same argument would prove that they were not Germans, because the Angles spoke a German dialect. If it be said that the Pictish idiom was a different dialect of German from that spoken by the Angles, so it may have been a different dialect of the British from that spoken by the Welsh or by the Britons of the time of Bede.

The topographical researches of Mr. Chalmers seem to have established the fact, that the British or Welsh dialect of the Celtic was at one period the national language through nearly all the countries now forming the Scottish Lowlands, which the Picts continued to inhabit after they had been expelled from other parts of Caledonia by the Scots. In the eastern as well as in the western parts of Scotland the names of mountains, rivers, isles, capes, promontories, forests, and towns are very frequently of Celtic derivation. These names are of two classes; one consisting of words which are common to all the Celtic dialects, and with respect to such names it may be imagined that they derived their origin from the Gaël or Scotti, who in the ninth century, according to all the chroniclers, conquered Pictavia. To this class of local terms belong such words as Craig, Dol, Glas, Ynys, Avon, Clwyd, which are to be recognised, with very slight variations, in the Gaëlic. The second class is compounded of such terms as Aber, Pen, Caer, Cors, Tre, Ochil, Llan, Llyn, which have no existence in Gaëlic, and are peculiar to the Cymraeg or Cambro-British. Now it is remarkable that names of this latter class are extremely frequent in those parts of Scotland which belonged to the Picts. In the laborious work of Mr. Chalmers there is a collection of topographical names formed from these etymons, which seems abundantly sufficient to satisfy the most incredulous that the British or Welsh language was once the prevalent idiom in this part of Scotland. This seems to have been conceded by one of the most strenuous and most learned

opponents of the opinion maintained by Chalmers.* It might indeed be concluded as almost certain, from what has already been said respecting the Caledonians,—for the evidence which I have adduced from ancient authors will be allowed, if I am not mistaken, to amount to a satisfactory proof,—that the Old Caledonians were Welsh Britons, whatever opinion we may form respecting the Picts. The question that remains as yet unsolved is, at what period the British language ceased to be spoken in the eastern parts of Scotland. Did it continue to be the idiom of that country after the arrival of the Picts, and until it gave way to the Gaëlic introduced by the Scottish conquerors? This appears certainly to be the inference pointed out by all the facts in our possession. Bede says that Peanfahel was the Pictish name of the place where the wall commenced on the frith of Forth, which by the Angles was termed Pennelton. This seems to have been originally a Welsh name, and the same remark applies to Abercurnig, the name of a Pictish monastery in the same district, of which Trumuin was abbot.† According to Mr. Chalmers, who has investigated the obscure questions of this history with great assiduity and learning, traces are to be found in the oldest charters of Scotland of the existence of a language in that country which preceded the Gaëlic or Erse, and of the transition from one to the other of these idioms. The older terms are Welsh or similar to the Welsh, and the later ones are Gaëlic, Erse, or belonging to the idiom of the Highlands. It seems that the earlier dialect was superseded by the Gaëlic after the conquest of Pictavia by the Scots, which is an historical event, and cannot be set aside by any sceptical doubts like those of Mr. Pinkerton. Thus David I. granted to the monks of May, "Inver-in, qui fuit Aber-in." This was in the county of Fyfe. Abernethy was also at one period called Invernethy; and the old name Peanfahel, which, as Bede says, was Pictish, was changed for the Irish or Gaëlic Kenicl.

* Dr. Jamieson, Pref. to Scottish Dictionary.

† Bede also mentions two Pictish kings Meilochon, whose name resembles many proper names among the Welsh, such as Maelog and Maelgwn, and Bridius, perhaps derived from *briad*, honour, dignity. The greater part of the names in the Pictish Chronicle appear to resemble no known language whatever.

In the tenth century the Celtic language began to give way to an English dialect, through the influence of Anglo-Saxons at the Scottish court, and the immigration which took place from England after the Norman conquest. Yet all the places northward of the Firth in the charters of Alexander I. bore names which were of Celtic origin; so that although the Erse had then encroached upon the Pictish, the introduction of Saxon or Lowland Scottish was of later date. It therefore seems that the British language not only was once the idiom of Eastern Scotland, namely, in the Caledonian period, but that this was probably the case during the Pictish period and down to the Scottish conquest. If the Picts came from beyond seas to Scotland, and were not a people speaking the British language, which is not impossible since they might be Cimbri or Britons who had till a late period kept their position in the Orkney or Shetland Isles, they must have been in numbers too small to enable them to supersede the language of the Caledonian inhabitants whom they conquered, and with whom they probably intermixed. It may, perhaps, be impossible to settle the long-agitated Pictish controversy, but independently of it, there seems to be sufficient evidence of the fact that the old British language continued long to prevail in Pictavia; and there is clear historical evidence, sufficient to convince the most sceptical if they are only accessible to evidence, that whoever the Picts may have been, the Old Caledonians were certainly Britons.

## Section XIV.—*Of the Armoricans.*

It is well known that a dialect nearly akin to the Welsh has been preserved in Britanny. This dialect is spoken in the communes of Vannes, Quimper, Leon, and St. Brieux. Vannes is regarded as the capital of "La Bretagne Brétonnante." In each of the above communes there is some variety in the idiom of the inhabitants, but the language is essentially the same. This language was once more widely extended; the people at least whose descendants now speak it were, in the early periods of the French history, numerous and powerful, and formed a considerable nation governed by kings or

chieftains of their own race. They are termed by Gregory of Tours and other early French historians Britanni. The present Bretons term themselves Breyzads, but they are said not to have altogether forgotten their old name of Cymri.*

The affinity of the Welsh and Brétonne languages is so close that the people who speak them mutually understand each other, as both would doubtless understand the old Cornish if it were still extant. A great number of local names in Britanny are identical with names of places in Wales, such as Caerphili, Caerven, Elven, Lanoe, and Penherf.† A much greater number are closely analogous, or compounded of the same elements.

Another circumstance which seems to connect the Bretons with the Welsh, is the fact that over many parts, if not the whole of Britanny, numerous works of ancient art are spread, similar to those which are so frequent in Wales and Cornwall, and are commonly supposed to be Druidical remains. They bear in Britanny the same terms as in Wales, such as Cromlechs, Dolmins, Meini-hirion.‡

The circumstances from which this near relation between the insular Britons and the Armoricans took its rise, have been a theme of controversy. There is reason to believe that the ancient Veneti and the other tribes who inhabited Armorica, and who were, as we know, among the most civilized people of Gaul and had in Cæsar's time intercourse by sea with the Britons and even obtained aid from Britain in their wars against the Romans, really spoke a dialect nearly related to the Welsh; and it is not improbable that the native idiom of this people may have been preserved in a remote corner of Gaul, though it had ceased to be spoken in some other parts of that country, down to the period when the Roman domination ended. On this supposition the Armorican would be merely a relic of the ancient language of Gaul, as the Welsh is that of the colony which first peopled this country from the opposite coast, and the resemblance between

* Adelung, Mithridates, ii. 157.

† Essai sur les Antiquités du Département de Morbihan, par L. Mahé, Chanoine de la Cathédrale de Vannes. Vannes, 1825.

‡ Ibid.

them might be attributed to the original affinity between the two nations. But eighteen centuries of separation could hardly have elapsed without giving rise to a greater diversity of idiom than that which exists between the present Armoricans and the British Cymri; and this leads us to look for some other explanation of the actual resemblance in their languages. The traditionary story of a migration into Britanny from the opposite island affords such an explanation. Niebuhr treats this story as a mere fiction, invented for the sake of accounting for the fact above mentioned; but perhaps there is sufficient historical evidence that such an event took place, though there is much doubt and uncertainty as to the time and circumstances of the supposed emigration from Britain to the Continent. Indeed this opinion was so universally spread among French, English, and Welsh writers, that it must apparently have been founded on facts. Eginhard in the ninth century speaks of an emigration from this island, in which a great body of the British people went to seek a refuge in Armorica, when their country was conquered by the Saxons and Angles. He says, "Cumque Anglis et Saxonibus Britannica insula fuisset invasa, magna pars incolarum ejus mare trajiciens, in altimis Galliæ finibus, Venetorum et Curiosolitarum regiones occupavit. Is populus à regibus Francorum subactus vectigal, licet invitus, solvere solebat."

We learn also from a passage of William of Malmsbury,* that the Armorican Bretons in the time of Athelstan looked upon themselves as exiles from the land of their fathers. This is proved by a letter from Radhod, a prefect of the church at Avranches, written to King Athelstan, who is addressed as follows: "Rex gloriose, exaltator ecclesiæ, te imploramus qui in exulatu atque captivitate, nostris meritis atque peccatis, in Francia commoramus."

* Guliel. Malm. de Pontiff. apud Gale, tom. ii. p. 363. The original letter to Athelstan was found preserved "in scrinio." It related to the relics of St. Sampson, bishop of Avranches, which were translated from Britanny by King Athelstan to Malmsbury in Wilts. According to the authorities followed by the Rev. Alban Butler in his great work, the bones of St. Sampson were removed to Rome. Were there duplicates of these holy relics ?

These traditions are collected from a period long subsequent to the event to which they relate, and there is a want of contemporary evidence. Gildas indeed, after commenting on the misfortunes of the Britons after the departure of the Romans from the island, adds that some of them emigrated beyond seas: "Alii transmarinas petebant regiones." But these expressions would seem to point out the escape of comparatively small numbers, rather than the exulation of a whole tribe. Perhaps the strongest historical proof that such a colony really passed over the channel, is the manner in which the people of Britanny are mentioned by the early French historians, namely, those contemporary with the Merovingian dynasty, who describe them, under the name of Britanni, as a tribe distinct from the French nation, and but nominally or partially subject to the kings of France. Gregory of Tours says that after the death of Clovis the chieftains of the Bretons were always styled *Comites* and not *Reges*, Counts not Kings, and that they were no longer independent of the Franks, though they often attempted to shake off the yoke.* Fredegarius Scholasticus mentions a chieftain of the Bretons, who however at a later period was termed a king; this was Judicäel, afterwards Saint Judicäel, who promised allegiance to Dagobert, A.D. 635.†

It seems clear that there was a people in Britanny who formed an independent state, and that they were governed by kings of their own before the death of Clovis, which brings us back nearly to the origin of the French monarchy. They were termed Britanni, and looked upon as a distinct people from the other inhabitants of Gaul, and they were the same people who were afterwards, in the age of Charlemagne, recognised as a colony from Britain; and in the time of Athelstan they were themselves fully persuaded that their ancestors had emigrated from this island. All this seems to con-

* "Semper Britanni sub Francorum potestate post obitum regis Chlodovechi fuerunt, et *Comites* non *Reges* appellati." Some of these chieftains are mentioned by name, as Chonober, Macliavus, &c. (Gregor. Turon. Hist. apud Bouquet, tom. ii. p. 205.)

† "Semper se et regnum quod regebat Britanniæ subjectum ditioni Dagoberti esse promisit." (Fredegar. Scholast. Chronic. apud Bouquet, tom. ii. p. 443.)

titute sufficient evidence that such was really the fact, whatver difficulties may exist as to the date of the event. These difficulties turn upon the following considerations.

Gregory of Tours, who may be looked upon in the light of a contemporary annalist of the Merovingian princes, speaks of the Bretons as reduced, towards the end of the reign of Clovis, to acknowledge the supremacy of the French kings, and we are led to suppose that they had for some time before that period lived under independent kings of their own. The death of Clovis happened A.D. 511, about sixty years after the first landing of the Saxons in Kent, and only sixteen years subsequent to the invasion of the western parts of Britain which are opposite to Armorica. This is obviously inconsistent with the idea that a considerable state had flourished and declined previously to the date above mentioned. The kingdom of the Britanni in Armorica must have been anterior to the Saxon conques of this island. We have, indeed, contemporary evidence of this fact. Jornandes informs us that the Emperor Anthemius being pressed by the arms of Euric the Visigoth, obtained the assistance of Riothamus, king of the Britanni, who came to his assistance with an army of twelve thousand men. They came by sea to the Bituriges or Bourdelois. This happened in 468.* Vertôt, who contended against the existence of any such British kingdom at this period in Armorica, evaded the inference by a conjecture that the army of Riothamus consisted of insular Britons who came under a chieftain or king of their own, as auxiliaries to the Roman emperor. But the name is unknown in British history, and it is unlikely that the Britons just at the breaking out of their warfare against their Saxon invaders should send an army to the assistance of the western emperor, after the Romans, on the recall of Aetius, had relinquished all claim to their allegiance. We have, moreover, from other sources satisfactory proof that there was already a people at this era in Gaul who had the name of Britons. Sidonius Apollinaris mentions Britanni upon the Loire; and it appears that at a council held at Tours in 461, Mansuetus, bishop of the Britons, was present among the eccle-

* Jornandes, c. 45. See Bouquet, tom. ii. p. 27.

siastics from the province termed Lugdunensis Tertia, which was Britanny.*

From these considerations it appears historically clear that there was a state or community of Britons in Armorica at a period considerably prior to any emigration that can have taken place during the Saxon wars in this island.

There is a very celebrated monkish tradition which gives an account of this emigration, and fixes it in a period which coincides very well with probability and all the facts actually known; but this story is so extremely absurd, and is conjoined with so many fabulous circumstances, that modern writers have been undecided whether any regard ought to be paid to it. The legend connects the foundation of the Armorican British state with the invasion of Gaul by Maximus, who in the year 383 revolted against the Emperor Gratian. Maximus is styled, in the Welsh chronicle, Macsen Wledig. He is said to have brought over with him into Gaul a great army of British youth, whom he established in Armorica under a chieftain, Conan Meriadoc. Conan, who became the first prince of the Armorican Britons, thought it necessary to supply his soldiers with wives, and therefore begged Dionethus, duke of Cornwall, to send over into Little Britain eleven thousand virgins: namely, eight thousand for the commons and three thousand for the nobility; others say eleven thousand for the nobles and forty thousand for the plebeians. The eleven thousand virgins who sailed under St. Ursula fell into the hands of a king of the Huns and a king of the Picts, set by Gratian on the coast of Germany to watch the motions of Maximus, and, as it is well known, left their bones at Cologne,† to share with

* This is observed by the annotators to the "Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France." See Bouquet, tom. i. p. 785. See also Procopius, lib. iv. de Bello Gotth. apud Bouquet, ii. p. 42. Also the Life of St. Germanus, Vita St. Germani Episcop. Autissiodor. Bouq. i. p. 643.

† This story is related, more or less fully, by various monkish writers. It occurs first, or rather the root of it is to be found, in the Chronicle of Nennius and of Mark; it grows subsequently in the Welsh Bruts, or in the chronicle of Tysilio and in the Breton chronicle, the Life of St. Jesse and P. Lecarry. Matthew of Westminster gives the story briefly thus: "Maximus Armoricanum regnum, quod postea Britannia Minor dicebatur, petierat. Vocavit Maximus Conanum et dedit ei Armoricanam regionem et Minorem Britanniam jussit appellari." (Matth. West.) Several authorities

the relics of the Three Kings the veneration of Christian Hadgis. This story is so absurd that it is not to be wondered at if many modern writers have rejected it altogether. It is a suspicious circumstance that Zosimus, who relates circumstantially the invasion of Gaul by Maximus, makes no allusion to Conan and the Armorican colony. Yet the tradition of a colonisation of Britanny from the opposite coast about this time is so well established by considerations already alluded to, and there is so general a consent among the monkish writers and in the chronicles of the following ages in regard to the fact that it took place under Maximus, as to render it probable that the story is fundamentally true, though embellished by fabulous circumstances.

Another matter of doubt is whether the Britons at their arrival in Armorica found the natives of that country speaking the ancient language of the Gauls, or already Latinized; in other words, whether the modern Armorican was introduced anew into Gaul by the colony of insular Britons who settled there, or was in part a relic of the old Celtic idiom which had never yielded entirely to the language of the Roman conquerors. We have scarcely access to data adequate to the satisfactory solution of this question. The only consideration that bears upon it with much weight is that the Armorican dialect is much too nearly allied to the Welsh language to admit the supposition that it is merely a relic of the old Celtic spoken by the aborigines of Gaul before the Roman conquest. On that hypothesis the Britons of this island and of Armorica must have been separated at the era of the first population of Wales and Cornwall; and it cannot be supposed that the idioms of these races would have remained so nearly identical as they really are. There is indeed no improbability in the supposition that the Armoricans had preserved their Celtic idiom up to the period when they were joined by a colony

are cited by the Rev. Mr. Price, who touches upon this subject in his Essay on the Inhabitants of Britain. The story has been considered in different lights by different modern writers, as Usher, Whittaker, Carte, and Turner. Some strip it of its fabulous circumstances and give credit to it, others reject it altogether. The truth of the outline as an historical event has been ably vindicated by the learned author of a work entitled "Britannia after the Romans." London, 1836.

from Britain, who speaking a kindred dialect may have modified the language of the people among whom they settled. But I know not any historical proof of the fact, and without such evidence it is merely a surmise. There is one authority which has been cited in evidence that when the Britons came across the channel into Armorica, they found there a kindred people able to understand and converse with them. In the history of the lifeof St. Magloire or Maglorius, it is related that when that holy man came from Wales, where he had been educated under the auspices of Saint Iltudus, into Armorica, he found there already settled "populos ejusdem linguæ," among whom his pious labours were attended with a great harvest of souls.* But St. Magloire died A.D. 575, or about that time, more than a century after the emigration from Britain into Armorica had commenced. We have therefore no proof that the people to whom he preached in Welsh were not descendants from his own countrymen. On the whole it appears that there is sufficient historical evidence of a migration from Britain into Armorica between the end of the fourth and the commencement of the sixth century of our era, and that this colony has been the principal means of preserving in Britanny the language now termed "Bréton" or "Bas Bréton," from the people by whom it was introduced.†

## SECTION XV.—*On the moral character of the Celtic Nations.*

### *Paragraph* 1.—Of their national character and institutions.

At the period when they first became known in history the Gauls were by no means destitute of the arts of life and of social and national culture. The Celti, known to the Massilians,

* Mithridat, th. ii. s. 157. Also the life of St. Magloire, in Butler's Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints, October, 24.

† It seems that the intercourse between the Britons and the Armoricans was long kept up. It continued after the Britons were confined to Wales, England having been conquered by the Saxons and Angles. Many of the churches in Armorica, were founded by Welshmen, or at least by ecclesiastics who had received their education in Wales, and especially at the College of Iltudus. See the Lives of St. Malo, St. Pol de Léon, St. Sampson, St. Magloire, and others.

practised hospitality and held public assemblies, in which, as we have seen, they cultivated music, including bardic poetry. The states of Armorica were existing in the time of Pytheus, 300 years B.C., who termed the inhabitants honourable or respectable people. The Veneti were skilful in shipbuilding and in maritime affairs before the intercourse between them and the Romans began. Gaul seems to have had a sort of feudal constitution, in which the influence of clanship and alliances between kindred tribes was a very prominent feature; and this system appears to have been established previously to the earliest historical accounts of the Gauls, namely, before the invasion of Italy by the Bituriges and their confederated clans. A government of the same description had before Cæsar's time extended itself over Britain, where we find that a predominant tribe took the lead in the war against that invader. It was considered to be the imperative duty of the strong to defend the weak who applied to them for succour, and put themselves under their protection. This gave rise to powerful alliances, and promoted the influence of the chief men, who brought their dependents under absolute sway, and exercised an authority greater than that of the feudal barons of later ages.

No two nations were ever more contrasted in their social and political institutions than the Gauls and Germans. Among the latter, all the members of the community were freemen and warriors, wore the arms of freemen, and took their place in battle and in the deliberative assemblies of the people. The case was widely different among the Gauls. Cæsar informs us that throughout all Gaul there were two dignified orders; these were the sacerdotal order or the Druids, and the knights or military caste. "These alone," says Cæsar, "are held in any respect: the common people are regarded nearly in the light of slaves, and undertake nothing of themselves, nor are they admitted to councils. Many, oppressed by debts, or by the exaction of excessive tributes, or the injuries of the powerful, surrender themselves into slavery under the nobles, who exercise over them the rights of masters. The Druids manage all the affairs of religion, public and private sacrifices, and are the interpreters of all divine things. They are held

in great respect as the educators of youth. It is their business to settle all disputes, private and public. In controversies respecting boundaries or succession to property, and in criminal accusations, they are judges and appoint punishments. If any person, in either a private or public capacity, refuses to submit to their decision, they interdict him from sacrifices. This is the most severe punishment. The interdicted are considered as impious and abominable, and they are outlawed and avoided by all. One chief Druid presides over the rest, and on his death a successor is appointed by election. The Druids at a certain time of the year hold a sitting in a consecrated place within the country of the Carnutæ, which is considered the centre of Gaul. To this assembly a final appeal is made in all controversies."*

Strabo gives a somewhat different account of the dignified orders among the Gauls. He says that there are three classes of men held in great esteem among them, the Bards, the Vates or Ouates, and the Druids: the Bards, he adds, are singers and poets; the Ouates perform sacred rites and study the doctrine of nature; and the Druids, in addition to natural philosophy—physiologia—devote themselves also to the study of ethics. It seems that these three classes, mentioned by Strabo, come under the Druidical order of Cæsar; otherwise two are omitted by that writer. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the same three orders of Strabo under the names of Bardi, Euhages, and Druidæ. He adds, "Bardi quidem, fortia virorum illustrium facta, heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitarunt; Euhages vero serutantes summa et sublimia naturam pandere conabantur." The Bards are mentioned by Festus Pompeius: "Bardus Gallicè cantor appellatur, qui virorum fortium laudes canit." The same description and epithet were given to them by Posidonius in a passage preserved by Athenæus and cited from the latter writer by Casaubon.†

A similar account of the office and power of the Druids has been handed down by Diodorus, who says that the people

* Cæsar, de B. G. lib. vi. c. 13.

† Ammian. Marcell. 15, 9. Athenæus, vi. c. 12. Casaubon. ad Strabonem, p. 197.

paid the greatest regard to their advice, not only in civil affairs but also in those of war. He adds that they would sometimes step in between hostile armies while standing ready for battle, and by their exhortations would prevent the effusion of blood, and effect the restoration of peace.*

We learn from Strabo that women sometimes took part in the performances of the Druids; and that in an island near the mouth of the Loire ceremonies were performed similar to the orgies of Bacchus, in which females were alone employed.†

Vopiscus declares, from the testimony of contemporary writers, that British Druidesses predicted the death of Diocletian. He also relates that Aurelian consulted Gaulish Druidesses. In the life of Numerian he says that Diocletian first conceived the hope of his future greatness from the prediction of a Gaulish Druidess.

The several states of Gaul were aristocratical republics. In these it was customary to elect a prince or chief governor annually, and a general was likewise appointed by the

* Diodor. Biblioth. lib. v.

† Strabo, lib. iv. p. 198. Dionys. Perieg. v. 570. This last writer was struck with some analogy between the rites of the Celtic people and those of Eastern nations. He says:

Οὐχ οὕτω Θρήϊκος ἐπ' ἠόσιν Ἀψίνθοιο
Βιστόνιδες καλέουσιν ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιώτην,
οὐδ' οὕτω σὺν παισὶ μελανδινὴν ἀνὰ Γάγγην
Ἴνδοι κῶμον ἄγουσιν ἐριβρεμετῇ Διονύσῳ,
ὡς κεῖνον κατὰ χῶρον ἀνευάζουσι γυναῖκες.

This story, as related by Dionysius, had probably some connection with the report given by Hecatæus of Abdera, and preserved in a curious passage of Diodorus, which, obscure as it is, may perhaps be the earliest notice to be traced among the Greek writers of the British Isles. "Hecatæus and some others relate, says Diodorus, that there is an island opposite Celtica not less than Sicily. It lies in the North Sea, inhabited by people termed Hyperboreans. It is said to be fertile and abundant, of temperate climate, and producing two harvests in a year. Latona is fabled to have been born there, and hence Apollo is worshipped by the people more than the other gods. In that island there is a grove sacred to Apollo, and a magnificent temple, of a circular form, ornamented with many votive gifts; likewise a city consecrated to Apollo, the inhabitants of which are mostly musicians, and sing perpetual hymns, with stringed instruments, to their god. He adds that the Hyperboreans have a peculiar language." Has this fabulous story, prevalent so early as the time of Hecatæus the Abderite, who probably lived before Pytheas visited the North, any foundation in vague stories spread through Western Europe respecting Britain and the Druids? (See Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. cap. 47.)

multitude to take the command in war. Strabo says that they had one peculiar custom in their assemblies. If any person present made a noise and disturbed the speaker, a beadle was sent to him with a drawn sword, who at first by threats endeavoured to enforce silence, and if not obeyed, cut off a part of the cloak of the offender. It was a trait common to the Gauls and other barbarians, adds Strabo, "to distribute between the two sexes the offices of life in a manner different from our customs."

*Paragraph* 2.—Of their temper and personal character.

Boldness, levity, and fickleness, a want of firmness and self-command, are by the old writers universally ascribed to the Gauls as their prominent characteristics. Dio Cassius says that their leading faults are expressed in three words—*τὸ κουφὸν, τὸ δειλὸν καὶ τὸ θρασύ.** Strabo describes them in rather a favourable point of view. He says that "the Gauls in general are irascible and always ready to fight; but otherwise, honest and good-natured. When irritated they speedily hasten in crowds to a fight openly and without circumspection, so that they are easily circumvented and defeated by stratagem, for at all times and places it is easy to provoke them by any pretence to engage in quarrels, to which they bring no other resources than violence and boldness. They are likewise easily persuaded to a good purpose, and are ready for instruction and intellectual culture. Their impetuosity may be ascribed partly to their great stature and partly to the multitude of people, who habitually run together, through simplicity, and having no restraint, whenever they fancy that any of their neighbours have suffered injury. The Gauls are all naturally fond of war: they fight better on horseback than on foot; and the best cavalry the Romans have is from them; the further they live towards the north and the ocean, the more warlike they are: the Belgæ are said to be the most valiant of all, and they alone were able to resist the attacks of the Germans, the Cimbri, and Teutones. Among the Belgæ the Belovaci are the bravest, and next to them the Suessiones."*

All the ancient writers ascribe to the Gauls the greatest degree of unchastity and impurity in their manners. Dio-

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 196.

dorus, Athenæus, and other writers have preserved accounts of them, which indicate that they lived in a state of almost universal prostitution, and were literally devoid of all sense of modesty or shame. This relates to the Gauls. The Britons in particular lived in a state of incestuous concubinage, which is thus described by Cæsar: "Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis: sed, si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quæque deducta est."* From such customs we should expect to find resulting the greatest degree of physical and moral degradation, and we may thus account in part for the great inferiority of the Celtic nations whenever they came into collision with the Germans, which terminated in a complete and final subjugation of the former in every country.

### *Paragraph* 3.—Arts of life.

The Gauls practised agriculture, and were not unskilful in tillage, otherwise their country would not have supported so great a multitude of people as it is said to have maintained. Strabo declares that Gallia Narbonensis produced all the same fruits of the earth as Italy. "To the northward of the Cevennes," he adds, "olives and figs are wanting, but the soil is fertile in other productions, though it hardly brings grapes to full maturity. Every other produce abounds throughout Gaul, which bears much corn, millet, acorns, and supports herds of all kinds. There is no waste land, except some tracts occupied by forest and morass, and even these are not desert, but contain inhabitants whose number is greater then their civilization, for the women are fruitful and excellent nurses. The men are fonder of war than of agriculture, but they are now obliged to lay aside arms and cultivate the land."† The Belgæ, according to Cæsar, were ruder and less luxurious than the rest of the Gauls, being further removed from intercourse with the Roman province.‡ "Most of the Gauls," says Strabo, "are accustomed to sleep upon the ground, and they sit on couches when they

* Cæsar, B. G. lib. v. c. 14. † Strabo, lib. iv. p. 199.
‡ Cæsar, de B. G. lib. i.

take their meals. Their food is chiefly of milk, and flesh of various kinds, especially of swine, either fresh or salted. Their hogs, which are kept in the fields, are of remarkable height, strength, and swiftness, and as dangerous to those who approach them without heed as wolves. They build their houses of planks and hurdles of a round form, with large roofs. So numerous are their herds of oxen and swine, that not only Rome but the rest of Italy is supplied from them with salt provisions."—"To the open and impetuous disposition of the Gauls belong much folly and boastful arrogance, and a remarkable fondness of ornament and of display. They wear bracelets around their arms and wrists; and those who are in office have robes dyed and embroidered with gold. From their levity of disposition they are intolerably arrogant when they conquer, and when defeated they become dismayed. They have the barbarous and strange habit, common to many northern tribes, of carrying, when they return from battle, the heads of their enemies suspended from their horses' necks, and of hanging them up against the gates of their towns. This Posidonius declares that he had frequently seen."

The dress and personal habit of the Gauls were so remarkable as to afford epithets for national distinctions. Gallia Comata, or Gaul whose inhabitants wore their hair uncut, and Gallia Braccata, where the people wore hose and breeches, were early designations of the Roman province, in contrast with the Cisalpine or Gallia Togata, whose inhabitants wore a toga or cassock.* Like the long-haired princes of the house of Merovey, the warriors of ancient Gaul were celebrated for their long flowing locks of flaxen or yellow hair, which they kept tied in tufts behind their heads.† The Gallic sagum or cloak was particoloured and embroidered. Not only the women but the men ornamented their necks and arms with a profusion of golden chains, rings, and bracelets. The whole nation are said to have been remarkable for personal cleanliness.‡

The arms of the Gauls were battle-axes and swords.§ The

* Mannert, Geograph. Gallin. 49.

† Diodor. v. 28. Mela, iii. 3. Plin. iv. 17.

‡ Ritson, Mem. of Celts, p. 147; where, as usual, he cites numerous authorities.

§ Ammian. Marcell.

chariots, armed with scythes, used by the Britons in battle, were not peculiar to them; some of the Gauls had a similar custom of fighting, as Strabo informs us.* The *gæsum* or heavy javelin of the Gauls was their most remarkable weapon. From its use originated the epithet of Gæsatæ.

The Britons, though, as Strabo assures us, they resembled the Celts in manners, were more rude and barbarous. Some of them were so ignorant, that though they had abundance of milk they had not learnt the art of making cheese;† neither had they any knowledge of gardening or of agriculture. But Strabo admits that some parts of Britain produced plenty of corn. Cæsar when he landed found the ground covered with standing corn. The Britons therefore were acquainted with agriculture; but this appears to refer to the southern parts, inhabited by Belgic Gauls who had crossed the Channel. "Of all the Britons," says Cæsar, "by far the most civilized are those who inhabit Cantium, a maritime country, who differ but little in their manners from the Gauls. Most of the people of the interior," he adds, "never sow corn, but live upon milk and flesh and are clothed with skins." It must be observed, that Cæsar described the Britons of the interior from hearsay, as he did not penetrate their country.

In other respects the Britons are described as generally a people of very barbarous manners. Cæsar says that they were accustomed to fortify with a wall and ditch places of retreat in the woods difficult to penetrate, and to term such places towns. Strabo makes a similar observation, remarking that they cut down trees and make a wide circuit in the woods, in which they erect their cabins—καλυβοποιοῦνται—and cots for their flocks, and to which they give the name of a city.‡ Cæsar says that the houses of the Britons were similar in construction to those of the Gauls. In their domestic and social habits, the Britons were as degraded as the most savage nations now existing. They were clothed with skins; they wore the hair of their

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 200. Casaub

† It is curious that the Welsh had a peculiar word for butter, viz. *ymenyn*. *Caus*, cheese, was perhaps derived from Latin. M. Rühs has made the same remark respecting the Finnish language. It has a peculiar word for butter, but borrows the Swedish word for cheese.

‡ Strabo, ibid.

heads unshorn and long, but shaved the rest of their bodies, except their upper lip, and stained their skins of a blue colour, by means of woad, which gave them a horrible aspect in battle.

Antiquarian and philological researches confirm these testimonies of history. The funereal mounds or barrows found in many parts of Britain give doubtless a good specimen of the state of arts among the people who deposited their dead in these rude tombs. In the large collection made by the late Sir Richard Hoare, the implements, ornaments, and utensils of a great number of barrows of various kinds are deposited. From the inspection of these we might be led to imagine that the ancient Britons were nearly on a level with the New Zealanders or Tahitians of the present day, or perhaps not very superior to the Australians. In these tombs hatchets and cutting instruments are made of stone; there are no such implements of iron: arrow-heads are of the same material; rings, necklaces, and ornaments of various kinds are almost always of fish-bone, or some rude material of a similar kind. It is only in a very few barrows, and those perhaps of more modern date than the rest, that there are any decorations made of gold; and this is so much the more remarkable, as the tombs of ancient races spread over many parts of Europe and in the north of Asia are very generally found to contain pieces of the precious metals in plates and in different forms of ornament; and as the use of gold and silver for such purposes is known in general to precede by a long time the employment of iron tools or the invention of iron implements. Metallic instruments and golden and silver ornaments would doubtlessly be more frequently found in the British barrows had the art of working these metals been long and generally known. This art was, however, known before the arrival of the Romans, for Strabo enumerates among the produce of Britain, corn, herds, gold, silver, iron. It is possible that the art of mining in Britain was first practised by the Phœnicians,* and in later ages that the Veneti and other

* The Phœnicians are said to have brought tin from the Cassiterides. It must, however, be noticed that Gesenius discredits the long voyages of the Phœnicians, at least those towards the north, from the fact that no Phœnician inscriptions have been found to the northward of the Straits. The fact is not conclusive against their supposed trading voyages, though it seems to indicate that they had no settlements in these countries.

traders from Spain, Gaul, and Marseilles succeeded those enterprising discoverers. The Welsh and Erse names of many of the metals would almost induce us to believe that the first knowledge of them among the Britons was due to the Romans. *Aur, ariant, plum,* express gold, silver, and lead in Welsh. *Copr, haiarn,* copper and iron, are almost English words; in Erse iron is *iarunn.* The Welsh word *près,* brass, may perhaps be a genuine British word, and the original of the Anglo-Saxon *bræs.* There were two other old Welsh words for metals, *alcan* and *malen. Alcan* is supposed to have been a white metal, and the word is used in the Welsh translation of the Bible to express *tin.* Had it any affinity to the old Turkish and Mongolian word for gold, viz. *altan?* The other word, *malen,* is rendered steel.

The Welsh have also peculiar names for different sorts of grain, which is perhaps a proof that the ancestors of the aboriginal Britons were acquainted with these productions. *Gwenith,* wheat, probably meant "white corn:" *haidh,* barley, has perhaps the same derivation as *hordeum. Rhŷg,* rye, may have been derived from *rug,* the Swedish name for that grain, or from the Esthonian *rikki.* The Erse word for barley, *eórna* and *órna,* has some resemblance to the Finnish word *ohra;* and that for oats, *coirce,* in Welsh *ceirch,** is perhaps the same original word as the Finnish *cagra. March,* horse, an old Celtic word, is connected with the German *mahre,* Mongolian *morin,* Chinese, popular pronunciation, *mar.*

### *Paragraph* 4.—Of the Religion of the Celtic nations.

Although so much has been written on the religion of the Gauls and Britons, the extent of our real information on this subject is extremely limited. Nothing is more surprising than the confident manner which many Welsh writers have assumed, and the imposing air of authority with which they lay down positions supported by little or no evidence. Some of them appear to have imagined that they possessed by birthright a claim

* *Ceirch* is in Cornish *cerh.* The Latin *Ceres* has been compared with this. But *ceres* was wheat or wheaten bread, and the word wants one of the radical letters of *ceirch.*

to be believed, on their mere assertion, in all that they have thought fit to dream and invent respecting the opinions of their forefathers. They make an appeal to oral tradition, and pretend that the bards of Wales have handed down among them the esoteric doctrine of the Druids by a perpetual succession from the time when the pagan worship of the ancient Celts was in its full prevalence and integrity. That they actually possess such traditionary knowledge they have never condescended to furnish the slightest proof. They have indeed the remains of bards, some of which, and particularly the verses of Taliessin, contain many obscure passages, which are, like the Sibylline poems, of dark and mysterious import, supposed to be pregnant with mysteries of old mythology, and equally susceptible of almost any interpretation. These compositions are curious relics of antiquity and of times little explored, and they are highly deserving of a more careful and of a much more critical elucidation than they have yet obtained. But the poems of Welsh and Irish bards, composed some centuries after the extirpation of the Druids, and long after the establishment of Christianity in Britain, among a people whose intellectual character had been entirely formed upon the model of monkish lore, (and that the prevalent notions of the Welsh and Irish were of this description, Nennius and Mark the Hermit, and the Irish fables clearly prove,) can hardly be trusted as exhibiting an authentic representation of the primitive mythology of the Gauls. We have for an inquiry into this subject no other data than a few passages left by ancient writers, and some inscriptions which have been found in various parts of Gaul and Britain.

The Greeks and Romans fancied that they recognised the objects of their own worship in the gods adored by all other nations; and when Cæsar informs us that the Gauls performed divine honours to five of the Roman divinities, we are to understand by the assertion that the five principal objects of adoration among the Celtic people bore some resemblance in their attributes and in the ceremonial of the worship paid to them, to the Roman gods with whom Cæsar identified them. These five divinities were Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Mercury, as Cæsar declares, was the principal

object of religious worship, and to him the most numerous images were inscribed. It seems that the Gauls were idolaters, and that their principal god was, like Mercury, the inventor of arts, the conductor and guardian in journeys, and the patron of gain and profit in merchandise. Such we are told were the attributes of the Gaulish Mercury. Apollo, or the Gaulish deity taken for Apollo by the Romans, was a protector against diseases; Minerva was the promoter of arts, Jupiter the ruler of the heavenly firmament, Mars the god of war.

Three of these Gallic divinities, but it is uncertain which of them, are mentioned in a celebrated passage of Lucan under their proper Celtic designations.

> " Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
> Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,
> Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.
> Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
> Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum
> Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.
> Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
> Sacrorum Druidæ positis repetistis ab armis."

It is probable that Taranis was the Celtic god whom the Romans identified with Jupiter, because *taran* is the Welsh word for *thunder*. It is unsafe to infer anything respecting the Celtæ from what is known concerning the Teutonic nations, but it may be worth while to observe that the Thor of the Northmen, who has always been identified with Jupiter, was, according to Adam of Bremen, the ruler of the air, and of lightning and thunder, winds and storms. Taran in Welsh, Toran in Erse, is in name as well as in attributes analogous to Thor.

It is generally supposed that Hesus, who is also mentioned by Lactantius, is the Celtic god identified with Mars. A statue of this god, at least one bearing the name of Esus, was formerly discovered underground in Paris. It has been described by many writers as resembling a man in the vigour of youth, naked except a covering round the loins and a loose garment over the left shoulder, wearing a crown of boughs, and holding in the left hand a branch which he is about to cut off with an axe brandished in the right.

Mercury is supposed to be Teutates. In some copies of the

twenty-sixth book of Livy the name of Mercurius Teutates occurs, but in other copies merely Mercurius. Duw Taith, coming in sound very near to Teutates, means, as old Sammes has observed, in Welsh, the *god of travelling*. It is remarkable that the name of this god approaches in Welsh so nearly to Thoth, Thoyth, Taautus, eastern designations appropriated to Hermes, and likewise to the Tuisco and Teut of the Germans.

Belenus, Belinus, and Belis, was a god of the Gauls mentioned by several writers, as by Tertullian and Julius Capitolinus. From a passage of the latter author it appears that Belenus was considered to be Apollo. Herodian calls him Belis, and says that by the citizens of Aquileia Belis was said to be Apollo.* The Balder of the Northmen was the same in attributes as Belin or Belis.†

The names of many Celtic gods are preserved in inscriptions. The following are among the most remarkable.

Three ancient inscriptions in the collection of Gruter contain the name of Abellio, a god of the ancient Gauls. Gruter and others suppose this to be the same as Belenus.‡

Belatucadrus.§—Several inscriptions are described by Camden in the north of England bearing this name on altars, and dedicated—Sancto deo Belatucadro.

Atys or Attis, as well as Belenas, was a Gallic name for the Sun. "Attidem cum nominamus, Solem significamus." ‖

Aufaniæ or Aufaniæ matres were goddesses of the Gauls.¶

Aventia, an unknown Gallican and particularly Helvetian deity.

Bacurdus, a Gallic god whose name occurs in two inscriptions at Cologne given by Gruter.

Camulus is another name of the god of war occurring in two of Gruter's inscriptions.

Nehalunnia, probably a goddess of sailors. Ogmius was the

* Tertullian, Apolog. cap. 24. Julius Capitol. Herodian, lib. viii.

† There is an inscription extant, "Apollini Beleno;" and another, "Apollini Bellino." (Religion des Gaulois, i. 379, 381. Ritson's Mem. of the Celts, p. 80.)

‡ See Gruter's Collection of Ancient Inscriptions, 2 vols. folio.

§ Cadrus, the termination, is probably *cadyr*, Welsh for mighty.

‖ Arnob. ad Gentes, b. v. p. 187.

¶ Du Fresne, and Keysler's Antiq.

god of eloquence, mentioned by Lucian. Onuava was an unknown god with a winged female head and the body of a fish.*

*Paragraph* 5.—Religious rites of the Celtic nations.

Of all Pagan nations the Gauls and Britons appear to have had the most sanguinary rites. They may well be compared in this respect with the Ashanti, Dahomehs, and other nations of Western Africa. Cæsar says that in threatening diseases and the imminent dangers of war they made no scruple to sacrifice men, or engage themselves by vow to such sacrifices: in which they made use of the ministry of the Druids; for it was a prevalent opinion among them, that nothing but the life of a man could atone for the life of a man, insomuch that they had established even public sacrifices of that kind. "Some prepared huge colossal figures of osier-twigs, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to them, those within expired amidst the flames. They preferred for victims such as had been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes, believing them the most acceptable to the gods; but when real criminals were wanting the innocent were often made to suffer." Strabo says, "Other immolations likewise of men are talked of: for some they shot with sacred arrows or hung upon crosses, and a colossus being made of rushes fastened with wood, sheep and beasts of every kind, and men were burned together." Saint Foix, in his Historical Essays upon Paris, printed there in 1766, says, "There are still some towns in the kingdom where the mayor and sheriffs cause to be put into a basket one or two dozens of cats, and burn them in the bon-fire of the eve of St. John. This barbarous custom," he adds, "of which I do not know the origin, subsisted even in Paris, and was only abolished there at the commencement of the reign of Louis XIV." "The practice of burning cats," says Ritson, "in use among the modern French may have some relation to the human sacrifices of the Gauls, their predecessors."†

"According to their natural cruelty, they were as impious in the worship of their gods; for their malefactors, after having

* St. Martin, Religion des Gaulois, part ii. Adelung, Mithridates, b. ii. p. 65.

† Ritson's Memoirs of the Celts, p. 81.

been kept close prisoners five years together, were impaled upon stakes, in honour of the gods, and then with many other victims, upon a vast pile of wood, were offered up as a burnt-sacrifice to their deities. In like manner they used their captives also as sacrifices to the gods. Some of them cut the throats of, burned, or otherwise destroyed both men and beasts which they had taken in time of war."*

The funereal rites of the ancient Gauls and Britons, like those of other nations, were connected with their notions respecting the state of the dead. Most nations who have held the doctrine of metempsychosis, with the exception of the Egyptians, have burned their dead. The funerals of the Gauls were, as Cæsar informs us, according to their means, magnificent and sumptuous: they brought to the funeral pile all the objects to which the deceased had been most attached, even his favourite animals;† and a little before the age of Cæsar it had been the custom to burn with the dead even slaves and dependents who were known to have been objects of his affections. It is added by another writer that these immolations were sometimes voluntary, and that friends and relations cast themselves upon the funereal pyre willingly, in order to live in a future world with the deceased.‡

The Britons like Eastern nations had sacred animals which they kept, but abstained from eating from a religious scruple.

The Celts believed in a future state and in the transmigration of souls. The opinion of Pythagoras, says Diodorus, prevails among them, that the souls of men are immortal, and live again after a certain time in other bodies. This belief, he says, is supposed to excite greatly to valour and contempt of death. The dogma of the Druids was simply that of metempsychosis; that of Pythagoras metensomatosis, as distinguished by Plato. This doctrine was connected by the Druids with that of cycles and renovations of the series of events, and the system of cataclysms discoverable in so many other ancient nations. Strabo says that they taught, in common with many

* Ritson, ubi supra, from Diodorus.

† In some of the barrows opened by Sir Richard Hoare, the bones of stags were found buried under or in a separate part of the tomb.

‡ Pomp. Mela, lib. iii.

other ancient nations, that the soul is indestructible as well as the world itself, and that fire and water are destined at periods to prevail. "They dispute much," says Cæsar, "concerning the heavenly bodies and their motions, and the magnitude of the world and of regions, concerning the nature of things, and the power and dominion of the immortal gods." Their astronomy was connected with notions respecting fate and destined periods. It was in fact rather astrology than anything really constituting science. In this relation it is mentioned by Cicero: "Eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est; siquidem et in Gallia Druidæ sunt, è quibus ipse Divitiacum Æduum hospitem tuum laudatoremque cognovi; qui et Naturæ rationem, quam physiologiam Græci appellant, notam sibi esse profitebatur, et partim auguriis, partim conjectura, quæ essent futura dicebat."*

## Section XVI.—*Of the physical Characters of the Celtic Nations.*

It seems strange that such a subject as the physical character of the Celtic race should have been made a theme of controversy. Yet this has happened, and the dispute has turned not only on the question what characteristic traits belonged to the ancient Celtæ, but what are those of their descendants the Welsh and the Scottish Gaël.

Mr. Pinkerton, a learned but dogmatical and paradoxical writer, advanced the assertion that the Celtæ and the German or, as he termed it, the Gothic race, were originally and generically different; that this difference has been always uniformly maintained in their physiognomy, as well as in their psychological and moral character. The external peculiarities of all Gothic or German nations are, as he says, red or yellow hair, blue eyes, fair complexions, large limbs, and tall stature; those of Celtic tribes universally dark hair, dark eyes, swarthy complexions, small stature. In describing the mental character of the Celts, Mr. Pinkerton is still more "tranchant." The Celts, he says, are natural savages, and were regarded as

* Cicero de Div. lib. i.

such by all writers of all ages. "What a lion is to an ass such is a Goth to a Celt."

Dr. Macculloch, who however was a writer of a very different class from Mr. Pinkerton, has adopted his notions concerning the physical characters of the Celts, and has confirmed them as far as general and somewhat vague assertions can be thought to afford confirmation.*

The opinions of Mr. Pinkerton and Dr. Macculloch have been fully discussed and refuted in an ingenious work written expressly with that view by the Rev. T. Price. To that work I beg to refer my readers who are desirous of estimating the merits of this controversy; and I should now go on to collect what evidence the ancients have given respecting the physical characters of the Celts, were it not in the first place necessary to advert to what has been said on this subject by a writer whose opinions are on all occasions entitled, though not to implicit confidence, yet certainly to a most attentive and deferential consideration. In the first edition of Niebuhr's Roman history, published in 1812, there is an admirable and striking portraiture of the Gauls who attacked Rome, containing the general results of the information left by the ancient writers respecting the physical character and habits of the Celts. Niebuhr's expressions are so concise and characteristic that I am unwilling to weaken them by translation. In describing the personal attire of the Gauls, he says, "Mit Gold schmückte sich jeder wohlhabende Gallier, und wenn er in der Schlacht nackt erschien, so trug er doch goldne Ketten an den Armen, und dicke goldne Ringe um den Halz. Ihre bunten, gewürfelten, mit Regenbogenfarben schimmernden Mäntel sind noch die mahlerische Tracht ihrer Stammgenosse

* Dr. Macculloch, though highly informed and distinguished on subjects connected with geology, was so ignorant of ethnography as to suppose the Celtæ a Semitic race. I mention this circumstance in order to prove that the characteristic distinction of human races was a subject to which he only directed his attention incidentally. A writer under such circumstances who was led to make for a particular purpose some not very profound inquiries into the history of the Highlanders was likely to prefer the authority of such a man as Pinkerton, of clear and strong sense, though somewhat peremptory and wrong-headed, to the weak and childish dreams of the Celtic antiquarians who had preceded him, and who descant with amazing absurdity through entire volumes upon their Phœnician, Punic, Scythian, Spanish, and Magogian ancestry.

der Berg-Schotten, welche die Brakken der alten Gallier abgelegt haben. Grosse Körper, ein langes struppichtes gelbes Haar, wilde Züge, machten ihren Anblick furchtbar: ihre Gestalt, ihr wilder Muth, ihre unermessliche Zahl, der betäubende Lärm einer ungeheuern Menge Hörner und Trompeten bey ihren Heeren, und die grässlichen Verwüstungen welche dem Siege folgten, lähmten die Völker welche sie überzogen mit Entsetzen."*

In the last edition of his Roman history Niebuhr has made some change in his description of the Gauls, but none, as it appears, in his opinion. He says that on this subject he had been honoured by a letter full of information from an anonymous British scholar, who assured him that all the Celts now have black hair, and hence infers that in all those passages quoted in the first edition which ascribed to that people yellow hair, the Celts must have been confounded by ancient writers with the Germans. Niebuhr professed himself inclined to concur in this view; but he found the evidence of Ammianus Marcellinus, who himself had resided in Gaul, so very decisive on the subject, that he adheres to the opinion which ascribes to the ancient Celtic Gauls yellow hair, "until some one shall have solved the difficulty how Ammianus could possibly be so mistaken as to ascribe a sanguine or xanthous complexion to the people among whom he was constantly living, and who, according to the hypothesis maintained, were a black-haired swarthy tribe."

There is a passage in Strabo which might have furnished some explanation of this difference to M. Niebuhr, and it is singular that it should have escaped him. Strabo in describing the Britons, distinguishes their physical character from that of the Gauls, and says that, with other differences, they were not so xanthous or yellow-haired as the Gauls. The difference

* "Every wealthy Gaul adorned himself with gold: even when he appeared naked in battle, he wore golden chains upon his arms and golden rings around his neck. Their mantles, checkered, and displaying all the colours of the rainbow, are still the picturesque costume of their kindred race the Highlanders, who have laid aside the braccæ of the ancient Gauls. Their great bodies, long shaggy yellow hair, uncouth features, made their appearance frightful; their figures, their savage courage, their immense numbers, the deafening noise of the numerous horns and trumpets in their armies, and the terrible devastation which followed their victories paralysed with terror the nations whom they invaded."

must have been strongly marked in order to have drawn the attention of a writer who seldom takes notice of physical characters. It appears then that the Britons were a darker race than the Celts of the Continent, and that even if the information given to M. Niebuhr by his anonymous corresponden were perfectly correct, it did not lead to the conclusion that the descriptions given by so many writers of the ancient Celtæ were erroneous. The Britons and Gauls, though kindred nations, may have differed in physical character, just as the Vogouls and Ostiaks, living on the opposite sides of the Uralian chain, and tribes of one race, are one a black-haired and the other a remarkably red-haired people.

M. Niebuhr, however, adopts a different explanation of this difficulty, and his observations contain a very important fact. In holding the opinion of the permanency of physical characters in general, he thinks that the colour of their hair—he would probably have extended the remark to the complexion and colour of the eyes—is an exceptıon. The ancient Germans are said to have had universally yellow or red hair and blue eyes, in short a strongly-marked xanthous constitution. This, says Niebuhr, has now, in most parts of Germany, become uncommon. I can assert from my own observation that the Germans are now in many parts of their country far from a light-haired race. I have seen a considerable number of persons assembled in a large room at Frankfort-on-the-Mayne, and observed that, except one or two Englishmen, there was not an individual among them who had not dark hair. The Chevalier Bunsen has assured me that he has often looked in vain for the auburn or golden locks and the light cœrulean eyes of the old Germans, and never verified the picture given by the ancients of his countrymen till he visited Scandinavia; there he found himself surrounded with the Germans of Tacitus. What can be more evident than that Niebuhr is correct in his opinion that the physical characters of the people have changed? Some alterations in the external conditions under which the race has existed have given rise to a modification in their physical character. The climate of Germany has in fact changed since the country was cleared of forests.

I shall now go on to collect what information I can obtain

from the ancient writers respecting the physical characters of the Celtic nations, and shall advert in the first place to Ammianus Marcellinus, whose testimony appeared to Niebuhr so important. Ammianus was a soldier of Constantius, whose armies were chiefly stationed in Gaul, and in that country though not a Gaul by birth, he probably spent the early part of his life. In his coarse but somewhat graphic description of a boisterous Celt the reader will not fail to recognise an exact portrait of some of their posterity in the present day.

"The Gauls," says Ammianus, "are almost all tall of stature, very fair and red-haired, and horrible from the fierceness of their eyes, fond of strife, and haughtily insolent. A whole band of strangers would not endure one of them, aided in his brawl by his powerful and blue-eyed wife, especially when with swollen neck and gnashing teeth, poising her huge white arms, she begins, joining kicks to blows, to put forth her fists, like stones from the twisted strings of a catapult. Most of their voices are terrific and threatening, as well when they are quiet as when they are angry.—All ages are thought fit for war, and an old man is led out to be armed with the same vigour of heart as the man in his prime, with limbs hardened by cold and continual labour, and a contempt of many even real dangers. None of them are known, like those who in Italy are called in joke Marci, to cut off their thumbs through fear of serving in war. They are, as a nation, very fond of wine, and invent many drinks resembling it;* and some of the poorer sort wander about with their senses quite blunted by continued intoxication."

It is impossible to doubt that Ammianus drew this description from scenes of which he had been an eye-witness. The Celts of his days resembled, as it appears, some of their supposed descendants in their irascible tempers, vehement expression, and conjugal sympathy. There is no reason to hesitate in affirming that the Gauls were in the time of Ammianus a people of fair complexion, of yellow hair, and blue eyes.

But it must be admitted that these characters, or rather that of *red hair*, are ascribed still more particularly to the Germans. Tacitus conjectured that the Caledonians were Germans from

* Probably cider, ale, metheglin.

their huge stature and red hair. The people of South Britain were, he says, more like the Gauls. Here he clearly discriminates between them. There is a story also in Suetonius, to which Niebuhr has referred, of the same tendency. It is said that Caligula had the hair of some Gauls dyed, in order to pass them off for Germans. The Gauls were then not so red-haired as the Germans; but this was all the difference.* The Germans were what the Greeks term πυῤῥοὶ,† the Gauls only ξάνθοι.

Strabo expressly declares that the Germans differed very little from the Celtic race—τοῦ Κελτικοῦ φύλου—in the degree of their barbarism, or in their stature, or the yellow colour of their hair; and that they resembled the Celti in their figures and customs and habits of life.‡

We have seen that the Gallic armies which attacked Rome were from Celtic Gaul, that the Senones especially were Celts. But all the Roman writers describe these Gauls as men of tall stature and fair complexion, in terms similar to those afterwards applied to the Germans. Thus in Virgil's eighth Æneid:

Galli per domos aderant, arcemque tenebant.
Aurea cæsaries ollis, atque aurea vestis.
Virgatis lucent sagulis; tum lactea colla
Auro innectuntur: duo quisque alpina coruscant
Gæsa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.

It may be said that this is a poetical description, and that its real applicability to the Gauls who burnt Rome may be doubted. Virgil probably described the Gauls from their generally recognised traits, and the character commonly assigned to them at Rome. We must recollect, however, that the Gauls known to the Romans during many ages before Virgil's time were Celtic Gauls, and chiefly the nations of the Cisalpine; and that when the Belgæ became known, after Cæsar's wars in Gaul,

* Eustathius seems to make some difference between the Germans and Gauls in this respect. Dionysius Periegetes thus speaks of the Germans: Λευκά τε φῦλα νέμονται ἀρειμανέων Γερμανῶν. On which Eustathius remarks that the Gauls and the Germans resembled in manners, customs, form, &c.; and in all respects, except that the Germans exceeded in stature, barbarism, and in the yellowness of their hair—ξανθότητι. (Eustath. Comment. ad Dionys. Periegesin, v. 285.)

This is asserted positively to be the character of the Germans by Galen, in his commentary on Hippocrates. (See the observations that follow on the characters of the Germans.)

‡ Lib. vii. p. 290.

they were still so little seen or heard of in Italy in comparison of the Celts, that this description must belong to the latter people.

We find the same characters ascribed to the Gauls as general traits, in the following passages. By Lucan:*

> ..... tam flavos gerit altera crines,
> Ut nullas Rheni Cæsar se dicat in arvis
> Tam rutilas vidisse comas.

By Silius Italicus:†

> Auro certantem et rutilum sub vertice nodum.

And Claudian (in Rufinum):

> Inde truces flavo comitantur vertice Galli.

And in his second panegyric of Stilicho:

> ..... tum flava repexo
> Gallia crine ferox, evinctaque torque decoro
> Binaque gæsa tenens, animoso pectore fatur.

Diodorus Siculus described the Celts. Niebuhr is of opinion that he drew his account from "the excellent ethnographer Posidonius."‡ He says, Οἱ Γαλάται τοῖς μὲν σώμασίν εἰσιν εὐμηκεῖς, ταῖς δὲ σαρξὶ κάθυδροι καὶ λευκοί.§

In another passage the same writer says that the Gauls are not only by original constitution—ἐκ φύσεως—xanthous, but endeavour by art to increase their national peculiarity.‖

The large stature which is often the accompaniment of a sanguine constitution and xanthous complexion, is ascribed to the Gauls by several other writers.¶

The same characters are ascribed to the Galatians of Asia Minor, who, as we have seen, were Volcæ and Celtic nations from the Roman province, and from the part of it most remote from Germany and Belgica. Livy thus speaks of them, "Inter mitissimum genus hominum ferox natio, pervagata bello prope

* Lib. x. † B. iv. 200; B. xvi. 471.

‡ See also Petronius and Adam Reidenbrog. ad Ammian.

§ See Polyb. b. ii. c. 2. The great stature of the Gauls is attested by Cæsar, lib. iii. c. 30. For the same fact see Pausanias, x. 10. Florus, i. 13.

‖ Diodor. lib. v. c. 2. et c. 28.

¶ Cæsar says: "Plerumque hominibus Gallis præ magnitudine corporum suorum brevitas nostra contemptui est." (Bell. Gall. ii. 30.) Pausanias declares that the Celti—Κελτοὶ—exceed all other nations by far in the tallness of their stature. (Pausan. Phoc. 20.) Arrian calls them "μεγάλοι τὰ σώματα." (Arrian, b. iv.)

orbem terrarum, sedem cepit. *Procera corpora*, promissæ et rutilatæ comæ, vasta scuta, prælongi gladii; ad hoc cantus inchoantium prælium, et ululatus, et tripudia, et quatientium scutæ in patrium quendam morem, horrendus armorum crepitus: omnia de industria composita ad terrorem."* From the description itself, even without the certainty of historical proof otherwise obtained, we might conclude without the least hesitation that Gauls are here described, and that the characteristics of the xanthous complexion are attributed to a Celtic people.

On the whole it must be concluded that the Gauls are universally described by the ancients as a remarkably tall large-bodied, fair, blue-eyed, yellow-haired people. As however Niebuhr observed that the Germans are no longer red-haired, so the Gauls or their descendants have lost the yellow hair of their forefathers. Although there is a great intermixture of Northern German races in the present population of France, the Visigoths and Burgundians having settled in the South, and the Allemanni, Franks, and Northmen in the northern parts, all of whom had a complexion at least equally fair with that of the ancient Gauls, yet the modern French are far from a very fair people. Black hair is in the middle provinces of France more frequent than very light. In Paris it has been observed that a chestnut colour is the most frequent hue of the hair. This appears from the average numbers of admissions in some hospitals. Neither are the French so huge and almost gigantic in their stature as were the ancient Gauls. We must infer that the physical character of the race has varied materially within fifteen centuries.

*Paragraph* 2.—Of the physical characters of the Britons.

The ancients have left us very little information as to the physical characters of the Britons. The passage already cited in Strabo is the most particular. It is as follows: "The men viz. the Britons, are taller—*εὐμηκέστεροι*—than the Gauls and less yellow-haired—*ἧσσον ξανθότριχες*—and more infirm and relaxed in their bodily fabric—*χαυνότεροι τοῖς σώμασιν*. As a speci

* Tit. Liv. lib. xxxviii. c. 17. Livy also describes them nearly in the same terms as Diodorus. "Sunt fusa et candida corpora, ut quæ nunquam nisi in pugnâ nudentur. (Lib. xxxviii.)

men of their stature is this fact: we ourselves saw at Rome young men from Britain who in height exceeded the tallest men there by half a foot, and were crooked in their legs and not well formed as to the make of their bodies." In their manners, he adds that they were in some respects similar to the Gauls, in others more simple and barbarous.*

Tacitus, in a passage often alluded to, describes the Britons as differing in different parts, the Silurians being of dark complexion, with curled hair; the Caledonians of huge limbs and red hair; and the inhabitants of the countries nearest to Gaul, viz. the South of England, resembling the Gauls.

This is nearly the sum of all that the Greek and Roman writers have told us respecting the physical characters of the Gauls and Britons. A few additional notices may be gleaned from writers of the middle ages.

Dr. J. G. Radlof, a most diligent investigator of Celtic antiquity, in a work published at Bonn in 1822, entitled "Neue Untersuchungen des Keltenthums," has found the Celts described as a fair "*milk-white* people" by two writers of the middle ages. "Galli à candore corporis primùm Galatæ appellati sunt," says Bishop Eucharius of Lyons, in his treatise "on Tribes." The same observation was made by Rabanus Maurus.

The Gaëlic Highlanders of Scotland spoke the same language and were the same people as the Irish Gaël in the time of St. Patrick, and in that of the earliest Irish bards whose poems are extant. They are generally supposed to have been a different race from the old Caledonians, both by those who hold that the Caledonians were a British or Welsh race, and by those who agree with Pinkerton in looking upon them as Germans. It is curious that the oldest Irish composition extant represents the Gaël as a fair, yellow-haired people. A poetical chronicle, which is supposed by Dr. O'Connor to be the most ancient historical poem existing in the Gaëlic language, thus addresses the people:

A eolca Albain uile,
A shluagh feta folt-buidhe,

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 200.

rendered

> Vos docti Albani omnes,
> Vos exercitus peritorum, flavo-comatorum.*

This is said to have been addressed to the Highlanders at the court of Malcolm III., A.D. 1057. There seems to be a constant tradition that the ancient Gaël were a fair-haired race. According to the old legends which contain the story of the Fîrbolg kings, one of them was named Fiacha Cinnfionnan. Cinnfionnan means "White heads;" and the former, as Keating says, had this designation, because most of the Irish of his time were remarkable for their white or fair hair.†

If the Scots of king Malcolm's time were a yellow-haired race they have forfeited that description, like their countrymen the Caledonians, and like the Germans and Gauls of the continent. The present Highlanders are by no means generally a xanthous people. In particular districts and in some valleys in the Highlands it is noted that most of the inhabitants have red hair, but this is only in limited tracts, where, however, there is nothing indicative of foreign colonisation. The prevalent characters in a great part of the Western Highlands are rather dark brown hair, uncurled, with a complexion not very fair, but with grey eyes. A man with coal-black and curled hair and black eyes looks singular in a groupe of the general complexion; and in places where this variation is frequent the opposite variety also occurs, viz. a fair skin with red or yellow hair. This at least I believe to be the case; and I compare the fact with one which has been mentioned to me by a gentleman of extensive observation in subjects connected with natural history,‡ that on heaths and downs where wild rabbits are numerous they are often seen all to be of an uniform grey colour, but that where one variety displays itself, as where black rabbits are seen intermixed with the grey, there are generally others of a yellow colour.

In different parts of England considerable varieties of complexion may be noted, but they are not referrible to particular races. In Cumberland, where the population is supposed to be

* See Dr. O'Connor, Rerum Hibernicar. Scriptores, Prolegom. 124.

† See Keating's Hist. of Ireland, translated, p. 40.

‡ Mr. Standerd of Taunton.

in great part Celtic, the women are remarked as particularly fair and light-haired. In North Wales a fair complexion and blue eyes prevail, according to the observation both of Dr. Mucculloch and of Mr. Price. There is probably no part of Britain where the inhabitants are less intermixed with Saxon or German blood; certainly they are much less mingled than the South Welsh. In parts of South Wales, particularly in Glamorgan, and in Monmouthshire, black eyes are very prevalent, and the hair is frequently black. In the counties, further to the north-west, of Hereford, Chester, Worcester, light hair and blue eyes are prevalent. It has been observed, and I believe very correctly, that in cities and towns the complexion of the inhabitants and the colour of their eyes and hair are very generally darker and more frequently black than in the surrounding districts, especially when these are woody and mountainous.*

One fact seems to be quite certain respecting the complexion prevalent through the British Islands, viz. that it has greatly varied from that of all the original tribes who are known to have jointly constituted the population. We have seen that the ancient Celtic tribes were a xanthous race; such likewise were the Saxons, Danes, and Normans; the Caledonians also and the Gaël were fair and yellow-haired. Not so the mixed descendants of all these blue-eyed tribes. It is very difficult in such an inquiry to come near to the true proportion; but I should have little hesitation in concluding that eight out of ten persons now living in Britain have dark hair, and of them a considerable part, dark eyes.

Was there anything peculiar in the conformation of the head in the British and Gaulish races? I do not remember that any peculiarity of features has been observed by Roman writers in either Gauls or Britons. There are probably in existence sufficient means for deciding this inquiry in the skulls found in old British cairns or places of sepulture. I have seen about half a dozen skulls found in different parts of England in situations which rendered it highly probable that they

* Mr. Price has made this remark, which agrees with my own impression. I cannot persuade myself that it is owing to the cause with which he connects it, viz. the use of coal-fires. The inhabitants of some coal districts have appeared to me to be quite as fair and as frequently xanthous as those of any other parts of England.

belonged to ancient Britons. All these partook of one striking characteristic, viz. a remarkable narrowness of the forehead compared with the occiput, giving a very small space for the anterior lobes of the brain, and allowing room for a large development of the posterior lobes. There are some modern English and Welsh heads to be seen of a similar form, but they are not numerous.* It is to be hoped that such specimens of the craniology of our ancestors will not be suffered to fall into decay; they are occasionally discovered in places where British towns formerly existed.

* I have casts from two skulls in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, which were found, together with the rest of the skeletons to which they belonged, in a tomb in the Phœnix Park, Dublin. In these, especially in one of them, there is a considerable approximation to the form of the Turanian skull; the face has somewhat of a lozenge form, a pyramidal elevation, with laterally eminent zygomata.

# CHAPTER IV.

## OF THE POPULATION OF ITALY.

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### SECTION I.—*General Observations.*

ITALY, before it was subdued by the arms of Rome, had been for ages divided between a variety of separate nations, who differed from each other in manners and in the degrees of civilization which they had severally attained. They were also distinguished by their languages and by traditions preserved among them respecting their origin. Such traditions bore record in several instances of a period when the tribes to which they belonged entered Italy from other countries. The last recorded immigration before the extension of the Roman arms, was that of the Gauls into the Cisalpine country, which may be said to fall within the period of history; and the reality of the event is confirmed by the fact that people of the same race were well known beyond the Alps. The arrival of Pelasgi in the northern, and of Oenotrians in the southern districts, testified by the traditions or by the mythical genealogies of the Greeks, is supposed to have been supported by indications of affinity with the people of Thessaly and the Peloponnesus. The origin of the Etruscans from an eastern country is not less positively asserted by ancient stories; but in this instance we do not find a similar confirmation, and many modern writers follow the opinion of Dionysius the Halicarnassian, and look upon the Etruscans as an indigenous people of Italy or its northern borders.

Several learned men in ancient Rome, among whom the principal were Cato, Varro, Cincius, Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, occupied themselves in exploring the

antiquity of the Italian nations while they yet existed as separate races and had their own languages and literature. If these writers had been aware of the importance of philological researches, they might have left us full and satisfactory information on the subject which they undertook to investigate. But this was far from being the case, and we can collect from the ancients very little knowledge concerning the idioms of primitive Italy and their mutual relations. The defect has been made up in part by the discovery of inscriptions on coins, and others on monuments of brass and stone, in different places; but many of these inscriptions, for want of a clue, have not been as yet satisfactorily deciphered. Still the information afforded by them is of great value, and has lately been applied successfully to the study of Italian ethnography.

Several modern writers have endeavoured to explore the history of the Italian nations, by the aid of lights reflected upon it from different sources. The native Italians who have attempted this subject, have been chiefly collectors of antiquities: not one of them, without excepting even Lanzi, has brought to the task the spirit of critical and philosophical investigation which is requisite for success. Fréret, Gibbon and Heyne entered upon it in a different manner. Niebuhr has brought to bear upon it the resources of his immense learning. If clear and consistent truth could be elicited from the multifarious traditions, and conjectural, and often contradictory hints, which are to be gleaned from the vast field of ancient literature, nothing would have remained after Niebuhr which any other writer could have attempted with a prospect of success. But sources of information exist of which Niebuhr has not availed himself, and the obscurity in which he has left many subjects connected with the old Italian history has been partially cleared up by some of his survivors, who are still employed in this investigation.

In the following sections on the population of Italy, I shall briefly survey the principal facts which bear upon the subject, and shall endeavour to point out what are the results which have been established on satisfactory evidence, and what conclusions are probable, though as yet subject to doubts that may hereafter be solved.

In the first place I shall attempt to form an idea of the subdivision of Italy, between the different nations who occupied its various provinces, while yet independent of Rome.

*Paragraph* 2.—Subdivision of the Italian nations.

The ancient nations of Italy, excluding the Ligures and Veneti, who may be considered rather as bordering tribes than as forming part of the Italian population, may be divided on the most general survey into three departments.* 1. The Umbrians, who may perhaps be termed the original or the earliest known inhabitants of Northern Italy, that is of nearly all Italy lying between the Alps and the river Tiber. 2. The Etruscans, who at a remote period dispossessed the Umbrians of a great part of their territory. 3. The inhabitants of Lower Italy, southward of the Tiber, who consisted of several nations, termed Siculi, Oenotrians, Aborigines, Latins, Sabines, Opici or Ausones.

## Section II.—*Of the Umbrians.*

The Umbri, by the Greeks termed Ὄμβροι, and Ὀμβρικοί or Ὀμβρισκοι,† are represented as the most ancient and, in early times, the most extensively spread nation of Northern Italy.‡ During the ages of Roman warfare for the subjugation of Italy, Umbria had become much contracted, and the country known by that name contained only some districts between the Apennines and the Adriatic, with the cities of Ravenna and Ariminum.§ The coast of Umbria, which in earlier times had reached from the mouth of the Po to the Picentine, or as Niebuhr supposes, as far southward as Mount Garganus or Drion, had been overrun and in great part occupied by the Senones, the latest of the Gallic colonies in the Cisalpine. By these encroachments the Umbri were driven from the

* The Cisalpine Gauls are excluded, as well as the Greek colonists, as being manifestly foreigners.

† Polybius terms them Ὄμβροι; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ὄμβρισκοι; Strabo, Ὀμβρικοί.

‡ Dionysius Halicarn. lib. i. cap. 19.

§ Strabo, lib. v. Τὸ δὲ Ἀρίμινον Ὀμβρικῶν ἐστὶ κατοικία καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ραουέννα.

maritime region on the Adriatic. There is some reason to suppose that in a more remote period the country of the Umbri had reached even to the coast of the Lower Sea or the Tyrrhene, for Herodotus declares that the Lydian colony from whom he supposed the Etruscans to have descended, landed in the country of the Umbri;* and a similar account is given by Scymnus Chius, who, as Professor Otfried Müller remarks, derived his information from Ephorus and Timæus.† After a long-continued struggle, as it should seem, the Etruscans succeeded in dispossessing the Umbrians of a great part of their territory in the West, as did the Gauls in a subsequent age in Northern Italy. Pliny says that the Tuscans conquered three hundred of the Umbrian towns. "Umbrorum gens antiquissima Italiæ existimatur, ut quos Ombrios a Græcis putent dictos, quod inundationi terrarum imbribus superfuissent. Trecenta eorum oppida Thusci debellasse reperiuntur."‡ Müller has observed that sufficient confirmations may be found, by local researches, of the tradition which ascribes an Umbrian origin to many places afterwards possessed by the Etruscans. "The river Umbro, which divides Etruria in the midst, evidently receives its name from the Umbrians; there was also a region called Umbria situated upon it. Cortona must formerly have been Umbrian. The ancient name of Clusium, Camers or Camars, proves that the Umbrian race of the Camertes dwelt there. It may be still shown that the Umbrian nation of the Sarsinates once possessed also Perusia. The Castellum Amerinum, situated on the Vadimonian Lake, proves that the inhabitants of the ancient Umbrian city Ameria, dwelt on this side of the Tiber, in Proper Etruria. It is plain that at least the eastern and southern parts of Etruria were formerly Umbrian: the Umbrians may have partly driven away and partly subdued the Siculians, the original inhabitants of these parts." That this was the fact we learn from several coincidental notices. Pliny informs us that a mixed people of Siculi and Liburnians were expelled from the coast of the Adriatic by the Umbri. Dionysius even hints that the Oeno-

* Herod. lib. i. cap. 94. See also Florus, lib. i. cap. 17.

† Die Etrusker, von K. Otfried Müller, Einleitung.

‡ Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iii. c. 14.

trians on their arrival from Greece in the south of Italy, found the Umbrians then occupying some of the districts of which they afterwards possessed themselves.*

It may be supposed that the era of the Umbrian settlements preceded by many ages the existence of written documents or records of any kind. Pliny has preserved a date assigned to the foundation of Ameria, the Umbrian capital, which according to Cato was built 964 years before the war of Perseus, i.e. 381 before the building of Rome. But this epoch falls in too nearly with the traditions of towns built by the heroes of Troy, to escape, as Müller has remarked, the suspicion of a poetical origin.†

The Umbrians consisted of separate tribes, which are differently named by Pliny, Ptolemy, and other writers. Isombri are supposed to have been the people in whose territory the Insubres settled:‡ Vilombri and Sarsinates are distinguished as separate nations. The Camertes were the tribe first known to the Romans; and from the passage in which they are mentioned by Livy, it has been inferred, and the opinion has been maintained by Italian antiquarians, that the Umbrians spoke the same language as the Etruscans.§ This opinion has been proved to be erroneous. We shall have further occasion to consider the language and relations of the Umbrian race, after we have surveyed the nations of Lower Italy.

## Section III.—*Of the Siculians or Sikeli, and the Oenotrians.*

The Siculi, a people whose name is preserved in the island of Sicily, appear to have been one of the most widely spread nations of Italy, in the southern region of which they were

* Dionys. Hal. lib. i. † Müller's Etrusker, Einl. 104.

‡ See Freret on the Primitive Nations of Italy: Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

§ In relating the conquest of the northern parts of Italy by the Romans, the historian mentions that when it was found necessary to send a spy into the country of the Umbri, to the city of Camers, a person was selected for that purpose who was acquainted with the Etruscan language, and it is implied that he understood the Camertine Umbrians. Livy has given in this relation no hint of any difference of language between the Umbri and the Etruscans.

coëval with the Umbri in the north. They were driven into Sicily according to Thucydides, and gained possession of that island, which had been previously inhabited by the Sicani, an Iberian tribe from whom it had been termed Sicania.* We are informed by Dionysius and other writers that the barbarous Siculi had been the native or primitive inhabitants of the country where Rome was afterwards built, of Latium, and the southern parts of Etruria, and that they were driven out of it after a long series of wars by a people termed by Cato Aborigines, whom Dionysius identifies with the Latins.† These people possessed themselves of the country between the Tiber and the Liris. It seems that not only the coast, but the inland regions also belonged previously to the Siculi.‡ They are said to have been so widely spread, that Italy or the Saturnian land was termed the country of the Siculi, in an inscription engraved in ancient characters on a tripod in the temple of Jupiter at Dodona:

Στείχετε μαιόμενοι Σικέλων Σατουρνίαν αἶαν.

If we may believe Pliny, or the writers whose testimony he has collected, the Siculi had been in more remote times among the inhabitants of Northern Italy. According to that compiler the Siculi, together with the Liburnians, a people whose origin and affinities are unknown, possessed in early times many parts of the country afterwards conquered by the Cisalpine Gauls. They inhabited the districts near Adria, Palma, and Prætutium. From these they were expelled by the Umbrians, as the latter were subsequently by the Tuscans, and the Tuscans in their turn by the Gauls.§ To the southward of Umbria the Siculi, according to the same writer, had possessions on the coast of Picenum.‖ Here also they were joined with Liburnians, and it seems highly probable that the same mixed races had been spread, before they were partly expelled as above mentioned, along the whole coast adjoining to Umbria from the river Po to the Picentine, and that they had possession of the whole eastern shore of the northern half of Italy, districts which afford the principal ingress into that country

* Thucyd. lib. vi. cap. 2.
† Dionys. Hal. lib. ii. c. 49.
‡ Dionys. lib. ii. c. 21.
§ Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iii. c. 19.
‖ Plinii H. N. lib. iii. c. 10—19. Neibuhr, vol. i. p. 49.

from Greece and other parts to the eastward of the Adriatic. We follow their history in the collection of old traditions by Dionysius. "The Siculi, expelled from Latium by the Aborigines, took their course along the mountains southward, and arrived in the lower parts of Italy, and at length passed over by means of rafts, taking advantage of an ebb tide, into Sicily, which was then possessed by the Sicani, an Iberian nation who had fled from the Ligurians. The Siculi occupied the desert parts of that country, which were the greatest portion of the island, and it afterwards derived its name from them. The passage of the Siculi over the strait took place, according to Hellanicus of Lesbos, in the third generation before the Trojan war, and in the twenty-sixth year of the priesthood of Alcyone at Argos." Many ancient writers give testimony to this migration of the Siculi, though their accounts vary as to time and circumstances. Philistus the Syracusan placed it eighty years before the Trojan war. Antiochus of Syracuse, who by ancients and moderns is considered a writer worthy of credit, fixes no time for the event. He says that the Siculi were driven out of Italy by the Oenotri and Opici. Thucydides declares that the people who left Italy were the Siculi, and that those who expelled them thence were the Opici. It is important, as we shall perceive, to note this distinction. The Siculi passed, according to this historian, many years after the Trojan war. Thus far the authorities collected by Dionysius.* Thucydides fixed the migration of the Siculi into the island which bears their name at three centuries before the settlement of the first Grecian colony in that country, and we are assured by this writer that their descendants had not entirely abandoned Italy in his time. We learn from several passages in the Odyssey that a trade in slaves was carried on between the Greeks, at least the people of Ithaca and the Siculi; and Otfried Müller thinks it certain that the people who carried on this intercourse with the Greeks must have been the Siculi of the continent, since the island was at that time so little known as to be the region of fable, the abode of Læstrigones and Cyclopes.†

* Dionys. Hal. lib. i. c. 22. † Odyss. xx. 383. xxiv. 210, 365, 388.

## *Of the Oenotri.*

We find another name predominating among the inhabi ants of the south of Italy, and in the very country mark out as possessed by the Siculi, namely that of the Oenotrian Modern writers* and most of the ancients identify them wi the Siculi.

Antiochus of Syracuse, who is a prime authority with Stra and Dionysius in all that relates to the Italian nations, a who was the author of a history of Italy, declared in that wo that the country in his time termed Italia had anciently be called Oenotria. The Italy of Antiochus was of narrow limit: the boundaries which he assigned to it were, to the northwar the river Laüs and Metapontum. It had therefore, as Stra observes, nearly the extent of the Bruttian territory, that i of the modern Calabria. The Tarentine above Metapontu according to Antiochus, beyond the extent of Italy or Oenotri was termed Iapygia. In still more ancient times, says A tiochus, those only were called Italians or Oenotrians wl dwelt near the Sicilian straits within the isthmus which divid the Scylletic or Scylacian gulf from the Napetine. Afte wards the name of Italy and the Oenotrians extended furth northwards as far as Metapontum, the Chaones who inhabit that country being themselves an Oenotrian tribe.† This a count is confirmed by a passage in Aristotle's Politics: "Pe sons who are acquainted with those countries report that the was a certain Italus king of Oenotria, from whom the Oenot changing their name, took that of Itali, and the country w called Italia. It extended southward of the Isthmus betwe the Scylletic and Lametic gulfs, that is, it was coextensi with South Calabria.‡ But though the proper Oenotri we confined within such narrow limits, it seems that tribes ak to them were further extended. The Chaones are termed Oenotrian tribe by Antiochus, and the Peucetii, who inhabit the eastern coast as far northward as the Aufidus, and perha to the promontory of Garganum, were supposed to be allied

* Müller's Etrusken, Einl. s. 10. † Strabo, lib. v. p. 254, 255.

‡ Aristot. Polit. lib. vii. c. 10.

the same stock. This is intimated in the Greek genealogies. Pherecydes, an Athenian historian highly commended by Dionysius, in enumerating the offspring of Lycaon who was the son of Pelasgus, mentioned Oenotrus, from whom, as he said, the people of Italy were called Oenotrii, and Peucetius, from whom the borderers on the Ionian gulf, meaning the southern Adriatic, were termed Peucetii. And Strabo, collecting the general testimony of antiquity, declares that when the Greek colonies arrived on the coast of Magna Græcia they found the country occupied not by Lucanian or other tribes of Samnite origin, but by Oenotri and Chones, who were conquered long after by the Samnite nations. The Chones are termed by Aristotle Chaones, and are by him likewise said to have been an Oenotrian tribe.

But who were these Oenotrii or primitive Italians? The Greek fabulists, as we have seen, derived them from Arcadia, and made them the sons of a mythical Oenotrus and of Lycaon; but we find them occupying the country assigned to the Siculians, and other accounts also left by Greeks connect them with that people, who are represented as aborigines of Italy. Antiochus of Syracuse, in whose time many of the Siculi still existed in the northern and interior parts of the island, recognised the Siculians as Oenotrii. Thucydides relates that Italus, from whom the Itali, that is the Oenotrians, were named, was a king of the Siculi; and Dionysius, after a diligent research and a comparison of all the information that he could collect from ancient writers, concludes that the Siculi and Italietes were of one stock which he terms Oenotrian: he mentions as a third tribe a people named Morgetes, who settled at Morgantium.

It seems from all these circumstances probable, that the Oenotrii, though by the fables of the Greeks declared to have originated from Arcadia, which is however still in a certain sense possible, were the same people with the Siculi, who by Thucydides and other well-informed writers are placed precisely in the same country and connected with that race. But were the Siculi themselves of Grecian origin? We have seen that they were among the early and even among the primitive inhabit-

ants of Italy. Yet some modern writers adhere to the opinion that they were very ancient emigrants from Greece. Possessed with the notion that the Latin language is a compounded speech made up of two distinct parts, one Greek and the other foreign or barbaric, they look to the Oenotrians, whom ancient myths derive from the Peloponnesus, as furnishing the former or Grecian element. Respecting the language of the Oenotrii we have no direct information. Even the Siculi, who remained so long after the extinction of the Oenotrian name among the inhabitants of Sicily, have left no inscription or other vestige; and in this instance philological resources would be entirely wanting, were it not for a fortunate suggestion of Otfried Müller, which throws a ray of new light upon this obscure subject. Of this I shall give an account nearly as I find it in his work.

When the Greek settlements were founded in Sicily, the Siculi had long been in possession of the country, and a Sicu-lian peasantry, conquered together with the soil, formed the chief part of the agricultural and labouring population of the numerous and thriving Grecian colonies. It was to be expected, under these circumstances, that a great part of the native language of the most numerous portion of the inhabit-ants should pass into the popular dialect of the Sicilian Greeks, and be found preserved in the compositions which professedly represent that dialect, such as the comedies of Epicharmus and the mimes of Sophron. These writers were, says Müller, in after times, when Sicily had become entirely hellenized, the chief depositories or exemplars of the old do-mestic idiom. He continues: "Now it is a remarkable con-firmation of the history of the wanderings of the Siculi, which we have given above, that the rare and un-hellenic expressions preserved by the above-mentioned writers among the Syra-cusans, are regularly found in the dialect of Latium. Thus, as Varro says, the Latin *mutuum* is among the Sicilians *μοῖτον*: Sophron writes *μοῖτον ἐντί μοί*. Doubtless from the same au-thority he states that some Sicilian Greeks called the hare *λέπορις*, a word which the Siculians had left behind in Latium, and at the same time brought to the island. Hence came *πατάνα*,

used by the Syracusan poets for *patina*; κάρκαρον for *carcer*, and other similar coincidences.* The origin of these words can certainly not be explained by the intercourse of Sicily with Latium, which at that time was very trifling. Γέλα also appears to have been the Sicilian word for *gelu*, κάτινον for *catinum*, κάμπος for *hippodrome* or *campus*, γάργαρα for *greges*. In Siculian, according to Herodian, the termination *ens*, *entis* was preserved, which the Greeks expressed by ης, εντος. Herodian mentions Ὀυάλης, Ὀυάλεντος, (*Valens*,) and similar words as Siculian forms; hence we perceive how much the Siculian resembled the Latin. Lastly it may be maintained, that since in the Alexandrian poets words occur which are evidently Latin, as νέποδες for *nepotes*, in Theocritus and Callimachus, they were adopted not from Latium, but from Sicily, which country just at that time exercised a very great influence on Greek literature. From these considerations we may conclude with tolerable certainty that the Siculian formed an important element of the Latin language.

So far Otfried Müller. I think we may reasonably go a step further, and conclude that the Siculian was a kindred dialect with the Latin and other languages of ancient Italy, since it appears to have contained both words and grammatical forms which belonged to the Latin and were not common to that language and the Greek. On this subject we shall be better prepared for coming to a conclusion after surveying the information that is to be collected regarding other Italian languages.

## Section IV.—*Of the Ausonian, Opic, or Oscan People.*

During the early periods of the Roman history, and while the growing power of the republic was gradually extending its dominion over the southern parts of Italy, we find no mention either of Siculi or Oenotrii. The nations who most successfully withstood the arms of Rome appear to have belonged to a different race and to have spoken a different dialect, which

* Sophron and Epicharm. in Pollux. Sophron in Photii, Lex. p. 132, 24. Photius cites κύβηττον, *cubitum*, from Epicharmus. Müller's Etrusker, Einl. p. 11.

is termed the Oscan tongue. By the Greeks all these nations are termed Opici or Ausones. Aristotle says that the country lying between the Oenotrians, who as we have seen occupied the southern extremity of Italy, and Tyrrhenia or Etruria to the northward of the Tiber, was inhabited by theOpici, who are also termed Ausonians.* In a passage cited by Dionysius, the same writer terms Latium itself a district of Opika.† Polybius spoke of the Ausonians and Opici as if he considered them to have been different nations; but Antiochus of Syracuse, who lived at a time when the tribes of people in southern Italy were yet clearly distinguished from each other, regarded them as one and the same race.‡ Ausones appears to have been the name given to them by the Greeks. They probably termed themselves Opici, and the designation by which they were at an early period known to the Romans was that of Aurunci. Servius says, "Auruncos Græce Ausones nominari constat;"§ and Paulus the Deacon, son of Warnefrid, has preserved a citation from Festus containing a myth, according to which "Auson, son of Ulysses and Calypso, gave name to Ausonia, and built the city of Aurunca."‖

We are assured by Antiochus and by Thucydides, who agreed in considering the Opici and Ausones as one race, that they were the people who drove the Siculians out of Italy.¶ They appear to have been a more warlike people than the barbarous Siculi, but to have given way to the greater power of the Etruscans, who gained possession of Campania, and founded colonies in the countries which had formed a part of the Ausonian or Opic territory.

At the time when most of the Greek colonies were founded in the country termed from them Magna Græcia, the Oscan language was not so widely extended as it afterwards became. We are assured by Strabo that there were no Lucanians in

* His words are: "*ὥκουν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Τυῤῥηνίαν Ὀπικοὶ καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Αὔσονες*—" the Opici who had the surname of Ausones," as the Locri Ozolæ. This makes the Opici Ausones a particular branch of the Opic nation, as the Locri Ozolæ were of the Locrian.

† Dionys. Halic. lib. i. c. 72.

‡ Strabo, lib. v. p. 242.

§ Serv. Comm. ad Æneid. vii. v. 727.

‖ Paul. Drac. Grotefend, Rudiment. Ling. Umbricæ, pars viii.

¶ Dionys. ubi supra.

the region afterwards named from them, and that it was entirely in the possession of the Oenotrians and the Chaones, who were kindred nations. But the state of these countries was at length changed by the incursions of the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttii, who overwhelmed them, and conquered the remains of the Oenotrian people towards the south, as well as many of the Grecian colonies which had been founded on their coasts.

The Samnites, as we are assured by Strabo and other writers, were a tribe of the Sabellian or Sabine nation. "From the Sabines," says Strabo, "were descended the Picentines and the Samnites, from these the Lucani, and from the latter the Bruttii."*

Whether the Sabines and Samnites were originally of the Opic or Oscan race is a question on which some difference of opinion exists. I shall again advert to this point; but however the fact may have been, it is certain that the Oscan idiom was the language of all the countries conquered and colonised by the Samnites in Southern Italy. It was spoken, as many ancient writers testify, about Capua and Cumæ at the time when the Campanians, descended from the Samnites and more remotely from the Sabines, had possession of that country. "Lingua Osca" is the designation given to the Sabine speech. Hence it is the most obvious supposition that the Sabines themselves as well as the Samnites were originally of the Opic race. Professor Otfried Müller, however, has conjectured that the Sabines had previously a different speech, and that after conquering Campania they adopted the Oscan language, from the population already existing in the countries which they subdued, though a part of it was at that time subject to the Etruscans. This language they contributed to extend into the parts of Southern Italy where their colonies were established. Thus the Bruttii are known to have spoken the Oscan language, and even Ennius, a native of Calabria, knew the Oscan as his native speech.

The different nations of Southern Italy with which Rome had to contend after her union with Latium belonged to one tribe or the other of this race. The Æqui and Volsci were

* Lib. v. p. 228. Ed. Casaub.

probably Opic tribes of the old Ausonian stem; the Hernici and the Marsi belonged to the Sabine branch of the same stock.

The most interesting circumstance in the history of the Opic race and their Oscan speech is the relation which the people and their language appear to have borne to the Roman nation and to the Latin tongue.

The Greeks in the time of Aristotle and in that of the elder Cato reckoned the Romans and Latins as a part of the Opic nation;* and this, as Otfried Müller has observed, cannot have been meant in merely a political sense, since the people of Campania and the inhabitants of Latium had certainly no political connection previously to the extension of the Roman arms. It was evidently founded on the known fact or generally received opinion of the affinity of the two races. This could hardly take its rise without some known resemblance between the Oscan and the Latin languages. Even the circumstance that the Romans, in a state of greater refinement derived from Greece, termed everything that savoured of rudeness or the barbarism of antiquity in their own language, Opic or Oscan, sufficiently indicates that the Oscan dialect was not considered as wholly foreign to Latium and to Rome.

One argument has often been brought forward to prove the affinity of the Opici and the people of Rome, on which a more careful examination seems to have proved that no reliance can be safely placed. I allude to the accounts left of the Atellane fables or the popular comedies which were performed at Rome for the amusement of the people, and were, as it appears, intelligible to the lower class of the citizens. It has been supposed that they were delivered in the Oscan language, and that this idiom must therefore have been sufficiently near to their own speech to be understood by the most illiterate among the Romans. This is plainly asserted by Strabo, who declares that after the Oscans had ceased to exist as a nation their dialect was preserved by the people of Rome, among whom the old dramatic

* Pliny has preserved a passage of Marcus Cato the Censor, which proves that the Greeks termed the Roman people Opic in his time: "Nos quoque dictitant barbaros et spurciùs nos quam alios Opicos (Opicorum) appellatione fœdant." Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxix. Müller, Etrusker, Einleitung, s. 25.

representations of the Oscans were performed.* But the history of the Atellane fables has been investigated by a late writer, who seems to have proved beyond controversy that Strabo must on this point have been misinformed, and that the Oscan language cannot, in his time at least, have been so little different from Latin as to be intelligible to the unlearned among the Roman people.† In the first place the fragments which remain of Atellane fables are in Latin. Q. Novius‡ and L. Pomponius were the most celebrated writers of these pieces, and to one or the other of them the ancients attribute the first composition of such poems at Rome. There are sufficient specimens extant of the Atellane fables written by Novius and Pomponius to prove that the language was Latin and not a foreign dialect. It was an old style of Latin and comparable to the language of Plautus. Such were the Atellane fables that were recited to the Roman people in the time of Strabo; and that writer must have been under a mistake, which in the case of a foreigner is not unlikely, when he said that they were Oscan compositions. The Oscan language is briefly mentioned by various writers incidentally in such a way as to prove that it was not intelligible to the Romans or considered to be the same speech as the Latin. Ennius is said to have understood three languages, the Oscan, Greek, and Latin;§ and Livy speaks of spies sent to a hostile camp, who knowing the Oscan

* Strabo, lib. v. p. 233.—*Ἴδιον δέ τι τοῖς Ὀσκοις—συμβέβηκε· τῶν γὰρ Ὀσκων ἐκλελοιπότων ἡ διάλεκτος μένει παρὰ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις, ὥστε ποιήματα σκηνοβατεῖσθαι κατά τινα ἀγῶνα πάτριον καὶ μιμολογεῖσθαι.*

† Ueber die Atellanischen Schauspiele der Römer. Ein Versuch von C. E. Schober. Leipz. 1825.

‡ The age of Novius is not exactly known, but as he is always mentioned before Pomponius he is supposed to have lived at a somewhat earlier period. Pomponius is mentioned by Paterculus as a contemporary of Sisenna and Rutilius, Lucilius and P. Africanus. Paterculus represents Pomponius to have been the inventer of the Atellane fables. "Sane non ignoremus eâdem ætate fuisse Pomponium, sensibus celebrem, verbis rudem et novitate à se operis inventi commendabilem. (Paterc. Hist. Rom. lib. ii. c. 9.) That the invention alluded to was the Atellane comedy we know from various passages of Macrobius and other writers, who however give a share of the honour to Novius, or rather ascribe to him the first part.

§ Noct. Att. xvii. 17. "Ennius dicit se tria corda habere, quod Oscam, Græcam et Latinam linguam calleret."

speech, understood what they heard.* And it has been well observed by M. Schober, that when the Roman grammarians cite a word as Oscan they always refer to the testimony of such writers as Ennius or Pacuvius, and never cite the Atellane fables, which were extant in great numbers in their times, and well known at Rome, and if in the Oscan language might obviously have served them for an authority which every one would appreciate. We cannot escape the inference which the writer just mentioned has drawn, that the Atellane fables celebrated in Rome in the time of Strabo, and to which that geographer refers, were not in the Oscan but in the Latin language, and that the Oscan had long ceased to be understood, if ever it was to them intelligible, by the Roman people. But the original Atellane drama was an Oscan invention, and it was introduced into Rome from Atella, a town of the Oscan or Opic people, whence its name.† It is therefore probable that these representations were exhibited at Rome from an earlier time than that of Pomponius or Novius, but perhaps in a rude manner and without written dramatical compositions, and that the earliest of the written fables were composed by the poets who thenceforward obtained the credit of having been founders of the Atellane drama. The scenery and decorations and the artifice of the dramatic representation, may have been borrowed from the Oscans; and the manner of acting, which was chiefly pantomime, may have been taken from them; and thus the designation of Atellane plays may be explained and sufficiently accounted for without supposing that the Oscan language was ever intelligible to the Romans. This may have been really the fact in very early times, but we have no positive evidence of it; and from the history of the Atellane fables we should not be able to deduce any safe conclusion as to the relation of the Roman and Oscan languages.

* Liv. lib. x. c. 20. "Aliquanto ante lucem ad castra accessit, gnavosque Oscæ linguæ exploratum, quid agant mittit."

† Livy terms the Atellane drama "genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum." Valerius Maximus says: "Atellani ludi ab Oscis aucti sunt." Diomedes the Grammarian, "A civitate Atella, unde primam cœpta." Donatus, "Atellanæ a civitate Campaniæ ubi actæ sunt plurimæ." (See Schober, lib. cit. p. 16.)

*It* is fortunate that so many remains of ancient writing have been preserved in inscriptions found in different parts of Southern Italy, or on coins collected in places where the Oscan language is known to have prevailed, as to afford, when connected with the information left by the grammatical writers and antiquarians of Rome, a sufficient groundwork for a satisfactory elucidation of this subject, at least for establishing some important and interesting conclusions in regard to it. The Oscan language prevailed through all Southern Italy, until it was at a late period supplanted by the Latin. It seems in a great measure to have overcome the Greek in the countries which had been colonised by Hellenic settlers in Magna Græcia. It maintained itself in Herculaneum and Pompeii till the era of the destruction of those cities. It was long a written language. No books have been preserved in it, but a great number of coins and many inscriptions have rewarded the research of modern investigators. They have been diligently collected and published by Italian antiquarians, and deciphered by German philologers. The most important of these documents are the two inscriptions of Abella and of Bantia. The former was found engraved in Oscan characters on a stone not far from Nola, in the ruins of the ancient city of Abella in Campania; the other, which is on a brazen tablet, was discovered among the ruins of Bantia, a town of Lucania, and is now in the Museum of Herculaneum.* It is bilingual, containing on the reverse a Latin inscription, supposed to be a translation of the Oscan. Besides these, many inscriptions of various extent have been found at Herculaneum and Pompeii, at Capua, and in other places in the south of Italy, and one at Messana in Sicily, a relic, as it appears, of the old Mamertines.†

The Oscan inscriptions are in three kinds of writing. The legends on coins found in the country of the Samnites and in Lucania, Apulia, Calabria, and on many of those discovered

* The Bantine inscription was published by Rosini, and lately by Dr. Grotefend of Hanover, in his work entitled "Rudimenta Linguæ Oscæ ex Inscr. Antiq. enodata;" and it has been elucidated in a learned work by Professor Klenze of Berlin. The Abellanian inscription was published, though imperfectly, by Lanzi. (Saggio di Lingua Etrusca.)

† These are published, or at least described, in the work of Grotefend above cited.

in Campania, all of which places were inhabited for some ages by the Opic race, are in Greek letters: they were perhaps engraved by artists from the cities of Magna Græcia. But all the most considerable inscriptions found in the Opic countries are either in Latin characters or in those usually termed Oscan, which are but a modification of the Etruscan letters, and as Gesenius has lately observed, remarkably similar to the Celtiberian characters found on the coins and in the inscriptions in Spain. These Oscan characters were still in use at Pompeii at the period when that city was destroyed ;* they are seen on the majority of the coins found in Campania, and in all the inscriptions found on stone in that country, as well as in Samnium, including that of the Abellane table. A specimen of Oscan writing in Latin characters occurs in the earthen table of Bantia. In this last inscription the orthography of Oscan words is different from that which appears in the proper Oscan alphabet. As this alphabet is only the Etruscan slightly modified, it wants, like the Etruscan system of characters, signs for the vowel *o*, as well as those expressive of all the soft consonants or middle class of mutes, with the single exception that *b* is in some instances represented. This difference however, and the defect pointed out, belong only to the mode of writing, and not to the Oscan language, as is proved by other written monuments, in which the letters *o*, *d*, and *g* are not unfrequently discovered. Those inscriptions written in Oscan letters present, on the other hand,—as in the word *meddis* or *meddix*, which means a magistrate,—instead of *dd* an *rr*, whence it must be concluded that *d* and *r*, consonants which appear in sound sufficiently remote from each other, were in this language easily confounded. Now this was precisely the case in Latin, as the old *arvehere* and *arfuisse* for *advehere* and *adfuisse*, the derivation of *meridies* from *medius dies*, the connection of *auris* and *audio*, and the change of the Greek word καρύκιον into *caduceus* fully prove. Nearly as the Oscan and Latin articulation approached in these instances, the whole alphabetic systems of the two languages

* They are to be seen in the inscriptions copied from the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum by Gell, Micali, and others. (See Grotefend, Rudim. Ling. Osc.)

† K. O. Müller's Etrusker, Einleitung, s. 29.

are equally proximate to each other; at least we discover all the Latin characters in the Oscan, with the single exception of *q*. With respect to this letter a remarkable permutation takes place between the two languages, the Oscan presenting the consonant *p* in words in which the Latin has *qu*. The following specimen exhibits this relation between the Latin and Oscan orthography, as well as that between both of these languages and the Greek :

| *Greek.* | *Oscan.* | *Latin.* |
|---|---|---|
| Τ, | P, | Qu. |
| *τί*, | pit, | quid. |
| *τέτταρα*, | petora, | quatuor. |
| *τε*, | pe, | que.* |

To these are added from the same monuments the following expressions in Oscan : *Suae pis*, for *si quis ; pot pis dat*, for *quod quis dat ; pis ceus Bantina fust*, for *qui civis Bantinus fuerit.* A similar reciprocation of consonants exists, as Müller has pointed out, between cognate dialects of several well-known languages, as between the Irish and Welsh, in the Celtic family of languages, and in part between the different dialects of the Greeks.†

The relation of the Oscan to the Latin prevails through all the grammatical forms of the former language as far as they are known. The masculine terminations in *us* and *os* are found in Oscan as in Greek and Latin : an apparently dialectic variety gives *ur* instead of *us*. Thus the coins found in countries where the Oscan was spoken have, partly in Greek characters, the inscriptions Loukanos, Arpanos, Atinos, Larinos, and Larinor, and partly in Oscan characters those of Tianur, Sidikinur, Vitelliur. As this ending of the nominative in *us* or *os* indicates an analogy between the declensions in the Greek, Latin, and Oscan, it is probable that the whole system of the inflection of nouns in the last-mentioned idiom will be found to coincide with those of the classical languages. In the frequently occurring names, *Mulukēs* or *Mulukīs*, *Tintirīs*,

* This last instance is proved by the Abellanian stone inscription, and the table of Bantia.

† I take the liberty of referring my readers here for a more copious illustration of this subject to my little work on the Celtic nations and their languages.

*Niumerīs, Slabīs, Trebīs,* in *Meddis, censtur, pis,* we recognise nouns of the third declension. *Perum dolom mallom,* in the table of Bantia, is *per dolum malum ;* and *Abellanam* and *Nuflanam* may therefore represent similar forms in Greek and Latin. *Sakaraklum Herekleis* is plainly "Sacellum Herculis," and displays a similar form of the neuter in the second and of the genitive in the third declension. In this manner many forms of the declension have been made out. But it is remarkable that the Latin antiquated form of the ablative in *d,*—in *sententiad, altod, marid, dictatored,*—is found to have been prevalent in Oscan even in all declensions, as *dolud mallud, com preivatud, toutad præsentid,* for "dolo malo, cum privato, totâ," or "eâ præsenti," in the Bantian law, indicate. The Bantian table has in verbs likewise the ending in *ud,* as in the imperative *licitud,* evidently meant for *liceto,* in *estud, factud,* and *actud.* Here it is characteristic of the third person, which also ends in *d* and *t* in the Oscan language. Verbal forms in the table of Bantia are *hipid, pruhipid, pruhipust ; deivaid, deivast ; dat, didist ; fefacid, fefacust ; fuid, fust ; amprufid, urust, herest, peremust, cebnust.* In all these instances except one, *t* stands after *s,* in forms corresponding with the conjunctive perfect in Latin. In these forms the use of *s* preceded that of *r* in the Latin itself, as "faxim," "capsim," "occisim," are known to have stood for "fecerim," "ceperim," "occiderim." The Oscan also retained the reduplicative indicative of the perfect in more numerous instances than the Latin ; thus *fĕfăcust* answers to *fēcerit* as *didist* stood for *dederit.* The forms in *id* appear, however, partly indicative of the perfect and partly of the present tense.

These correspondences in grammatical forms are sufficient to prove the affinity of the Oscan language with the Latin, a conclusion which is confirmed by a variety of particular words preserved by ancient authors from the speech of the Opic or Ausonian race. *Famel,* for *famulus,* is an Oscan word, and the root of many derivatives ; *ungulus,* the Oscan word for "a ring," is connected with *unguis ;* as is *veia,* for *plaustrum,* with *veho.* The Latin word *lux* appears in *Jupiter Lucetius* of the Oscans ; and *solidus, sollers, sollenis* come from the Oscan *sollo,* for *totus, omnis.* Supparus, the upper tunic of the Oscan,

comes from "super." Most of these words are wholly unconnected with the Greek; but *ungulus* is evidently of the same stock with ὄνυξ: the root of *lux* is also Greek, and *sollo* is related to ὅλος, just as *sal* is to ἅλς, *salio* to ἅλλω, *sas* or *suas* to ἅς. Thus it appears that the Oscan inscriptions contain words belonging to both portions of the Latin tongue: it has words which are peculiar to the Latin and exist not in Greek, and others which are common to that language and the Greek.* This fact seems to overturn the hypothesis of Niebuhr that the Oscan language only contained the un-greek or barbaric element of the Latin language. The marks of affinity between the Oscan and Latin appear indeed to extend so far into the structure and organization of language, as to render no other supposition admissible but that they were, in the strict sense of the term, dialects of one speech. The Oscan was more rude and less polished in many parts of its structure, and in these instances approached more nearly to the common character of the Indo-European idioms, but without any exclusion of forms or words known to be common to the Latin and Greek languages. We have already taken occasion to remark that, as far as evidence can be collected, a similar opinion is supported in regard to the Siculian idiom. The remains of that idiom actually preserved are not akin to any one portion of the Latin language exclusively of the other; and I am disposed on the whole to adopt the conclusion that all the nations of Southern Italy, namely, the Latin, the Opic, and the Siculian races, spoke cognate dialects of one ancient speech. It will be found, if I am not mistaken, in the sequel, that a similar inference may be extended to the northern Italian nations; but before entering on this inquiry it is necessary to consider the arguments adduced by Müller in support of a different opinion. According to this learned writer the southern parts of Italy were inhabited by various tribes of Pelasgic descent, or allied to the ancient Greeks. They were conquered in the region near the Tiber by the Aborigines, by whom only a portion of the race were expelled from their native soil: the rest remained and coalesced into

* Gela and Panis are expressly said to have been common to the Oscan and Siculian languages.

one nation with their victors. The Aborigines are supposed by Müller to have been a tribe of barbaric origin: mixed with the Siculi they formed the Latin nation. A similar encroachment was made by another semi-barbarous people, namely the Sabines, upon the southern parts, the region of the Oscan language and the Opic race. Such is the hypothesis. It suggests some further inquiry into the history of the Aborigines and of the Sabines.

## Section V.—*Of the Aborigines and of the Sabines.*

The people who after conquering the Siculi on the Tiber, and gaining possession of Latium, had the name of Latini, dwelt in earlier times on the border of the Apennines, dispersed in villages without walls, which were situated in the mountains.* Terentius Varro, in his Antiquities, described their towns or hamlets, and Dionysius has preserved the names and the descriptions of the most remarkable of them. Lista, the metropolis of the Aborigines, was destroyed by the Sabines from Amiternum, who attacked it by night, and the inhabitants were never able to recover it.† This account was taken from Varro. Portius Cato gave a similar statement. He said that the Sabines from Amiternum conquered the Reatine territory from the Aborigines, and took the most considerable city of that district, called Cotyna,‡ or by Varro Cotylia.§ Niebuhr conjectures that the Aborigines were driven out of the territory which they had occupied about Mount Velino and the lake of Celano, as far as Carseoli and Reate, by the Sabines, and that having been obliged to retire they came down the Anio into the country of the Siculi and to Latium. But Dionysius gives no information precisely to this purport. He says that the Aborigines were reinforced by the Pelasgi of Cortona, and that they sent out yearly colonies, which were consecrated bands, who settled in the districts which they were able to conquer from the Siculi.‖ It appears, however, that the Reatine

* Dionysius Hal. b. i. c. 9.
† Ib. b. i. c. 14.
‡ Ib. b. ii. c. 50.
§ Ib. b. i. c. 15.
‖ These bands were termed *Sacrani*. Festus says, "Sacrani appellati sunt Reate orti, qui ex Septimontio Ligures, Siculosque exegerunt, nam vere sacro orti sunt." Virg. Æneid. vii. 796. Niebuhr, Röm. Gesch. i. s. 77. Müller's Etrusker, Einl.

territory, which the Aborigines had in the first place conquered from the Umbri, became at length a part of the dominion of the Sabines, who sent out colonies from it, which colonies built many towns in the neighbouring countries, and among the rest the city of Cures.*

The country originally possessed by the Sabines was in the highest region of central Italy. According to the account given by Dionysius from Cato, it was distant two hundred stadia from the Adriatic and two hundred and forty from the Tyrrhene sea. According to Cato the first habitation of the Sabines was a village termed Festrina, not far from Amiternum. Thus it appears that the same high region in the Apennines, or nearly adjoining regions, were the cradles of these two celebrated nations, the Aborigines or the Latins and the Sabines. The Sabines derived their name from Sabinus, the son of Sancus, a genius of their country. This Sancus was by some called Jupiter Fidius. Dionysius cites one Xenodotus of Troezene, who wrote the history of the Umbrians. According to him the Sabines were originally an Umbrian people, who dwelt in the territory of Reate, until being driven thence by the Pelasgi, they came into the country which they now inhabit, namely, in the time of Dionysius, or perhaps of Xenodotus, "and changing their abode took the name of Sabines."†

These tribes from the high central country, the Aborigines from Reate, and the Sabines from Amiternum, who were perhaps both of Umbrian origin, were then the only nations of whose conquests in Lower Italy, and particularly over the Siculian and Oscan nations, history preserves any record. As for the hypothesis that they brought into the Italian languages whatever of barbaric or un-greek origin existed in the latter, we shall find a better opportunity of considering it after collecting some notices on the history and language of the Um-

* Dionys. Hal. lib. i.

† "Xenodotus the Trœzenian, an historian of the Ombric nation, relates that being natives of the country—*αὐθιγενεις*—at first they inhabited what is called the Reatine, and being thence expelled by the Pelasgi, came into that land where they now dwell, and having changed their name together with their place, were called Sabines instead of Ombrici." (Lib. ii. p. 49.)

brians, whose country was adjacent to that of the Sabines and Latins.

## Section VI.—*Of the Language and National Relations of the Umbrians.*

The history of the Umbrian race and of their language has been thought one of the most difficult subjects connected with the Italian antiquities.* All nations whose origin has been lost in the obscurity of the first ages, have been set down as either Celts or Scythians, and accordingly the Umbrians have generally been represented as a Celtic nation.† The authority adduced in support of this opinion is that of Bocchus.‡ Solinus informs us that Bocchus, a writer who has been several times cited by Pliny, reported the Umbri to have been descended from the ancient Gauls; and a similar account of their origin has been adopted, either from the same or from different testimony, by Servius, Isidore, and other writers of a late period.§ A vague report of this kind, collected by such a writer as Bocchus, can be of little weight, if we consider that the opinion which it maintains was either wholly unknown to Strabo and Pliny, or discredited by them. This at least we seem to be justified in inferring from their never having noticed it.

The history of the Umbrian race must have remained for ever unknown, had it not received illustration from relics of ancient writing, in which specimens of the Umbrian language are preserved. It would seem that there are sufficient remains of this description to render it very probable, that the relations of the language, and with them of the people who formerly spoke it, may be satisfactorily determined. Inscriptions have been

* "Scrivere su la provenienza degli Umbri è anco più malagevole che su quella degli Etruschi. Non vi è altro di certo in tal questione, se non l'antichità del nome Umbro in Italia, e la oscura voce ch'ei fosser gente scampata da un diluvio, e da inundazione, memoria che ci servarono nel nome Ομβριοι." This passage is sufficient to prove the complete incompetency of Lanzi to any investigation that requires critical judgment.

† Frèret sur l'Ancienne Population de l'Italie, Mém. des Inscr.

‡ For an account of Cornelius Bocchus, see Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 699.

§ As the Scholiast to Lycophron, v. 1360. See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. ii. c. 4. Solin. ad Plin. c. viii. Servius ad Æneid. xii. Isidor. Orig. viii. c. 2.

found in various parts of ancient Umbria; but by far the most extensive and important are, as it is well known, the celebrated Iguvine or Eugubian tables, which were discovered in the year 1444, in the ruins of a temple at the foot of the Apennines, between Ugubbio and Cortona, in the duchy of Urbino. This was within the territory of Umbria. The tables contain inscriptions of considerable extent: there can be no room for doubt that these are in the Umbrian language:* they were published at length by Dempster in his great work entitled "Etruria Regalis," and they have employed at different times the laborious study of Italian antiquarians, among whom Passeri and Lanzi are the most distinguished. By these writers, however, very little was done towards the real elucidation of the inscriptions. The German investigators who have of late years undertaken the task, have been more successful. Dr. Lepsius has lately given a full account of these remains in a work "De Tabulis Eugubinis."† Five of the seven inscriptions are in Tuscan letters, and the two others, which are the longest, in Latin. The Tuscan characters, which, except on coins, have not been elsewhere found in inscriptions in the Umbrian language, are written from right to left. It was supposed by Passeri that the inscriptions in Tuscan letters are in a different language from that which is written on the tables in Latin characters; but this opinion was rejected by Lanzi,‡ who observed that the same proper names occur in both kinds; and on a later examination it has been proved that the same language has been expressed in both characters with scarcely any difference that can even be supposed to be a variety of dialect. The Tuscan inscriptions were thought by Dr. Lepsius and others to be more ancient than the Latin; but to this opinion it has been objected, that both characters were used coëvally, as it appears from coins. The inscriptions may have been written at different times and by different engravers, but

* Lanzi says, "Io le chiamo Umbre dal luogo del ritrovamento." There can be no doubt of the fact, since inscriptions apparently in the same language, as well as coins, have been found in many places within the Umbrian country. They are not Tuscan or Latin, and must be considered as Umbrian.

† See also Dr. Grotefend's work, entitled "Rudimenta Linguæ Umbricæ ex Inscriptionibus Antiquis enodata."

‡ Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca.

their age has not been ascertained. Grotefend, however, supposes one set to belong to the third century of Rome, and another to the sixth. The inscriptions have been carefully collated, and fortunately present so many coincidences, whole passages of inscriptions written in one character consisting of the same words as those written in the other, as to have afforded an opportunity of elucidating the peculiarities of both, and of ascertaining facts of great interest in regard to the Umbrian language, and its relation to other Italian dialects. These results are admirably expressed by Professor Otfried Müller. He observes that the Italian antiquarians who supposed the Umbrian idiom to have been nearly allied to the Etruscan, or even took the Iguvine inscriptions as specimens of the Tuscan language, were greatly mistaken.* The orthographical systems of the two languages differed widely. The Tuscan has no mute consonants of the soft or middle class; only tenues and aspirates. The Umbrian has the soft mutes, and scarcely any trace of aspirates. The whole aspect and construction of words differ. The Umbrian abounds with vowels; the Tuscan appears to have been of harsh and rough pronunciation, abounding with aspirates and double consonants, and having few vowels. The Umbrian words often terminate in *r* and the Tuscan in *s*, and Müller says that he can from this circumstance pronounce, without hesitation, an inscription discovered at Falerii to be Umbrian and not Tuscan.† The comparison of these languages is, however, as yet very defective in evidence, since but a small number of words have been ascertained in genuine Etruscan inscriptions which have been identified with the words of the Iguvine tables. A much nearer relation is discoverable between the Umbrian and Latin languages. The Umbrian resembles Latin in the whole system of sounds and letters, and the analogy is by no means confined to the un-greek or barbaric part of the Latin language. The name of Jupiter is written frequently in the Tusco-Umbrian inscriptions Jufe, Jufe patre, Jupater; and it is very remarkable that an epithet Krapufi or Grabovi,‡ connected frequently

* Even Lanzi says, "Il loro dialetto è vicinissimo ad Etrusco." (Saggio, tom. iii. p. 638.)

† The words are. "Lerpirior santir pior duir for forfer dertier dierir votir farer vef naratu vef poni sirtir."

‡ Krapufi in the Tusco-Umbrian tables, corresponds with Grabovi in the Latino-

with the name Jufe or Jove, apparently in a sort of litany, is also joined in many instances with Di or Dei. From this it is scarcely doubtful, that as Ζεὺς and Διὸς are only variations of case in the same name, and Jupiter and Dialis are connected in Latin, so Jufe and Di are related in the Umbrian. Of the other gods of Latium only the name of Mars is found in these Umbrian records; it is written Marte, Marti. The other names of gods or epithets which occur together in the fourth table, Trebe Jufie, Marte Krapufi, Phise Sasi, Fuphiune Krapufi, Tephre Jufie, Marti Hurse, Hunte Serphi, Serphe Marti, Serphie Serphe Marties, indicate, in the opinion of Otfried Müller, that the Umbrian superstition had assumed a different developement, and that the first elements only were common to it and that of Rome. The Sabine god *Sancus* seems to be named in Umbrian *Sansie;* and in the words *piquier Martier*, we may conjecture the woodpecker of Mars venerated by the Sabines, and according to Dionysius likewise by the ancient Aborigines. Some names of numbers appear to have been made out with sufficient evidence, as *tufa* or *duva* for *duo*, and *triia* for *tria*. *Etre* seems to represent the Greek ἕτερος and Latin *alter; tertie* indicates the ordinal numbers to have been formed as in Latin. *Petur* seems to be *quatuor*, as in Oscan. If these numerals and names of gods are rightly interpreted we obtain next the names of victims; for in frequently recurring sentences the words coming before the names of gods joined with the term for *three*, may be inferred with great probability to indicate victims; and the very words used, *buph*, *fitluph*, *siph*, *aphruph*, *purca*, appear to be the usual Umbrian modification of *bos*, *vitulus*, *sus*, *aper*, *porca*. Now if the Latin

Umbrian. It must be observed, that in consequence of the total want of soft or middle mute consonants in the Etruscan alphabet, as well as of the vowel *o*, the orthography of the Iguvine tables, written in Etruscan letters, which may be termed the Tusco-Umbrian tables, has a very different appearance from that of the two Latino-Umbrian tables. The following specimen will point out the nature of the difference:

*Tusco-Umbrian:* Fukukum iufiu pune ufeph phurphath.
*Latino-Umbrian:* Vocucom ioviu ponne ovi furfant.

The term Tusco-Umbrian distinguishes the inscriptions in the Umbrian language written in Tuscan letters, and Latino-Umbrian those in the same language expressed in Latin letters.

names of domestic animals are, as it has been observed, also Siculian, a connection between the Umbrian and Siculian languages seems to be here discovered. The flexions of Umbrian words, *u* or *o* marking the masculine and *a* the feminine, also coincide with what we know of the Siculian. It appears probable from the word *Claverniur*, the first word of a newly-discovered document, and from the repeated form *frater Atieriur*, *Lerperior* at the beginning of the Faliscian table, that UR, OR, was a principal ending of the nominative in the Umbrian language, as among the Spartans and Eleans. The Umbrians interchanged it with *s*, as did the Oscan and some Greek dialects. This Umbrian *r*, perhaps originally *rs*, in distinction with the feminine *a*, marked the masculine gender. Thus in other old languages, some rejected the *r*, others the *s*, as we find by comparing the old Italic with the Slavish, the Gothic and some German idioms. In the Umbrian *m* marks the accusative, OM the masculine, AM the feminine: a third declension has EM and IM. In the Latin tables *r*, in the Tusco-Umbrian *s*, always makes the genitive, even in such words as *poplu*, *popler*. The dative appears to have, as in old Latin, a double ending, in *e* and *i*. The accusative plural seems to be in *ph*, or merely a vowel, as *triph aphruph ruphru*, for "*tres apros rubros*;" "*tre purka ruphra*," *tres porcas rubras*. In the ablative the Oscan *d* never appears, but instead of it the additional syllable *per*, which Müller compares with the Greek φιν. In verbs the imperative in *atu*, *itu*, *eitu* are very remarkable. The forms *fust*, *facust*, *benust*, *dersicust*, correspond precisely with the Oscan *fust*, *fefacust*, representing as it appears the perfect conjunctive; and having for their plurals *furent*, *facurent*, *benurent*, *dersicurent*. We have here clearly the Latin *fuerint*, *fecerint*. Hence the use of the *r* as indicating the mood, which is unknown in Greek, was common to the Umbrian with the Latin. The use of *r* to form the passive is also Umbrian. The seventh Eugubian table concludes with *pusei subra serehto est*, evidently *supra scriptum est*. We also find *porsei subra screhitor*, which can hardly mean anything else than *sicut supra scribitur*. The frequent adoption of the letter *r*, or the Rhotacism, as Müller terms it, of the Umbrian language, affords ground for conjec-

ture that the Reatine Aborigines, who mixed with the old Siculians, formed the Latin people, and who have been supposed to have introduced into the Latin language the barbaric or un-greek element, were of an Umbrian stock, as we find them declared by historians to have been. Müller observes that words belonging to the barbaric portion of the Latin language abound in the Eugubian tables. He admits, however, that the dialect of these tables displays very considerable analogies to the Greek. The idiom of the Umbrian people therefore cannot be ranked among barbaric languages. How then can it be maintained that it was through this medium that the barbaric element was infused into the Latin? Later researches into the structure of the Umbrian language have confirmed the opinion, that this language and the Latin and Oscan are, properly so termed, cognate idioms. In the elaborate work of Dr. Grotefend on the Iguvine tables, it has been satisfactorily proved that the Latin and the Umbrian especially, not only have a very extensive vocabulary in common, but likewise that they abound in analogous grammatical forms, both in verbs and nouns. We may therefore venture to consider these idioms of the old Italic races nearly in the light of kindred dialects, derived from one ancient language, whether that language was a primitive one or formed from the mixture of different elements.*

## Section VII.—*Of the opinions generally maintained respecting the Origin of the Italic Nations.—Relations of the old Italic Race.*

The opinion maintained by most learned men, from Frèret and Gibbon to Niebuhr and Otfried Müller, respecting the origin of the Italic languages, and the elements of which they were composed, have certainly derived no support from the investigation of which I have endeavoured to state the principal results. It was supposed by Niebuhr that the Oscan language had furnished the barbaric element of the Latin. This opinion seems to have been refuted by the discovery that the Oscan

* The Etruscan language is here excepted. On that some observations will be offered in a succeeding section.

and Latin were cognate dialects, and both related nearly
equal degree to the Greek. On the failure of this hypoth
Otfried Müller has developed a series of conjectures which
an appearance of great probability. According to his hypo
sis the Siculians and Oenotrians, nearly connected or ident
with the Pelasgi or primitive Greeks, inhabited the sout
region of Italy, and a great part of the level and mar
country in all parts of that peninsula. A more wa
people in the mountainous and northern parts were the U
and tribes allied to them in the Apennines, such as the I
Latini or Aborigines, and the Sabines of Amiternum.
warlike people from the Apennines conquered the we
Siculians, who were a pastoral and agricultural race un
to arms, and founded in their country, intermixed with
lians, the Latin commonwealth, as well as the Opic and S
lian states, where the Oscan language continued long to
vail. This hypothesis fails of the support which migh
expected to be found in the examination of the Italic dial
For in the first place it appears that the Siculian, inste
being principally Greek, contains the barbaric part of the
language; and secondly, the Umbrian, supposed to be
idiom of the barbarous conquerors of the Siculian race,
tains a considerable intermixture, as we have observe
Greek forms and words, which has not been proved to be
in proportion to the other component part of the Umbrian i
than is the corresponding portion in the Latin language i
compared with that which is alien from the Greek.

There are other reasons which might induce a cau
reasoner to call in question the prevalent opinion whicl
solves the Latin language into two component parts,
represents the one of Greek or of Pelasgic origin, and the
of barbaric derivation or taken from the speech of some
of men distinct from the Pelasgi or old Greeks. We ar
deed ignorant what was the language of the Pelasgi, and
inquiry respecting it proceeds upon the supposition of its
affinity to the Greek. When therefore we discover any w
or forms in Latin that are not common to it and the Greel
cannot say with certainty that they are not derived from
Pelasgic speech. But if we are to admit these terms as n

synonymous, it will be easy to show that a great part of the Latin language, and of that part which is remote from the Pelasgic, is yet Indo-European. It may likewise be observed that the barbaric or un-greek portion of Latin is not made up of materials derived from any one Indo-European idiom. A considerable part has been proved to be common to the Latin and Teutonic languages. But the Slavonic claims also a certain proportion, and this is so considerable, that writers on the Slavic dialects whose knowledge of other idioms was deficient, have even concluded that the Latin belonged to that family of languages.* Welsh and other Celtic philologers have come to a similar inference as to the relation of the Latin with Celtic dialects. Moreover it will be easy to point out numerous instances of words in which there is a closer resemblance between Latin and Sanskrit than there is between these languages and any other Indo-European dialect.† Now if it is to be considered as proved by the phenomena of analogy thus discoverable, that a Teutonic nation in Italy became intermixed with an old Pelasgic stock, and contributed to the Latin language that portion which corresponds with the Teutonic, it will also be necessary, in parity of reasoning, to suppose a colony of Celts who contributed the Celtic portion, another of Slavonians who brought in words analogous to the Russian and Polish idioms, and likewise a tribe of Indians who brought with them their Sanskrit speech. These are suppositions of extreme difficulty; but what renders the difficulty of admitting such a notion still greater, and altogether insuperable, is that a similar hypothesis must be set up in order to account for analogous facts in many other instances. In the Slavonic there are words and forms of inflection common to it and the Sanskrit; others are common to it with the Gothic, with the Greek, and with the Persian language. Must the Poles and Russians be considered as a mixed progeny from all these races? It is much more probable that the affinities discoverable in all these and the like examples be-

* See the remarks on this subject in the chapter on the Slavonian nations.

† The reader will find in a note at the conclusion of this chapter some short specimens of analogous words in these several languages, in proof of what has been said, which proof however might easily be much more fully developed.

tween different Indo-European languages have taken their rise in a very different way; partly from the elaboration of common elements in all of them, in part from the preservation in one of portions of speech lost in some of the sister languages, and partly from intercourse in early ages, and perhaps before the different nations were so widely separated geographically as they were at the era when we find them, on the first clearing up of the darkness of antiquity, inhabiting different countries, one in Britain, another in Italy, and a third and fourth on the Choaspes and the Indus.

If these remarks are well founded we are at liberty to suppose, what is on many accounts more probable, that there was one ancient language common to the nations of Italy, and distributed among them, as it usually happens, in a variety of dialects more or less different from each other: the Umbrian was the dialect of the north; the Siculian, the Oscan, the Sabine and the Latin, those of the southern parts. The remains of all of these display, as far as they extend, a decided affinity between these dialects, and in all of them a distant analogy to the Greek. That any one of them is nearer to the Greek than another, can hardly be maintained with sufficient evidence to render the conclusion probable. All these dialects belong to one mother tongue, which again is plainly a member of the great Indo-European family of languages.

The preceding observations have left untouched the history of the Etruscans and their language, on which I shall now offer a few remarks.

## Section VIII.—*Of the Etruscans.*

Several of the old Italic nations mentioned in the preceding pages, as the Umbrians, Siculi, and Aborigines, were regarded by the ancients as primitive or indigenous inhabitants of the countries where they severally dwelt. The Etruscans, on the other hand, were a people respecting whom an almost uniform tradition prevailed in the ancient world that they were not an indigenous or native tribe. There was a period handed down by memory at which they were supposed to have made their first appearance on the Italian shore, where they gained them-

selves a footing by force of arms; to be succeeded by vast conquests and a preponderating influence over the descendants of the earlier inhabitants. Modern writers in this instance as in the former, reverse the opinion of the ancients. Several of the most learned writers of late times look upon the Etruscans as an indigenous people in Italy or on its immediate border.

From whatever quarter the Etruscans originated they were one of the most remarkable and interesting nations of antiquity. With respect to advancement in arts and civilisation, no people in Europe could be compared to the Etruscans, except some of the most polished of the Greeks. They were acquainted with letters, cultivated literature and physical science, had enrolled orders of priests, haruspices, diviners, and preserved memorials of the periods of their history, connected with the revolutions of cycles, at the beginnings or ends of which the world was fated to undergo successive changes in its moral and physical state. They had a system of religious discipline and mythology not less complicated and elaborate than the systems of the Indian Brahmins and the Egyptian priests. The remains of architecture, and of sculpture, and of ornamental fabrics discovered in Etruria, prove that there existed among its people a cultivated taste, a refinement of manners, and much of that splendour and luxury considered to be characteristic of a high state of civilisation. In their arts and manners the Etruscans appear to have been in many respects peculiar, while in some particulars they display marks of resemblance to the Greeks and other nations of antiquity.

The best resource for investigating the history of human races in general has almost entirely failed in researches respecting the Etruscans. Dempster, Passeri, Lanzi, and other antiquarians have written much on the language of the Tuscans, and from the expressions occasionally used by these writers we might be led to suppose that the speech of ancient Etruria had been satisfactorily explored; but Otfried Müller, who has treated this subject in a different manner and with much greater ability than any of his predecessors, has well observed, that if we derive our data merely from authenticated monuments of the Etruscan language, and require certain evidence for the interpretation of every root or grammatical form, our

supposed knowledge subsides within a very small compass. One conclusion indeed is confirmed by the Etruscan monuments, which we also derive from the old writers, namely, that the Etruscan language was much more strongly distinguished from the Hellenic and the Latin than was either the Oscan or Umbrian. The Romans often term the Tuscans "*barbari*," an epithet bestowed on people whose language was entirely foreign to their own, and which is never found to have been ascribed to the Sabines or Oscans, or the kindred nations to the southward of the Tiber. The Tuscan language was apparently much more remote in its general character from the idiom of Latium than was that of the Umbrians or of the Opici. It is well known that while in Latin the consonants consist chiefly of the middle class of mutes and of tenues, or of hard and soft but not aspirated letters, the Etruscan alphabet had no middle or soft consonants, and abounded in aspirates. This cannot be supposed to have arisen merely from the want of orthographical signs. The Etruscans might have borrowed soft mutes as well as the others from the Greeks or Phœnicians. They likewise wanted the vowel *o*, and expressed Ἀπολλων by Apulu. Unlike the Latin and Greek, this language accumulated consonants, and produced words such as a Roman mouth could scarcely articulate. The omission of short vowels seems to have arisen from the attempt to throw the accent powerfully on the initial syllables and to shorten words in pronunciation, as in Elchsentre, which in the Etruscan represents Ἀλεξανδρος, in Menle for Menelaus, and Hercle for Heracles. For Minerva they wrote either Minerfe or, the vowel of the second syllable being neglected, Menrfa. For Metellus, first contracted to Meteli, we find Methlnal, and for Marcanius, Marcani, Marcnial. On comparing the Perusian monument, which is the greatest specimen of genuine Tuscan writing extant, with the Eugubian tables, an entire difference in the whole system of orthography and pronunciation becomes strikingly manifest.*

* This inscription was discovered in the year 1822, and published by Vermiglioli in his "Saggio di congetture sulla grande Inscrizione Etrusca, Perugia 1824." The broad side of the stone pillar contains twelve lines, which are read by the editor as follows:—"Eulat tanna larexul | amefachr lautn felthinas e | st la aphunas slel eth caru | texan phusleri tesns teis | rasnes ipa ama hen napr | xij fel--

This habit of abbreviating rendered the Etruscan pronunciation hostile, as Müller observes, to grammatical flexions, and seems to have made great havoc among the varieties of ending and other modifications of Greek and Latin words. The Greek names Peleus and Tydeus became contracted to Pele and Tute. Scarcely a trace is to be found of the Latin and Greek termination of masculine nouns in *os* or *us*. The native Tuscan names end in vowels, as Lecne, Cfelne, Felche, Canxna, Thurmna, Marcani, Pherini, Rapli, Petru, Precu, Rexu; or with consonants, as in the prænames Larth, Aonth. Here indeed it may be argued, from a passage in the grammarian Agretius, that the Etruscan had originally an *s*, but gradually elided it in pronunciation, as we know that the Romans sometimes put *u* for *us*. Feminine nouns, however, end in *a*, as it appears from the names of the goddesses Thalna, Menerfa, Lasa on the pateræ, and from the female prænames Thana, Larthia, Phastia, Feilia in lists of the dead, a circumstance however that indicates no near relation to the Greek and Latin, since in Gothic and Frankish, and even Hebrew, feminine names often have the same ending. Forms such as Larthia and Phastia are indeed not so frequent as the abbreviated Larthe and Phasti. The Tuscans had, however, a genitive formed like the Greek. Marcha and Lentia made Marchas and Lentias, and words ending in a consonant added *us* in the genitive: thus Arnthial and Tanchfil made Arnthialus and Tanchfilus. Even a dative in *si* may be made out with probable evidence. That *m* marked the accusative and *c* the ablative, is merely a conjecture. The *mi* found at the beginning of inscriptions may be shown with probability to stand for εἶμι, marking an affinity with the Greek conjugations in μι, which, however, cannot be traced further. The initial syllables which denoted family relations, *al* indicating descent, and *sa* the relation of marriage, are scarcely explicable from the

thina thuras aras pe | ras cemulmlescul xuci en | esci epi tularu | aulesi felthinas arxnal cl | ensi thii thils cuna cenu | plc phelic larthals aphunes | clen thunchulthe | phalas chiem phusle felthina | hintha cape municlet masu | naper sranxl thii phlasti f | elthina hut naper penexs | masa acnina clel aphuna fel | thinam lerxinia intimame | r cnl felthina xias atene | tesne eca felthina thuras th | aura helu tesne rasne cei | tesus teis rasnes chimths p | el thutas cuna aphunam ena | hen naper ciclnl harcutuse | ." (Müller's Etrusker, Einl. lib. xvi. s. 61.)

classical languages. Of particular Etruscan words which correspond in their derivation with Greek and Latin words there are very few, as "*aifil,*" for "ævum," αἰὼν; "*lusna,*" luna, σελήνη; *itus,* connected with the root in *dividere.* On the other hand, the short and strongly-sounding word *ril,* representing *year,* as inscriptions clearly prove, *arse verse,* according to Festus, "averte ignem," *falandum* for "cœlum," *mantisa* for "additamentum," *subulo* for "tibicen," ἄριμοι, according to Strabo, meaning *ape,* indicate a totally foreign derivation.*

A much wider field for the comparison of the Etruscan language with the Greek and Latin would be obtained if we were at liberty to follow the example of Lanzi and other Italians, and to take for granted that every Tuscan word or syllable that can be detected similar in form to words either in Greek or Latin, had a parallel signification; but apart from all that is merely conjectural, there is nothing more evident than that data are wanting for coming to any satisfactory conclusion as to the relations of the Tuscan and the other languages of Italy and of Southern Europe. The grammatical flexions which are known may be considered as indicating a remote affinity to the Greek; but all that can be inferred as tolerably well-established respecting the Etruscan dialect is, that it belonged to the class of Indo-European languages.†

The Etruscans were always termed by the Greeks Tyrrheni or Tyrseni. This same name, as it is well known, belonged also to a people celebrated for their wandering and predatory habits on the shores of the Hellespont and the Ægean sea, who appear to have been a branch of the great Pelasgian nation. They are called Pelasgi Tyrseni, or simply Tyrseni. It appears improbable that the same name should have properly belonged to two different races, and yet the ancient historical traditions do not identify the Etruscans, called by the Greeks Tyrseni, with the Pelasgi of Greece. We find an almost uniform statement that Pelasgic colonies from Greece settled in Umbria and built many towns, from which they were afterwards expelled by a people of different race. The latter are

* O. Müller's Etrusker, Einl. s. 64.

† Such is the conclusion of one of the most accurate and profound philologers of the age, Dr. Lepsius.

to have come from Lydia, and are often called Lydi, as well
rseni. Thus Pliny, speaking of Umbria, says: "Umbros
exegêre antiquitus Pelasgi; hos Lydi." It has been a
ral opinion among modern writers that the latter people,
so-termed Lydian or Etruscan Tyrseni, from whatever
ter they originated, were a distinct race from the Pelasgi
had preceded them, and who had previously made con-
ts in Umbria, of which they were afterwards dispossessed
he true Etruscans or Tyrseni.

ie Romans always term the Etruscan Tyrseni, "Etrusci" or
sci." This seems to be an abbreviation of Tursci or Turski.
iree of the Eugubian tables the Tusci appear to be men-
id, and in two parallel passages the word Turske occurs,
hich in a third stands Tusce. Turski is not remote from
eni, and it is very probable, as Niebuhr has observed, that
*ki* and *eni* are mere terminations, the one Italian, the other
k. If the fact be so, Tyrseni and Turski are only modi-
ions of the same name, both being appropriated to a nation
had no real affinity, or but a very distant one, to the
eni of the Hellespont or of Thrace. Now if it be inquired
the same appellation came to be ascribed to two races
istinct, the following appears to be the most probable
er. The Umbrians gave, as we find from the Eugubian
s, the name of Tyrski, or perhaps Tyrsi, to the invading
an race, who dispossessed them of a part of their country.
Greeks obtaining their ancient accounts of this people
the Umbrians, modified the pronunciation of their name,
assimilated it to one with which they were already fa-
ir, and made of it Tyrseni, while the Romans dropped the
d pronounced it Tusci.* Neither appellation was, however,
gnised by the people themselves; they termed themselves,
e learn from Dionysius, Rasena or Rasenna.

the Pelasgi were really, as it is asserted, the predecessors
he Etruscans, they were probably overcome by the latter
n early period, since we find no account of any independent

They retained the *r* in the other Latin name of the same people. Etrusci,
ly, Truski is nearer to Turski. It is evident that Tyrs-ki, Tyrs-eni, E-trus-ki,
Tuski, are all but slight modifications of one name, which is Tyrs. From this
*-υνια* is not very remote.

Pelasgic cities at the era of the subjugation of Etruria by the Romans. The cities said to be founded by the Pelasgi were mostly near the coast, but some of them in the interior; and the story that these towns were built by a different people from the Etruscans who afterwards possessed them, derive some confirmation from the fact, of which we are assured by Dionysius, that they bore afterwards double names. The conquests of the Etruscans were, however, chiefly made upon the Umbrians.

The Etruscans possessed twelve confederated cities in Tuscany on the Lower or Tyrrhene sea, and as many in the Northern or Circumpadane territory, termed by Servius Nova Etruria.* There was also a third Etruria, according to Strabo containing twelve cities, among which were Capua and Nola. So powerful were the Etruscans at the period when their nation was most extensively spread, that all Italy, from the Alps to the Sicilian straits, has been said to have been subject to their government.

### *Paragraph* 1.—Extent of the three Etrurias.

#### I. *Lower Etruria.*

Niebuhr has found some difficulty in determining precisely which were the twelve Etrurian cities in Tuscany or Lower Etruria. He observes that Livy has mentioned but eight in a place where a full enumeration would have been expected; these are Cære, which from the Pelasgi had the name of Agylla, Tarquinii, Populonia, Volaterræ, Aretium, Perusia, Clusium, Rusellæ, Veii, and Volsinii, which must have been included among the towns that had been destroyed. The two still wanting cannot be fixed upon with certainty: Capena, Cosa, and Fæsulæ may appear to have a claim.

The Tiber seems to have been in general the boundary of the Lower Etruria towards the south; but this limit was passed in some notable instances, and it appears that the Tuscan confederacy at different periods held a predominant sway over

* Servius ad Georgic. ii. v. 533. "Constat Tuscos usque ad mare Siculum omnia possedisse."—"Notizia," says Lanzi, "che attinse da Catone." (Lanzi, Saggio, iii. 582.)

the nations of Latium and of Opika. It is proved by passages from Cato, which Servius and Macrobius have preserved, that the Volsci and Rutuli were subject to the Etrurians.* On the right bank of the Tiber the population was of the genuine Tuscan race, and the territory of the Veientes reached near to Rome. It is more difficult to ascertain the northern limit of Lower Etruria. It seems to have varied with the encroachments of the Ligurians, which began about the period of the Gallic invasion of Italy. For some centuries before Augustus it appears that Pisa had been the limit between that barbarous people and the Tuscans,† but it has been proved from Polybius and Livy, that a considerable part of the territory occupied by the Ligurians in Italy to the northward of Pisa, had previously formed a part of Etruria. Scylax alone seems to have made the Etruscans reach northward even on the western coast of Italy as far as the foot of the Alps;‡ but the territory between the Macra and the Arnus belonged to them, according to many testimonies, as well as an extensive tract of the Apennine which formed the communication between Lower and the Circumpadane Etruria, and which was afterwards occupied by the Ligurians.§

## II.—*Circumpadane Etruria.*

The rich plains on both sides the river Po were occupied, when the now lost race of Rasena was at the zenith of its power, by twelve flourishing cities. Among the twelve cities of Upper Etruria none of those towns can be comprised which were situated on the Lower Sea, between the Macra and the Arnus, since it was asserted by Cæcina that all the Etruscan states of this confederation were beyond the Apennines.‖ Many of these cities seem to have been utterly destroyed at the irruption

* Servius ad Æneid. xi. 567. Macrob. iii. 5. Müller's Etrusker, Einl. 5.

† Polybius says: "The Ligurians live on the Apennines, and those mountains towards Marseilles which join with the Alps, possessing likewise the other two sides which front the great plains and the Tuscan Sea: but towards the west they spread themselves as far as Pisa, which is the first town in Tuscany, and on the inland side as far as Arezzo." (Lib. ii.)

‡ Muller's Etrusker, Einl. s. 108.

§ This seems to have been made out, by a comparison of various passages in Polybius, Strabo, and other writers, by Müller. See page 106, Einl.

‖ Livy coincides with this statement. Lib. v. 5.

of the Gauls. By them Felsima, afterwards Bononia, was conquered. That city is termed by Pliny "Princeps Etruriæ." Melpum, an opulent city in the Milanese, was destroyed by the Senones, Boii, and Insubres. Adria, which gave name to the Adriatic, is supposed to have been one of the twelve cities. A few of these towns of Northern Etruria withstood the Gauls, and maintained themselves until Italy yielded to the Romans. Among these were Verona and Mantua; Ravenna, which afterwards fell into the possession of the Umbrians, is supposed to have been at one period an Etruscan city.

Northern Etruria, according to Plutarch,* was very fertile, and contained eighteen cities. Lanzi observes that none of the ancient writers has left us any very definite idea of its limits, though Livy, Strabo, Diodorus, Polybius, and Dionysius have described it.† Niebuhr has expressed an opinion that Northern Etruria reached not further westward than the Ticinus. Perhaps it is impossible to ascertain the earliest limits between the Tuscans and Ligurians. We ought perhaps to reckon as a part of Northern Etruria the country of the Rhæti and other Alpine nations said to have been of the race of the Rasena. According to Strabo the Lepontii and Camuni were of the same lineage as the Rhæti. Mount Brenner was their boundary towards the north, and consequently the northern limit of the Tuscan race. If we believe Livy, the Rhætian Alps were the refuge of Etrurian fugitives who escaped from the destructive invasion of the Cisalpine Gauls.‡ Modern writers, Frèret, Gibbon, Heyne, Niebuhr, and Otfried Müller, suppose this Alpine region to have been the cradle of the Tuscan race, whence they issued, as so many other barbarian hordes have done through the same passage, to conquer for themselves a dwelling-place in the happiest countries of Italy. The Cisal-

* Plut. in Vita Camilli.

† Polyb. ii. cap. 17. See Lanzi, Saggio, tom. iii. p. 583.

‡ Livii lib. v. c. 35. Pliny has the same story: "Rhætos, Thuscorum prolem, arbitrantur a Gallis pulsos, duce Rhæto." (Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 20.) And Justin repeats it: "Tusci duce Rhæto, avitis sedibus amissis, Alpes occupavêre, et ex ducis nomine gentem Rhætorum condiderunt." (Lib. xx. c. 5.)

We have seen, however, that the Rhæti are proved, by the names of places throughout the country occupied by them when conquered by the Romans, to have been Celts. Probably the mountainous country occupied by the Tuscans was only a border of Rhætia. M. Zeuss conjectures that it was the tract of the Euganian hills.

pine was, according to this theory, the first of these settlements, and the twelve cities of Tuscany were of later date. This, as we shall find, is contrary to the statements of all the ancients, who uniformly supposed the primitive land of the Etruscans to have been on the Lower Sea.

### III.—*Campanian Etruria.*

Polybius declares that the Tuscans had formerly possessed the so-termed Phlegræan plains bordering on Capua and Nola. Velleius Paterculus informs us that according to some accounts Capua was built by the Tyrrheni forty-seven years before the foundation of Rome. Pomponius Mela likewise says that it was founded by the Tuscans.

In this country, the most part of which had previously belonged to tribes of the Opic nation, and which was afterwards conquered by the Samnites, a people speaking the same Opic or Oscan language and sprung from another branch of the Opic race, the Tuscans during the intermediate ages possessed many towns, and ruled over a great and opulent population. According to Strabo they had in Campania twelve principal cities.* Otfried Müller has collected the names of several towns which must probably have belonged to the number. In the first place were Capua and Nola, then Nuceria on the Sarnus, probably also Herculaneum and Pompeii, places which, according to Strabo, belonged at first to the Oscans, then to the Tyrrheni and Pelasgians, and afterwards to the Samnites. Further inland Sorrentum is said to have been a Tuscan city, as well as Marcina. Salernum is conjectured by Müller to have been the metropolis in this Southern Etruria. Suessa in the northern part of Campania, and the Circæan Aea, are mentioned as places built by the Tyrrheni; but it would appear that in this instance the term must mean Pelasgic, and not properly Etruscan; and this is one example among many of that ambiguity in the meaning of these names which puzzles those who attempt researches into the early ethnography of Italy.

The great population, wealth, and luxury for which Capua and Campania in general were famed, must be considered as of Tuscan growth, for the old Oscans were a rude people, and

* Strabo, lib. v. p. 247.

had no great cities. According to Cato, Capua was built by the Tuscans 283 A.U.C., a statement which is rejected by Müller, who remarks that it could not have grown so rapidly into fame and opulence. In 331, scarcely fifty years afterwards, the Tuscan power was entirely destroyed in Campania. Müller has indeed shown that Capua has been mentioned as already existing in the history of an earlier period. Under the Tuscans it was termed Vulturnum, from the river Vulturnus. The Samnite conquerors of the country termed it Capua, or as the name is found on coins Kapfa: they called themselves Campanians, Kappano, or Kampano. Müller conjectures with probability that the old Oscan language was preserved in the country during the Tuscan domination, since it was afterwards the general idiom of the Samnite Campanians, and from the fact that no genuine Tuscan inscriptions have been discovered in Campania.

After these general remarks on the Etruscans, and on the extension of their race and lineage in Italy, I shall now proceed to their origin and early history.

SECTION IX.— *Of the Accounts left by the Ancients respecting the Origin of the Etruscans. Of the Opinions of Modern Writers. Reflections.*

I have observed that the traditions collected by ancient writers relative to the population of Etruria and the origin of the Etruscans, represent them as foreigners who came to Italy at a particular period, and not as indigenous inhabitants. I shall advert to these accounts under two heads: first, traditions derived from the Greeks; secondly, native traditions, or stories handed down among the native Italians.

*Paragraph* 1.—Greek traditions respecting the colonisation of Etruria.

These traditions having a Grecian origin, may again be divided into two very distinct sets, namely, those which relate to the proper Etruscans, and secondly, various accounts referring to Pelasgian colonies in the northern parts of Italy.

*Greek traditions relating to the proper Etruscans.*

The prevalent account among the Greeks, adopted from

them by Roman poets, and afterwards believed even in the country whence the Etruscans are by it derived, is the story first given by Herodotus, which makes them a colony from Lydia.

Herodotus connects the migration of the Etruscans from Lydia with circumstances so extremely absurd as to lessen the credibility of the whole account. It is evident that he obtained his statement from the people of Lydia. They claimed, as he says, the invention of coinage, and of certain games which were discovered on the following occasion. All Lydia was long afflicted with famine; to alleviate this calamity the people betook themselves, not to agriculture or other resources for increasing subsistence, but to games, with which they so occupied themselves as to forget the want of food during alternate days, and thus to consume a smaller quantity. After eighteen years thus passed, they sought a more effectual remedy by sending half the population away. The emigrants, under Tyrrhenus, a son of king Atys, built for themselves ships at Smyrna, and arrived in Umbria, where they erected cities, and from the name of their leader, Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys, were named Tyrrheni.*

This story has been repeated by a great number of Greek and Latin writers, but generally in such terms as to leave no room for doubt that it was taken by each of them from the father of history.† Thus Silius Italicus, in his fifth book:

> "Lydius huic genitor, Tmoli decus, æquore longè
> Mæoniam quondam in Latias advexerat oras
> Tyrrhenus pubem."

The only writer of antiquity who disbelieved this account was Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He rejected it entirely on the following considerations: first, "Xanthus the Lydian, who was as well acquainted with ancient history as any man, and whose testimony may be relied upon with regard to that of his own country," made no mention of any colony sent to Italy. He says that Lydus and Torrhebus were the sons of Atys, and that

* Herod. lib. xciv.

† See Strabo, lib. v. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. c. 1. Solinus, cap. viii. Tacitus, Ann. lib. iv. Vell. Paterc. lib. i. Valerius Max. lib. ii. c. 4. Plutarch. in Romulo. Cicero, Fragm. de Consulatu. Virgil. Æn. ii. 8, 10. Horat. Sat. lib. i. Statius, Silv. iv. Lycophron, v. 1352. Marcian, Heracl. apud Hudson.

the nation being afterwards divided followed these two names. His words are these: "From Lydus the Lydians, and from Torrhebus the Torrhebi are so called. There is a little difference in their language, and they still borrow many words from each other, like the Ionians and Dorians."*

As the Torrhebi are plainly the same division of the Lydian people who by Herodotus are called Tyrrheni, the evidence of Xanthus seems to be strongly against the story given by Herodotus. The Torrhebi were said by Xanthus, as we are informed by Dionysius, to have remained in Asia Minor, but it does not follow from this that the Etruscans may not have been a colony from the country of the Torrhebi.

Secondly, Dionysius says that he does not believe the Tyrrheni to have been descended from the Lydians, because the two nations do not use the same language, or resemble each other in religion, laws, or institutions. Dionysius adds, that "those persons come nearest to the truth who look upon the Tyrrheni not as a foreign people but as natives of the country; since they are found to be a very ancient nation, and agree with no other either in their language or manner of living."

It may well be doubted whether Dionysius was possessed of sufficient knowledge either of the Lydian language or of the Tuscan to entitle his opinion on their entire diversity to any decisive weight; we can only infer with safety, from his testimony on this subject, that the Lydians and Etruscans were not known in his time to speak cognate languages, and that the natives of one country, if in point of fact the experiment was ever tried, would not understand those of the other in conversation. Yet on the whole it must be allowed that his arguments and chiefly that derived from the silence of Xanthus, the Lydian historian, as to any such event as the migration recorded by Herodotus, weighs heavily against the credibility of this story.

### *Greek traditions relating to Pelasgic settlements in Italy.*

Herodotus had no intention of connecting the Etruscans with the Pelasgians; and by Pliny and Dionysius, and most oth

* Dionys. Hal. lib. i. c. 29. Xanthus, the historian of Lydia, lived a short time before Herodotus, and compiled a work of great credit on the antiquities of country in the Greek language. See Voss. Hist. Græc.

writers, these nations are clearly distinguished. But many of the Greeks have recorded settlements o Pelasgi in different parts of Italy, and also in Etruria. By some of these writers, as might be expected, the Pelasgi and Etruscans are confounded.

In general the accounts of Pelasgian settlements in Northern Italy represent them as made on the coast of the Adriatic, whereas all the accounts relating to the origin of the Etruscan represent them to commence and gradually develope themselves from the shores of the Lower or Tyrrhene sea. This is a distinction which serves to discriminate two series of traditions, and it would have prevented some confusion if it had been kept in view by modern writers.*

Dionysius has given a summary of the stories relating to Pelasgian adventurers. He says that the Pelasgi had been in times past inhabitants of Thessaly; from that country they were driven out by the Curetes and Leleges, tribes afterwards termed Aetoli and Locri; thence they dispersed themselves through various countries: the greater number passed to the neighbourhood of Dodona, and there, in obedience to an oracle, having prepared a great armament of ships, set sail and arrived at one of the mouths of the Po. A part of the colony settled there, and built a city called Spines, which prospered and was for a long time mistress of the Adriatic. The greater part of the Pelasgian colony, however, pursued their way into the mountainous parts of Italy, and gained possession of a country belonging to the Umbrians, and on the borders of the people termed Aborigines. Having been expelled from this territory by the Umbri, the Pelasgi sought the country of the Aborigines, and settled near Cotyle, on the borders of the Holy Lake, in marshy lands granted them by the natives, which they designated according to their custom with the digammatized name of Felia. They afterwards gained

* The colonies of the Pelasgi, expressly so termed by ancient writers, were all in the northern parts. In Italy, southward of the Tiber, we find Siculi, Oenotri, Peucetii, Italietes, which are derived by the genealogical writers from Arcadia. Niebuhr claims them as branches of the Pelasgian colonisation; but the Pelasgi who under that name are recorded to have colonised Italy, were from Thessaly or Pelasgiotis.

possession of the Umbrian city of Croton, which became their fortress and the metropolis of the Pelasgian power in central Italy. They assisted the Aborigines in driving the Siculi out of their towns; but the Pelasgi themselves built several cities among which were Cære termed by them Agylla, Pisa, Saturnia, and Alcine. They likewise drove the Aurunci or the Ausonians, that is the Opic or Oscan people, out of many parts of Campania, and built there Larissa, named after their old metropolis. In some of these towns many of the old Pelasgic customs were long preserved, particularly at Croton in Umbria, but all the other cities belonging to that people were destroyed by the Etruscans.

Hellanicus of Lesbos gave a similar relation of the arrival of a Pelasgian colony at Spines, and of their conquest of Croton in Umbria, whence he says they peopled the country now called Tyrrhenia. It does not appear clear from the words of Hellanicus, which Dionysius professes to give, that the author intended to signify that the Etruscans or Tyrrheni were the descendants of these Pelasgi, or that he confounded the two races. That, however, was the construction which Dionysius put upon his statement.

In general the accounts of Pelasgic colonisations are given so distinctly as to make it quite evident that they were a different series of events, and occasioned very different consequences from those of the Etruscans.

*Paragraph* 2.—Native Italian traditions respecting the Etruscans.

We have seen that the Greeks considered the Etruscans as a people originally foreign to Italy; in this respect all the old Italian writers agree with them. A passage preserved from Cato's Origines, by Servius,* proves that the same opinion was held by that most celebrated of Roman antiquarians: "Qui Pisas tenuerint *ante adventum Etruscorum* negat sibi compertum." Cato in this alludes plainly to the arrival of the Etruscans as a maritime colony. The same thing is in effect maintained by all those writers who make the original abode of the Etruscan people to have been on the coast of the Tyrrhene sea,

* Serv. ad Æneid. x. v. 202.

in Tuscany; as Diodorus, who terms the cities northward of the Apennine "colonies of the twelve Tuscan states,"* and Servius, who gives the designation of Nova Etruria to that country. Livy has stated this account somewhat more fully. He says that "the dominion of the Tuscans was widely extended before the prevalence of the Roman arms: their power was predominant on the two seas which embrace Italy on both sides. Of this the names given to these branches of the Mediterranean afford a proof; for the nations of Italy have given to one of these seas the name of Tuscan, from the common appellation of the people, and to the other that of Adriatic, derived from Adria, a Tuscan colony. The Greeks term them Tyrrhene and Adriatic. The Etruscans in either territory possessed twelve cities. Their first settlements were on this side of the Apennine on the lower sea: they afterwards sent out as many colonies as the original country contained principal towns, and these colonies occupied all the country beyond the Po, as far as the Alps, except the corner belonging to the Veneti. The same people doubtless gave origin to some of the Alpine nations, particularly to the Rhæti, who, by the nature of the country which they occupy, have been rendered barbarous, and retain nothing of their ancient character except their language, and that in a corrupt state."†

Tarquinii was regarded as the ancient metropolis of Etruria, as the point whence all the colonies of this people issued, and it was the centre of all the old traditions respecting their origin. The Greeks termed Tarquinii—Ταρκονια and Ταρκυνια—Tarkonia and Tarkynia. The name is connected with that of Tarkon, the founder of the Etruscan cities, according to their own tradition, whom the Greeks endeavour to identify or connect with Tyrrhenus. Thus Strabo informs us that Tyrrhenus on his arrival named the country after himself, and appointed Tarkon to be the founder of the cities, from whom the city of Tarkynia was named.‡

It has been well observed by Otfried Müller, that the fable

* Diodor. Bibl. xiv. c. 113.

† Stephanus Byzant. derives the name of Tarkynia from Tarkon.

‡ See Steph. de Urbib. ver. Ταρκυνια.

respecting Tarkon might be suspected of having been a mythical story invented by the Greeks, and adopted from them into the historical traditions of Etruria, were it not connected, at least locally, with a legend so manifestly indigenous, and so unlike any fiction of the Greeks as to prove its genuine Tuscan origin. He alludes to the well-known story of Tages, the founder of Etruscan discipline. It was in a field near Tarquinii that the soil, ploughed by the hand of a rustic, or, as some accounts state, of Tarkon himself, gave up to the light of day the genius or dæmon, who recited in song, to the twelve lucumones of the Tuscan cities, mystical verses containing the whole system of priestcraft and divination for which the haruspices of the Etruscans were so celebrated. A god or lawgiver dug out of the earth, is quite foreign to the style of Grecian poetry, and the story is in fact mentioned with contempt by classical writers.* It is a genuine Etruscan fable, and when taken in connection with other remains of tradition, serves to prove the indigenous origin of the various accounts which deduce the Etruscans from the coast of the Tyrrhene sea and the neighbourhood of Tarquinii.

The collective evidence of all these traditions is very strong, and is sufficient to prove that an universal conviction prevailed among the Etruscans themselves, which referred the origin of their confederacy and of their national existence to the coast of the Tyrrhene sea, which is the region where the Greek accounts represent them as arriving by ships.

We cannot satisfactorily explain these facts by referring all the accounts in question to various colonies of Pelasgi which may have been formed by that adventurous people on the coast of Italy—this is the resource of all those writers, including of late years Niebuhr and Otfried Müller, who represent the Etruscans as indigenous in Italy or on the Alpine border of that country—for these Italian traditions evidently and professedly relate to the Tuscan race, and not to Pelasgic adventurers. The story of Tages, for example, had no connection with the Pelasgi. Besides, as I have before observed, all the Pelasgian colonies in the northern half of Italy are represented

* Festus, lib. v. Tages. Cicero de Harusp. resp cap. x. Ovid, Met. 15, 550, &c.

.s arriving on the north-eastern coast, where it may be sup-
)osed that a people who made their way across the Adriatic
rom Thessaly would be most likely to land.

What then is the conclusion to which the sum of historical vidence leads us as to the origin of the Etruscans? Un-loubtedly the hypothesis which accords best with the facts on vidence is that the Tuscans, like the Punic or Phœnician olonists of Northern Africa, and the Phocæan colonists in he south of Gaul, came from beyond seas and settled on the :oast of the Tyrrheni. But this hypothesis has been generally 'ejected by modern writers. It may be worth while to inquire what are the objections offered to it, and whether they admit )f a probable solution.

The principal objection is the difficulty of supposing that so numerous a people as were the Etruscans should arrive in Italy, *en masse*, by sea. The Rasena or Tuscan nation occu-pied so great a space in Italy, if we consider the whole exten-sion of the race from the Rhætian Alps to the Tiber, and even to Campania, that on this ground many have thought it more probable that they were one of the great original tribes of the European continent.

The supposition that Etruria was colonised by sea precludes the idea that its foreign inhabitants arrived in great numbers; but there seems to be no great difficulty in imagining that a small band of emigrants may have multiplied after their settle-ment, and have gradually formed a numerous population. It does not appear indeed that the Greeks became very numerous in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, but they were rather a trading than an agricultural people. The Punic population in Africa was considerable as to numbers. It is true that they mixed with the indigenous inhabitants of the country, whereas the Rasena are said to have expelled the old Umbrians. But this is the account of Greek or Latin historians of a late time which had a reference to their own ideas of conquest; and the ex-pression that the Umbrians were driven out does not forbid our supposing that a great part of them were enslaved, and re-mained in the country, according to the custom of antiquity, as a servile peasantry; and this supposition derives support from the fact that the Etruscans are said to have been a class of nobles,

holding rigorously in subjection a degraded caste of serfs not much above the condition of Laconian helots. Nothing parallel to this is alleged of any of the other old Italian tribes. This seems to imply that the dominant race was too superior in civilization, and too much opposed in language and habits to the conquered nation, to allow of their becoming blended or amalgamated so as to form one people.

This hypothesis would have obtained more general assent if there were any clear historical evidence of the Eastern origin of the Tuscans and of the event of their migration, as there appears to be in the instance of the Phocæans and the Carthaginians. The evidence of such an event is indeed defective, and too vague to be entitled to implicit confidence, though the statement is supported by the uniform testimony of tradition, and might be found recorded in authentic books if the literature of Etruria had not perished. But there are not wanting indications of the connection of the Etruscan people with Asia. The Eastern origin of their arts and culture is indeed admitted by those who look upon the race as indigenous in Italy. I shall close my observations on this subject by adverting to two or three remarkable indications.

1. The national character of the Etruscans is very different from that which may be supposed to have belonged to a tribe of rude mountaineers from the Rhætian Alps. The Gauls of the Cisalpine retained their barbarous or simple habits in the time of Strabo and Pliny, though they had been settled for centuries in the cultivated plains which had formed part of Northern Etruria. How can we account, admitting their Alpine and Barbaric origin, for the superior civilisation and peculiar character of the Tuscans? They were one of the most cultivated nations of antiquity, famous for their industry, devoted to agriculture, manufactures; excelling in arts both useful and ornamental; in literature and science, such as science then was: they had a complex and elaborate system of rites and ordinances in the hands of priests, who were not like the Schamans of the northern barbarians, but revered as the depositories of ancient learning.

If it is suggested that they adopted the arts of the Pelasgi, whom they are said to have conquered, the reply is unsatis-

·y. The Pelasgi were themselves a roving semibarbarous e, and in their whole character the very reverse of the cans.

The superstition of the Etruscans had many oriental traits. cosmology, and their doctrine of future successive revo- s and cycles of time, connected with changes in the destiny nkind, were almost the exact counterpart of the Indian ne of yugs and manwantaras. It resembles the Grecian of the four ages, but is more complete and systematic, and aches more nearly to the Indian theory, which appears ve spread at an early period through many countries in r Asia.* It cannot be doubted that this Etruscan ne had an oriental origin, nor is it in the least probable hey derived it from the East through the medium of the gi.

Niebuhr has argued, and perhaps conclusively, that the n characters are not of Pelasgic origin, but derived im- tely from the Phœnicians; but the Phœnicians are not n to have had any commercial intercourse with Tuscany. uld appear that the use of these letters must have been ht by the Etruscans from Asia.†

The Tyrrhenian or Etruscan music was celebrated at , where the use of wind instruments was considered to culiarly a Tuscan art. Virgil has the expression "*Tyr- s clangor;*" and the use of the "tibia" or "*αὐλος*" is d "*Τυρσηνὸν μελετᾶμα.*"‡ The use of the *σαλπιγξ* or trum- ıs also introduced into Rome from Etruria.§ Phrygia and were the countries whence the Greeks derived the use same instruments. The musical art of the Etruscans fact either identical with that of the Lydians or very r to it, as it appears from a variety of passages cited on ıbject by Professor Müller.‖

Tyrrha was a city and district on the river Caÿstrus, in ıthern part of Lydia. Southern Lydia was the country

das von *Συλλας*.

cia contained Phœnician settlements. (See Gesenius, Palæogr. Phœn.)

eid. viii. 526. Tynanes, t. i. p. 505. Anal. Br.

*πιγξ, εὑρημα Τυῤῥηνικον.* Pollux.

ller's Etrusker, iii. 1, 4.

of the Torrhebi. This seems to be the region, as Müller has observed, from which we may suppose with the greatest probability that the colony issued, which gave a new character, and we may add a new population, to the north of Italy. Müller supposes that an emigration actually took place, but not of the genuine Lydian or Mæonian race. He conjectures that bands of Pelasgi had settled on the coast of Caria and Lydia adjacent to Tyrrha, and that they here obtained the epithet of Tyrseni Pelasgi; that after acquiring the arts and many of the customs of their Lydian neighbours, they carried them, as well as a name originally derived from Tyrrha, over the sea termed Tyrrhenian; and after occupying the coast of the Rasena, taught the inhabitants of Lower Umbria their arts, and communicated to them their name of Tyrseni.

We have seen that historical traditions are unanimous in making the settlement of the Lydian or Tuscan colony subsequent to that of the Pelasgi, and that the Tyrsi or Tyrrhenians are uniformly asserted to have conquered that people. If we must form an hypothesis in accommodation with the ancient historical notices, it would not be precisely that adopted by Müller, who in this instance brings in, without any necessity, a supposition contradicting all the ancient testimonies. It is just as probable that the Tuscan people were emigrants of the Lydian race as that they were Pelasgi. If we suppose that a colony from the coast of Lydia arrived in Italy after the conquests of the Pelasgi, and reduced them as well as the Umbrians, and founded the twelve cities of Lower Etruria, we shall find all the statements of ancient historians on this supposition reconciled.

## Section X.—*Concluding Remarks and general Review of the Population of Italy.*

At the very earliest dawn of the light of history or rather of tradition on Italy, we discover recent traces of the passage of different tribes of people from the northern parts of that country to its southern extremity. The first of these, and the first only, was an Allophylian race, or one of a lineage foreign to the great Indo-European family of nations. The Sicani o

the Iberian stock, expelled from their original country, of which the situation is unknown,—perhaps in the south of Gaul,*—sought refuge ultimately in the isle of Sicily, to which they gave the name of Sicania. Their way was probably through Italy; but of that country we can only infer that they were some time inhabitants, from the number of epithets descriptive of places which have been pointed out by Baron W. von Humboldt, and proved to be clearly significant in the Euskarian language.

The Siculi, to whom must be joined all the tribes nearly related to them, as the Oenotri, the Morgetes, Italietes, Peucetii, Iapyges, are reported by tradition to have been connected in origin with the primitive inhabitants of Greece; their language affords a more unequivocal evidence of their affinity to the Latins. They are found in the southern parts of Italy; but of their passage through the north we have traces in the tradition that they were expelled from several districts on the borders of Umbria by the more warlike people who gave name to that country. They were expelled from Latium, as it is said, or perhaps they were rather conquered by the Latins or Aborigines, and from the country between Latium and the Siculian straits, by the Opici, a people of the same stock with the Ausones and the Sabines. Both of these nations, the Latins and the Sabines, are deduced from countries near the Apennines and the borders of Umbria, and it is probable that they were originally of the Umbrian race. The old Latin, the Opic or Oscan, and the Umbrian are plainly dialects of one original speech, with which the Siculian is likewise connected by all the remains which are yet extant, and which though scanty appear to be sufficient for a satisfactory conclusion.

These nations, the Umbri in the north, and the Latins, Opici or Ausones, including the Sabine or Sabellian branch, and the Siculi and their kindred in the south, appear to have occupied at one period the whole of Italy. They were in fact one nation, divided into different tribes, speaking dialects of one language, and they may be considered as a particular branch of the great Indo-European race. This branch was more nearly allied to the

* They were expelled by the Ligurians, whose country was the coast of Gaul.

Hellenic than to any other division of the same great family of nations. Yet in the language of this Italian race words and grammatical forms are preserved which are not extant in Greek, and are discoverable in the idioms of the more eastern as well as in those of the northern and western nations of this stock. We may perhaps infer that the old Italian language as well as the people were derived not immediately from Greece, but from the common source of the whole Indo-European race.

We might term the nations above mentioned primitive inhabitants of Italy. Other nations may be considered as colonists or "advenæ," since we have distinct notices of their arrival from transalpine countries or from lands beyond the sea. The first are the Pelasgi, who came into Umbria on the side of the Adriatic; the second are the Rasena or Tuscans, whose origin is a problem yet unsolved; the third are the Gauls, who within the historic age occupied the country, of which they dispossessed the Tuscans, as the Tuscans had dispossessed the Umbri, and from parts of which the Umbri are said to have previously expelled the Siculi. As borderers on Italy rather than its proper inhabitants we may reckon the Liburnians, as well as the Ligurians, who entered Italy with the Gauls, and occupied the mountainous countries between the sources of the Arnus and the Po.*

All these races, however diverse in origin, have become one nation, having a physical and moral character of their own. This is striking even in the country which was formerly Cisalpine Gaul. No European nations are more unlike to each other than are the Milanese and the people of the Alpine border of Italy. But for a long time after their conquest by the Romans the different Italian nations appear to have retained their characteristic peculiarities.

## Section XI.—*Of the Physical Characters of the Italians*

The geographical circumstances of Italy, as a part of the European continent, seem to have prepared that country to

* I have not mentioned the Greek colonies, as they appear to have contributed but little to the mass of population.

be the abode of a peculiar people, destined to partake at an early period of whatever mental culture existed among the nations of the Mediterranean coasts, and to advance in arts and civilisation long before the tribes who inhabited the less accessible parts of Europe in the solid mass of the continent. The chain of the Apennine by which Italy is supported stretches out like a great promontory from north to south into the basin of the Mediterranean. The Alpine barrier which is spread round the root of this promontory in a vast curve or sweep from east to west, like that formed on a greater scale by the mountain-chains which separate the Indian peninsula from Persia and Central Asia, cuts off in like manner Italy from France and Germany, and the Slavonian provinces of Austria. A traveller who should pass from Tibet over the Himálaya into the plains of Hindústan, or one who should enter the Panjáb from Kábúl, after traversing the mountains of Soliman and the river Indus, would find himself at once in a new world, where all the productions of animal and vegetable nature display a different character, and even the tribes of men a new aspect. A corresponding change, though not to so great an extent, is perceived by those who pass over the Alpine barrier into Italy. In the stature, features and complexion, in the dress, the gesture, manners, and whole external appearance of the people, the plains of Lombardy present a striking contrast with the Valais and other countries of the same Alpine border. Instead of the uncouth features, round or angular countenances, sandy hair, coarse complexion, and ill-set but often stout and muscular bodies which are frequent in the high country, we discover, even among the northern Italians, an elegant, light and graceful form, a taller and more slender stature, features more elevated and finely shaped, with a more intellectual and at the same time more lively expression, and the darker complexion with blacker eyes and hair which characterise all the natives of the south of Europe. The climate and local conditions of Southern Italy differ much less from those of the North than do the physical circumstances of the northern parts of that peninsula from those of the nearest ultra-montane countries, and most Italians have a general resemblance among themselves. We possess, indeed, but very

general, and somewhat vague information as to the slighter varieties of physical character which may exist among the inhabitants of different parts of Italy. I have been assured that an observant traveller discovers a decided difference of features and complexion on comparing the native people of high tracts in the Apennine with those who dwell in the low plains near the coasts. It is probable that some varieties in these respects exist between the inhabitants of districts on the eastern and again on the western face or declivity of the same chain. It is extremely probable that people of a sanguine constitution and xanthous complexion might be found in some of the highest and coldest villages. Of the fact we have, as far as I know, no observation, for it will not be considered as fair to cite the instance of the natives of the Seven Communes in the Vicentine, or the Thirteen in the Veronese, who, in mountainous tracts, are said to have preserved their old Teutonic speech, and the xanthous colour of their Langobard or Allemannic ancestors. The Italians in general have black hair and eyes, with a colour of the skin considerably less dark than that of the Spaniards.

From incidental expressions scattered through the works of classical writers, we may infer that the physical characters of the ancient Italians were similar to those of their descendants. The light xanthous complexion indicated by the term "cæsius" was looked upon as something rather disgusting, and we may perhaps infer that it was uncommon.

The physical characters of the ancient Etruscans appear to have been very peculiar, if we may form an opinion of them from the numerous figures which are found on the coverings of sarcophagi. On this subject, as well as on other topics connected with the antiquities of the Etruscans, we have some valuable information in a memoir by Otfried Müller, which appeared during the years 1818 and 1819, in the Transactions of the Academy of Berlin. The following are the chief particulars relating to the physical characters of the race. It is observed that the countenances of the Etruscans are of a large and round shape, not acute; the eyes large; the nose not long, but thick; the chin strong, and somewhat protruding. The figures display in their proportions men of small stature, with great

heads, short thick arms, and a clumsy and inactive conformation of body, the "obesos et pingues Etruscos."

"The male figures are all beardless, quite smooth and shaven about the chin, dressed in the tunic or toga, which is sometimes drawn up over the hinder part of the head. On the head they generally wear a wreath of leaves: some hold in their right hand a drinking-cup, and in the left a patera. They repose in an easy posture, a little raised, with their left elbow rested, as if in the attitude of persons who leave the festival of life as well-satisfied guests. The little finger of the left hand is commonly ornamented with a ring. The women lie in the same position as the men: they are clothed with a tunic, some having below their breast a broad girdle, fastened before by wheel-shaped buckles, and with a peplum which sometimes veils the hinder part of the head. In one hand they hold an apple or some similar fruit, and in the other a fan. These figures are embossed on the coverings of the sarcophagi, which are formed of stone or of clay. On the clay coverings, where a variety of colours is used on the reliefs, these figures are also painted. In them the hair is of a yellow-brown colour, and the eyes brown, and the armour and shields of a bluish black, which seems intended to show that they were made of iron.

If this colouring was chosen, as it would appear most probable, to imitate the natural complexion of the Etruscans, the fact is very remarkable, and it seems to defy all attempts to theorise on the origin of the Etruscan people.*

## *Note on Chapter* IV. *Sections* vii. *and* x.

The following comparison of vocabularies will afford evidence that the Latin language is not to be resolved into two elements, but has relations to many of the Indo-European idioms, of which it constitutes a particular branch.

* Abhandl. der Berlin. Akad. 1818 u. 1819. Hist. Phil. Cl. s. 2.

So many remains of ancient Etruscan tombs yet exist in the north of Italy, that we may look for further elucidation of this very interesting subject. The skulls found in some of the Etruscan tombs which were lately exhibited in London, had the full developement of the European or Indo-Atlantic type. Local researches into this subject would well reward the pains of any traveller in Italy.

1. ***Words analogous in Latin and Sanskrit, which are either wanting in Greek, or are represented by words that are more remote.***

N.B. The vowel in Sanskrit for which short *ă* is substituted may equally represent the Greek *o* or Latin *ŭ*, as *locam*, pronounced exactly as we pronounce *locum*.

| *Sanskrit.* | *Latin.* | *Greek.* |
|---|---|---|
| Agnim..... | ignem ..... | *πῦρ.* |
| Nāsham ..... | necem ..... | *θάνατον (νεκυν ?).* |
| Nāsam..... | nasum ..... | *ῥῖν.* |
| Rājam..... | regem ..... | *βασιλέα.* |
| Rājni ..... | regina ..... | *βασιλίσσα.* |
| Răt'ham ..... | rhedam ..... | *ὄχον.* |
| Ăsim ..... | ensem ..... | *ξίφος.* |
| Sakhyam..... | socium..... | *ἑταῖρον.* |
| Swānum ..... | sonum ..... | *ἦχος.* |
| Swasaram ..... | sororem ..... | *ἀδελφή.* |
| Vamani ..... | fœmina ..... | *γυνή.* |
| Rayam ..... | rem ..... | *χρῆμα.* |
| Mrĭtyam ..... | mortuum ..... | *θνητόν.* |
| Bhăritam..... | viridem ..... | *χλωρόν.* |
| Romant'ha ..... | ruminatio. | |
| Murăm ..... | murum ..... ..... | *τεῖχος.* |
| Spriham ..... | spem, i. e. sprem* .... | *ἐλπίν.* |
| Swaram ..... | susurrum..... | *ψιθύρισμα.* |
| Locam ..... | locum ..... | *τόπον.* |
| Karman (an incantation) | carmen..... | *μολπή.* |
| Ayas ..... | æs ..... | *χαλκόν.* |
| Anna .... ..... | annona. | |
| Aranya ..... | arena ..... | *ψάμαθος.* |
| Kailas ..... | cœlos ..... | *οὐρανούς.* |
| Divas ..... | dies ..... | *ἡμέρα.* |
| Duram..... | durum ..... | *στερεόν.* |
| Adya ..... | hodie ..... | *σήμερον.* |
| Pluvum ..... | fluvium ..... | *ποταμόν.* |
| Idam ..... | idem. | |
| Yuvanas ..... | juvenis..... | *νέος.* |
| Manim..... | manum ..... | *χείρ.* |
| Naptaram ..... | nepotem ..... | *νἱωνόν.* |
| Nacha ..... | neque ..... | *οὔτε.* |
| Nidhi ..... | nidus ..... | *καλιά.* |
| Snusaram ..... | nurum. | |
| Prapta..... | prope ..... | *ἄγχι.* |
| Rit ..... | rectus ..... | *ὀρθός.* |

* The radical letter *r* being dropped in the noun though retained in the verb.

| *Sanskrit.* | *Latin.* | *Greek.* |
|---|---|---|
| Unja | ungo | χρίω. |
| Anguli | ungula | ὄνυξ. |
| Ushĭtum | ustum | κεκαυμένον. |
| Vācham | vocem | φωνήν. |
| Vai | ve. | |
| Pashu | pecu | πῶϋ. |
| Starĭman | stramen, stratum | στρῶμα. |
| Shwashuram | socerem | ἔκυρον. |
| Swam | suum | ἑον. |
| Antai | inter | ἐν. |
| Dantas | dentes | ὀδόντας. |
| Daivam | deam | θέαν. |
| Damitam | domitum | δμητόν. |
| Naman | nomen | ὄνομα. |
| Nactam | noctem | νύκτα. |
| Nabhas | nubes | νέφος. |
| Qui, quem | ki, kim | τίς, τί. |
| Swă | se, suum | ἑ, οἱ, ἕον. |
| Suparamas | supremus | ὑπέρτατος. |
| Hansa, in reg. hansar | anser | χήν. |
| Navyas | novus | νέος. |
| Danam | donum | δῶρον. |

ese last words have cognates in Greek, which are more te than in Latin. The former have no cognates in use. tend to indicate a relation between the Latin and Sanskrit h is more immediate than the supposed connection through Greek.

### 1. *Instances of agreement in Verbs.*

| *Sanskrit.* | *Latin.* | *Greek.* |
|---|---|---|
| Avăti | avet. | |
| Ănjănti (ŭnjŭnti) | unguunt. | |
| Rajati (shines) | radiat. | |
| Kănăti (cries) | canit. | |
| Pandati | pandet. | |
| Stri (root) | stru-o | στρώννυμι. |
| Mandati | mandat. | |
| Mayati | meat. | |
| Lokayati | loquitur | λέγει. |
| Lokayati | lucet | λευκ-αίνεται. |
| Pivatum | bibitum. | |
| Krĕ (root) / Kăroti | cre (root). / creat. | |
| Ichch'ati | eget. | |
| Mamana | memini | ἐμνημαι. |

| *Sanskrit.* | *Latin.* | *Greek.* |
|---|---|---|
| Miha ..... | meio. | |
| Maryati ..... | moritur. | |
| Phallati ..... | pullulat. | |
| Swoptum ..... | sopitum. | |
| Tashna..... | taceo. | |
| Tapăti ..... | tepet. | |

It must be added that the Sanskrit and Latin constructions and inflections of words often agree closely, where the Greek are much more remote. As one instance it may be mentioned that the past tense of verbs formed by reduplication of the first syllable in Latin, Sanskrit and Greek, keeps in Latin and in Sanskrit the vowel of the root, as *spospondi*, *cucurri*, when in Greek an ε is always substituted. I have collected instances in my work on the Celtic nations.

## 2. *Instances of particular agreement between Welsh and Latin.**

| *Latin.* | *Welsh.* |
|---|---|
| Viri ..... | wŷr. |
| Virago ..... | wraig (a woman). |
| Insula, i.e. insa ..... | ynys (Gaël. Innis). |
| Amnis, unde Interamna ..... | avon (Gaël. amhan, *v* being equivalent to *mh*). |
| Am (in amplector, ambire).... | am (common preposition, as *amgylch*, round about, from *am* and *gylch*, circum). |
| Mare ..... | môr. |
| Terra ..... | tîr. |
| Am-truo (to turn round) ..... | am-troi. |
| Torques ..... | torch (Lhuyd). |
| Torqueo ..... | torchi (Lhuyd). |
| Aurora ..... | gwawr and wawr. |
| Bestia ..... ..... | bwyst. |
| Catena ..... | cadwyn, cadwynae, catenæ, from *cadw*, to keep. |
| Miror ..... | mîr, *splendid*, *beautiful*; mire, *aspect*. |
| Mola ..... | malu. |
| Mox ..... | moch, *quick*. |
| Mactus ..... | magu, *to fatten*. |

* It would be easy to collect a great number of words common to Welsh and Latin. Some of them are evidently derived from the Latin, and in many other instances it remains doubtful whether such words in the Welsh have this derivation, or are originally belonging to both languages. I have been careful to collect examples manifestly of the latter description; in many of them the etymons exist in Welsh, and are no longer extant in Latin.

| *Latin.* | *Welsh.* |
|---|---|
| Occo, occare, *to harrow* ..... | ogi, oged, og. |
| Navo, navare ..... | naviad, *working.* |
| No, nare..... ..... | naw, |
| Nutrix ..... | neidar, W. (nathair, Gaël.). |
| Ritus ..... | rhaith. |
| Pello ..... | pêll, i.e. procul. |
| Popina ..... | poban, *an oven ;* pobi, *to bake.* |
| Populus ..... | pobl. |
| Pretium ..... | prês, *brass* (?), as æs, *money.* |
| Quæso..... | ceisio. |
| Verum..... | gwîr, wîr. |
| Viridis ..... | gwir. |
| Sors ..... | swrth. |
| Socrus..... | chwegyr. |

It would be easy to furnish a long vocabulary of words milar in Welsh and Latin. I have selected a few examples f the least doubtful kind, of which the derivations are traceble in the Welsh, and such as are plainly not derived from ne Latin through intercourse with the Romans. The following re conjectures of Archdeacon Williams:

| *Latin.* | *Welsh.* |
|---|---|
| 'ræda, *prey* (when herds were the booty of war) ..... | praidh, preidhiae, *flocks, herds.* |
| Divitiæ (flocks being the first riches) .. | devaid, devait, *sheep*, as *pecunia* from *pecus.* |
| Mænia, *stone walls*, in opposition to *vallum* | maen, meini, *huge stones.* |
| 'ituli ..... | eidion, *ox, bull and cow*, W.; ed, eid, Gaël. *cattle.* |
| 'arus ..... | câr, *a friend* ; so in Gaël. |
| 'laucus ..... | glâs, *grey ;* so in Gaël. |
| 'ircus ..... | cŷlch, *a circle.* |
| 'acus..... | lhwch ; *loch*, Gaël. |
| Mons..... | mynydh ; Gaël. monadh. |

## 3. *Instances of particular agreement between Latin and Gaëlic.**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Altus ..... | ailt. | Asinus, asellus .. | asal. |
| Anima ..... | anam, *soul.* | Bucca. ..... | boc, *to swell out.* |
| Arca, *a chest*..... | airc, *a chest.* | Baculum, bacillum. | bachull, *a staff.* |
| Arceo, arcte, &c... | airc, *distress.* | Blandus ..... | blande, *gentle.* |
| Arte, *art*..... | feart, *virtue.* | Calx ..... | cailc, *chalk.* |

* These words are mostly taken from a curious and interesting paper, entitled "Remarks on the affinity of the Gaëlic language with the Latin," by Dr. Stratton (formerly student of Marischal College, Aberdeen).

Calleo ..... ciall, *sense, prudence.*
Camuncus ..... cam, *crooked.*
Canus ..... can, *white.*
Carcer..... carcair, *end.*
Cere ..... ceri, *wax.*
Claudo ..... cleidh, *conceal.*
Comis ..... caomh, *mild.*
Corpus ..... corp, *a body.*
Credo ..... creid.
Cubo ..... cub, *bend.*
Cedo ..... ceud, *leave.*
Dies ..... di.
Equus ..... each.
Fabulare..... abair, *say.*
Falx ..... fal, *a scythe.*
Fer..... far, *bring.*
Fallo, i.e. fello (fefelli) ..... } feall, *to deceive.*
Frigus ..... fuar, *cold.*
Fodio ..... fod, *turf.*
Fortis ..... feart, *virtue.*
Gloria ..... gloir.
Greges ..... greigh, *a herd.*
Gratia..... gradh, *love.*
Hora ..... uair, *hour.*
Lux ..... leus, *light.*
Clino ..... claon.
Italia..... eudail, *cattle.**
Lorica ..... { luireach, *a co* / *mail?.*
Lima ..... limpar.
Lanio ..... lann, *a sword.*
Miles..... mileadh.
Mente ..... mein, *mind.*
Mille ..... mile.
Minus, minus.... mion, *little.*
Matutinum... .. maduina, *morn*
Senex ..... seann.
Sol ..... solus, *light.*

This list is much more extensive: I have selected s words from it.

## 4. *Instances of particular agreement in words between Teutonic languages and Latin.*

| *Latin.* | | *Latin.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Caput..... | haupt, haubith, *Goth.*; höfut, *Isl.* | Pulex ..... | flo. |
| Cornu ..... | horn, haurn. | Pellis ..... | fell, *Isl.* |
| Collum ..... | hals. | Ulmus..... | almur, *Isl.*; u / *Germ.* |
| Lux, lucis..... | licht, *light.* | Nux-nukis ..... | hnyt, *Isl.*; nuss |
| Claudus ..... | halts, *halt.* | Apium..... | eppich, *G.* |
| Ventus ..... | vindur, *Isl. wind.* | Lolium ..... | lolch, *G.* |
| Mare..... | mar, *Isl.* | Fructus ..... | frugt, *D.* |
| Lacus ..... | lögr, *Isl.*; lagu, *A.-S.* | Vidua ..... | witwe, *G.*; vu / *A.-S.* |
| Puteus..... | pyttur, *Isl.*; pitt, *A.-S.* | Oculus..... | auga, *Isl.* |
| Unda ..... | unn, *Isl.* | Nasus ..... | nös, *Isl.*; nose, |
| Glakies..... | klaki, *Isl.* | Auris..... | ohr, *G.*; eyra, *I* |
| Limus..... | lehm, *G.*; loam, *Engl.* | Labium..... | lebe, *Dan.* |
| Dies ..... | dagr, *Isl.*, *day.* | Gula ..... | kehle, *G.* |
| Katus..... | ketta, *Isl.* | Rumor ..... | rómar, *Isl.*; ruh |
| Kaper..... | hafur. | Angustus,angustiæ. | angur, angist, *I* |
| Alkes, alce ..... | elgur, *elk.* | Flamma..... | flamme, *Dan.* |
| Natrix ..... | nadr. | Furca..... | fork, *Dan.* |
| Vermis ..... | ormur, *wurm*, *worm.* | | |

* See Aul. Gell. xi. c. 1.

| *Latin.* | | *Latin.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jugum ..... | ok, *Isl.*; yoke, *Eng.* | Forare..... | bore, *Dan.* |
| Fortis ..... | prat, *A.-S. proud.* | Stringere..... | streingia, *Isl., strain.* |
| Sanus. ..... | sannur, *Isl., sound.* | Trahere, traxi.... | draw, drag. |
| Macer ..... | magar, *Isl., meagre.* | Vehere, vexi ..... | veg-a, *Isl.*; wägen, *G.* |
| Securus ..... | sikker, *Dan.* | Ducere, i.e. dukere. | tug, *Engl.*; tog-a, *Isl.* |
| Lubricus..... | slibr-ig, *Dan.* | Trudere..... | troda, *Isl.* |
| Flere. ..... | flehen, *Germ.* | Pre-hendere ..... | honda, *Isl.*, from hönd, *hand.* |
| Dormire ..... | draumur, *Isl.* | | |
| Cresco, crevi. .. | gro, *Dan., grow, grew.* | Sug-ere ..... | suga, *Isl., suck.* |
| Habere ..... | haben, *G.* | Valere, validus .. | valda, *Isl., strength.* |
| Sero, sevi..... | sow, sew; seri, *Isl.* | Durare..... | dauern, *G., endure.* |
| Coquere..... | kocka, *Isl., cook.* | Frangere, fregi ... | braka, *Isl., break.* |

It might be suspected in the case of agreement between Latin and German, that the latter had borrowed from the idiom of the Romans; but the preceding examples are chiefly from the Scandinavian dialects, and the Danish and Islandic are out of the reach of corruption from this source.

## 5. *Instances of close agreement between Latin and Lithuanian words.*

| *Latin.* | *Lithuanian.* | *Latin.* | *Lithuanian.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sol. ..... | saule. | Auris. ..... | ausis. |
| Mare. ..... | mares. | Dentis..... | dantis. |
| Dies ..... | diena. | Mors, mortis. .... | s-mert-is. |
| Nox, nokt-is. .... | nakt-is. | Priscus ..... | preskas. |
| Ovis ..... | awis. | Senex ..... | senus. |
| Anas, anatis ..... | antis. | Satis, satur ..... | sotus. |
| Asellus ..... | asilas. | Gustare ..... | kasztoti. |
| Barba ..... | barzda. | Volo, velle ..... | wale. |

These examples are taken, as well as most of the list of Teutonic words agreeing with Latin, from Professor Vater's translation of Rask's "Thrakische Sprachclasse," in Vater's Vergleichungstafeln.

## 6. *Words nearly resembling in Latin and the Slavonian languages.*

| *Latin.* | *Russian.* | *Latin.* | *Russian.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agnus ..... | agnets. | Glutio. ..... | glotaiu. |
| Aper..... | vepr. | Ignis. ..... | ogon. |
| Castus ..... | chistui. | Jugum. ..... | igo. |
| Culmen ..... | kholm. | Lingo..... | liju. |
| Flamma ..... | plamen. | Malleus ..... | molol. |

| *Latin.* | *Russian.* |
|---|---|
| Mare | more. |
| Medium | mejdu. |
| Mori | mru. |
| Plecto | pletu. |
| Porta | vorotu. |
| Post | poslie. |
| Precor | proshu. |
| Pridie | pered. |
| Prope | podlie. |
| Pulvis | puil. |
| Rugio | ruikaiu. |
| Ros | rosa. |
| Seco | seku. |
| Sedeo | siju. |
| Sedile | sidiel. |
| Semen | semya. |
| Siliqua | shelukha. |
| Sonus | son. |
| Sono | zvonaiu. |
| Stipula | stebel. |
| Saccus | sok. |
| Tenuis | tonkii. |
| Tepor | teplota. |
| Valde | velikii. |
| Verto | verchu. |
| Vivo | jèviu. |
| Vita | jwòt. |
| Voluntas | volya. |

*Proper Slavonian.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Vidua | vdova. |
| Hortus | vert. |
| Vetustas | vetchost. |
| Bubulcus | volopas. |
| Hospes | gospod. |
| Nudus | nagii. |
| Oculus | oko. |
| Asellus | osel. |
| Probus | prabyi. |
| Juventas | younost. |

*Note.*—After surveying the races of men who constituted the ancient population of the west of Europe, we ought now to pursue our inquiry towards the north. The German nations appear to come next in order after the Celts and the races of Iberians and Italians, who are beyond them towards the south and the west. But the Germans are not the aborigines of the most northern parts in Europe: they found those countries previously occupied by Allophyllian tribes. Before proceeding to the Germans, we must investigate the history and relations of these tribes.

# CHAPTER V.

## ORIGINES OF NORTHERN EUROPE.—RACE OF IOTUNS, TSCHUDES, AND OUGRES.

### SECTION I.—*Historical Survey.*

extensive region in the northern part of the old continent, ding all the countries beyond the Baltic, and a tract of rtain limits stretching thence towards the east as far as Iralian mountains and beyond that chain of hills and the Obi reaching almost to the remote Yeniseï, has been mmemorial abode of numerous tribes of people who may onsidered as belonging to one great family of nations. y parts of that region are still inhabited by races descended the same stock, while in others the native tribes have exterminated, or driven further northwards, or into forests mountainous tracts: almost everywhere they have been uished and oppressed by more powerful nations who have oached upon them from the south, of German, or Slavonian, Tartar origin. In one only instance has it fallen to the of a people descended from this race to found an inde- ent state, or to take any part in the affairs of the civilised d.* I allude to the kingdom of the Magyars or Hunga- s. The several tribes belonging to this family of nations no collective name or general epithet, either adopted by selves or universally bestowed upon them by foreigners, might serve to distinguish them from people who are gers to their stock and lineage. Each nation has its icular appellative. In some instances the names given to

* See Schloezer's Allgem. Nord. Geschichte. Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm. Finnland und seine Bewohner.

individual tribes appear to have been derived from the nature of the countries which they inhabit. It has been supposed by Ihre and others that the Finns were so termed by their German and Swedish neighbours from the *fenns* and marshy districts with which their land abounds.* The name of the Quæns is said to have had a similar origin.† The meaning of Lappes, in Russian Lopari, is yet unknown: no probable explanation of it has been found.‡ The name of Tschudes or Tschudaki, meaning foreigners or barbarians, was originally given in the Russian annals to the native people on the shores of the Livonian gulf, who were a tribe of the same race.§ This epithet has lately been used by writers on ethnography in a more extensive sense, and has been made to comprehend all the numerous tribes in the Russian empire who speak languages akin to the dialect of the original or Livonian Tschudes. In like manner the name of Finns has been generalised by some late German writers, who include under that designation, besides the proper Finns, the Laplanders, and the different tribes in the north of Europe and of Asia, whom the Russians assimilate with the Tschudes. A recent author of great learning, who has treated expressly on the history of this family of

* Fen (Islandice). Palus, terra paludosa.—(Anglo-Sax.)—Idem, Ihre, Glossar.— Fen (Hollandice Fenn). Palus. Skinner. See Lehrberg, über die Wohnsitze der Jemen, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Neu-Finnlands, in Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der alten Geschichte Russlands. 4to. St. Petersburg, 1826.

† Quæns is the appellation still given in the northern parts of Norway to the Finnlanders. (Von Buch, Lehrberg, lib. citat.) The Finnlanders in the eastern parts of Bothnia call themselves, as Lehrberg declares, Kainu-laiset, meaning People of the low or marshy land. (See also Geijer, Schwedens Urgeschichte Deutsch-übersetzt, s. 354.)

‡ Lappe is derived by Lehrberg from a Finnish word meaning "the extreme," "the last or furthest." Ihre derives it from Lop or Lap, an old Swedish word meaning *wizard* or *enchanter*. But as a similar name is given to this people by their Russian neighbours, it is most probably an ancient epithet derived from a national name of the original Lappes. (See Geijer's note in p. 349.)

§ Dobrowsky, an excellent authority in any question connected with Slavonian antiquity, informs us that there are three terms in the Slavonic languages nearly corresponding with the Greek *βαρβαροί*, Czud or Tschud, Vlach, and Niem. The latter is appropriated to people of German race, the second to Gauls or Celts: the first is used as the designation of the aboriginal tribes in the Russian empire akin to the Lappes and Finns. (Dobrowsky, Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache, Prag. 1818.)

ations, gives to all of them the collective name of Ugrians, om the Ugri or Ougres, who are tribes inhabiting the Uralian ountains.* There is an obvious inconvenience in such double cceptations of the same terms, since the reader may not in ll cases easily distinguish whether they are used in a parti- cular or in a more general sense.

I shall avoid the obscurities that might arise from the use of ambiguous terms, by comprehending the nations of this family nder the epithets of Iotuns, Tschudes, and Ougres, neither of hich is applicable to any particular nation. The meaning nd limitations of each of these names will be explained as I roceed.

By the first term, which is that of Iotuns or Iotnen, it appears at the Northmen of Scandinavia were accustomed to desig- te the more ancient inhabitants of that country who were ien to the lineage of Odin, and to all the tribes of the Ger- anic race. It was used by our ancestors nearly in the same nse in which the Greeks and Romans used the term of bar- arian.† The epithet of Iotun or Iotnen is of frequent occur- nce in the sagas. In these compositions it has, according to eijer, both a mythological and an historical acceptation. In e former sense, beings so termed are the destructive powers f Nature personified and represented under the forms of ants or dwarfs and enchanters. Iotuns among the old poets f the north, as were the Titans of the Greeks, were the ene- ies of gods and men, creatures of the imagination, symboli- al of physical and moral evils. Races of men who were the ereditary and perpetual foes of the Teutonic tribes, were also alled Iotuns; and this term assumes its historical sense when is used to designate the barbarous aborigines of northern urope, whose conquest or extirpation by a race of happier estinies is celebrated in the early poems of the Scalds. Traces f these older inhabitants of Scandinavia are found in the tories of their warfare handed down from the early historical ge. Adam of Bremen, who during the eleventh century, in

* Der Ugrische Volkstamm, von F. H. Müller.

† It is not improbable that Iotun originally was analogous to the Greek word Τιταν, but it bears ethnographically the sense attributed.

the character of missionary as well as in military service, lived twelve years with the Danish king Swen Ulfson, has preserved a relation of this kind. "Narravit mihi," he says, "rex Danorum sæpe recolendus, gentem quandam ex montanis in plana descendere solitam, et incertum esse unde veniat"—"subito accedunt—omnem depopulantur regionem." Enemies of civilisation, these barbarous natives of mountains and forests, who were clothed with the skins of wild beasts, and uttered sounds more like the cries of wild animals than the speech of men—"qui ferarum pellibus utuntur pro vestibus, et loquentes ad invicem frendere magis quam verba proferre dicuntur," dwelt in caves and the clefts of rocks, and issued thence as nightly marauders to perpetrate deeds of blood.* By the Icelanders they were termed Iotnen and Thursen, giants and enchanters.† That these designations do not belong to the mere creatures of fancy, such as superstition in later times associates with them, appears from the fact that the historical sagas deduce the genealogy of many families from an Iotnian ancestry. The early poems, according to Geijer, describe real wars in the accounts of contests against barbarians of the rocks and mountains. In the song of Thiodolf to the honour of Thor, that god is termed "the destroyer of mountain-wolves, the overturner of the altars of the Fornjotish idols, the conqueror of Iotuns and Finns.‡ Here an historical name comes forward in connection with the old term of Iotun to explain its meaning in still earlier use. So Snorro Sturleson in the Heimskringla uses Finns and Iotuns as synonymous.§ The people thus termed are plainly the Skrith-finni, who were described by Procopius as inhabiting Thule in the sixth century, and by Paul Warnefrid's Son in the eighth, under nearly the same name, and of whom Adam of Bremen reports that they exceeded wild beasts in the swiftness of their flight.‖ They dwelt, ac-

* Adam of Bremen. Geijer, op. cit. p. 341.

† Geijer, ubi supra. ‡ Geijer, s. 343.

§ In Harald Harfager's Saga in the Heimskringla the Iotun Svase calls himself a Finn. Finn is plainly used as synonymous with Iotni or Iotuns, rendered Iätten in the Swedish version in Peringskiöld's edition of the Heimskringla, and in the Latin version Gigantes.

‖ Adam of Bremen terms them Skritefingi. Saxo calls them Scricfinni. He describes them, "Quæ gens inusitatis assueta vehiculis montium inaccessa venationis

cording to Adam, towards the north, between Sweden and Norway, especially in Helsingland. He also mentions them n the Wermlands. In the eleventh century they wandered n the southern frontiers of Norway. In early periods they were certainly in the south of Sweden, where in a part of Smaland are still found the local names of Finweden, the field of Finns, Finnheide, and Finnia.*

It must be observed, that under this name of Finns, two very different races are often included, viz. the Lappes, still termed Finnas by the Norwegians, and the true Finns, that is the Finnlanders, who by the same people are called Quæns. To which of these two races do the old accounts refer? Perhaps to both. Although, says Geijer, "the Lappish and Finnish are two different idioms, yet it is proved by their relationship to each other, which is even admitted by those who, without any grounds, contend against the affinity of the two nations, that both these idioms belong to the same family of languages." The author here refers, as I suppose, to Lehrberg,† who in his learned researches into the history of the ancient inhabitants of the Russian empire, maintained that the Lappes and Finns were entirely different races; the Lappes, always wild and nomadic, being the true aborigines of Scandinavia; and the Finns, a more cultivated and settled people, allied to the Russian Tschudes, having come originally from the East. Lehrberg's chief argument in defence of this opinion turns on the physical and moral diversities of the two nations.‡ But we shall hereafter find proofs that the former are by no means constant;

ardore sectatur." "Finni ultimi Septentrionis populi venationibus callent. Incerta illis habitatio est vagaque domus. Pandis trabibus vecti conferta nivibus juga percurrunt." These Finni are plainly Lappes. (See Geijer, 344.)

* From Ottar's statement it appears that the people termed by him Finnas, that is the Lappes, must have inhabited a great part of Sweden in the time of Alfred. He says "that the country of the Northmen was very long and very narrow: the whole of it that is useful for agriculture and pasturage lies on the sea. It is also very mountainous in some parts. In the east, on the border of the inhabited land, lie wild mountains, upon which dwell Finnas."

† Lehrberg's Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung, &c., ubi supra.

‡ The same opinion had been maintained by a native of Finnland, zealous for the honour of his country, and disdaining kindred with the Lappes. See F. M. Frantzen, Dissertatio Academica de Bircarlis, Aboæ, 1786. The Acta Literaria of Upsala contain a prolix disputation on this subject.

and history affords good reason for believing that the Finns were at one period quite as barbarous as we now find the Lappes, though it appears that before their conquest by the Swedes they had learnt to cultivate the earth.* Lehrberg's doubts are overcome by a weight of argument sufficient to establish the consanguinity of these nations, on which both the older and later testimonies are nearly agreed.† As early as the ninth century we find evidence of affinity between their languages. Ottar, the Northman, who related his adventures to King Alfred, declared that the Fennas of Norwegian Finmark, that is, the Lappes, appeared to him to speak almost the same language as the Beormahs, near the mouth of the Dwina.‡ The Beormahs were a tribe nearly allied, as we shall show, to the Finns, and certainly not Lappes. In Ottar's time they were an agricultural people, and had their land well tilled. Leemius § says that the Lappish and Finnish languages have a considerable resemblance, though it is not so close as that between the Danish and the German. He concludes, however, that the analogy is such between these dialects as to prove that the Finlanders and the Finnas, meaning the Lappes, were originally one people. Gunnerus, in his commentary upon Leemius, says, "it is beyond the possibility of a doubt that the Finnas or Laplanders are of the same origin as the Finlanders." He adds that the resemblance of their language is, considering their long separation, surprising. This is proved in a diffuse comparison of their dialects by Schnitler.‖ I shall add the opinions of two or three modern writers, who of all others are best qualified to decide this question. Porthan,¶ who devoted himself to profound researches into the history of the Finnish nations, their language, mythology, and the relation of their different tribes to each other, says, that "both nations certainly belong to the same 'chief-stem' or princi-

* Rühs, Finnland und seine Bewohner. † Geijer, ubi supra.

‡ Ottar, edit. Rask. cited by Geijer.

§ Cn. Leemius, "De Lapponibus Commentatio," in 4to, Havniæ, 1767.

‖ Gunner, Episcop. Nidrosæ ad Leem. de Lapp.

¶ Porthan was a professor and president of the Royal Academy at Abo. His opinion is of the greatest authority in subjects relating to Scandinavian, and particularly to Finnish antiquities.

pal race." That their languages are of kindred origin is a fact which, as Porthan declares, can be denied by no impartial inquirer.* Ihre, whose authority is scarcely of less weight, says in the preface to his Lapponic lexicon, "Observabit lector me promiscuè linguas Finnicam Lapponicamque in præsidium vocare, quod, quantumcunque illæ jam distent, neminem offendere debet, cum, non obstante hodierno discrimine, tanta inter illas observetur harmonia ut perquam videatur probabile ante bis mille annos, illas unam eandemque linguam fuisse."† And the late Professor Rask, who is well known to have made the Finnish and Lapponic languages the object of his particular study, and who was the author of the best and latest "Lappiske Sproglæhre," declares that the affinity of the two languages is instantly apparent on a comparison, although it is true that a genuine Lappe is not understood in conversation by a genuine Finn."‡ Some other testimonies of nearly equal weight are cited in the margin.§

It may be worth while to notice as a fact tending to confirm this opinion, though not itself a ground for any positive argument, that the Finns and Lappes give themselves very similar national appellations. The Finns call themselves

* Henr. Gabriel Porthan, Præses. Dissertat. Acad. Aboëns, t. 14. Geijer's Swedens Urgeschichte, s. 347.

† Ihre's Lexicon Lapponicum cum interpretatione vocabulorum Sueco-Latina, &c. 4to, Holmiæ, 1780.

‡ Rask's "Undersögelse om des gamle Nordiske Sprogs Oprindelse," cited by Geijer, p. 347.

§ Lappones antiquissimos sine dubio Septentrionis nostri, etiam Finlandiæ, incolas, ad eandem referendos esse stirpem, linguæ suæ cum reliquis comparatio arguit." C. G. Sammark, Dissert. Acad. Aboæ, 1788.)

Peter Högström, a Swedish missionary, who resided as a preacher among the Lappes, and who wrote a celebrated work on the people of Lapland, says decidedly, "It is quite certain that the Lappes and Finns were originally one people. This has been proved by Scheffer, and it is so clear and incontrovertible, especially from the comparison of their languages, that no doubt whatever can exist upon the subject." Historische Beschreibung des Schwedischen Lapplands von M. P. Högström, aus dem Schwedischen,—Allgem. Hist. der Reisen, Bd. 20.)

The same conclusion as to the identity of origin between the Lappes and Finnlanders has been maintained, as a result of much curious research, in several dissertations in the series published by the Academy of Abo, at the head of which was Professor Porthan.

Suoma or Suomalaiset, in the singular Suomalainen. The Lappes term themselves Same, Sabme, or Sabmelads.

Travellers indeed have been struck by the different aspect of the Finns and Lappes. Von Buch has remarked that although these nations have the same origin they were probably separated before they came to inhabit the north. He supposes that the Lappes descended from the White Sea towards Sweden and Norway, and that the Finns came up from Esthonia. Geijer observes that the earliest historical traces of the Finns and Lappes, supporting as they do the affinity of the two nations, bear testimony likewise to their diversity and early separation. The Lappes have been from time immemorial pressed continually further towards the north, and this not only by the Swedes and Norwegians to the westward, but equally by Finns on the eastern side of the Baltic, where many circumstances indicate that the Lappes formerly possessed territories now in the occupation of genuine Finns. Places recalling the name of the Lappes are found in Finnland. Tribes of Lapplanders still wandered on the northern Tavastland, in the upper Savolax and in East Bothnia during the fifteenth century, and were gradually obliged to retire northward.* The great number of Lappish names which are spread though Finnland in the Finnish and Swedish districts, supported by the consenting traditions of both Finns and Lappes, are thought by those antiquarians who have most carefully examined this subject to afford sufficient proof that the Lappes once inhabited even the southern parts of Finnland. That they were the aboriginal inhabitants of Scandinavia is the most probable conclusion; and this is maintained by their own national traditions.† "That this weak, unwarlike people should have left an impression of terror on the minds of our ancestors," says M. Geijer, "is indeed difficult to understand;" but it is a difficulty which vanishes when we take into the account the influence of a poetical imagination on the composition of our sagas, and consider that the great numbers of hostile bands, and the circum-

* Dissertatio Acad. de Bircarlis, præsid. H. G. Porthan, F. M. Frantzen, Aboæ, 1789.

† Högström über die Lappen. Geijer, Deutsch-übersetz, 350.

ances under which they engaged, may have rendered them rmidable, though individually infirm; and that there are me Lappish tribes of greater stature and bravery than the st. It is moreover unquestionable that Finnish tribes were be found at an early period in the present Swedish Nord-nd, and these were certainly included under the name of otuns or Iotnen. There is no doubt that the Quæns were a ibe of this description. In the ninth century they wandered bout in the forests to the northward of Sweden. In Harold ärfager's time Quænland reached as far as Helsingland; next Quænland was Finnland, beyond it Kirialand or Karelia, d above all these lay Finnmark or the Lappmarks. A gular mistake in the old writers indicates that this people, e Quæns, were in the immediate vicinity of the Swedes at an rlier period than it is generally supposed. Adam of Bremen eaks of Quinnaland—Quæn-land, or the land of women to the northward of Sweden. He was led to this notion by obvious mistake of names, and hence the fabulous repre-ntation to be found in authors of a northern country of mazons. Hence it happened also that Paul, son of Warne-d, two centuries before, and even the older geographer of venna, had placed Amazons on the northern ocean. Even -citus represented that in the neighbourhood of the Swedes elt a nation who were governed by women.*

As the Teutonic nations when they made their way to-rds the Baltic and beyond that sea, found the countries ich they entered from the middle region of Europe preoc-pied by people of the Finnish and Lappish race, so the Sla-nian Russians in the eastern parts met with tribes of the me stock in all the countries, reaching from the gulf of ivonia to the Uralian mountains. To these tribes they gave, we have observed, the name of Tschudes, which means rbarians, or people alien from the Slavonic blood. In the rthern tracts of the Ural this last name gave way to that of grians or Ougres, bestowed on tribes whose savage ferocity d fabulous prowess are celebrated in the popular mythology.

* Dissertat. Acad. de Antiqua Gente Quenorum, præsid. H. G. Porthan, subj. Vegelius. Aboæ, 1788.

The more general designation of Tschudes, however, prevails where the Russians have spread, even in late times, and by them the aborigines of the Siberian deserts are so termed. In Asia various Tartar or Turkish tribes have encroached on the southern borders of the Tschudes and Ugrians, and like the Germans and Slavonians in Europe, have driven them towards the North, or have subdued and caused them to assimilate in customs and general habits, and in some instances in language, to their conquerors.

## SECTION II.—*Of the Country originally and at present inhabited by the Iotuns and the kindred Nations, and of the different Tribes belonging to the Race.*

IOTUNHEIM, the abode or home of Iotuns or Finns, is celebrated in the Sagas. Its situation is undefined. Some writers place it to the north-eastward of Biarma-land or Permia, in the unknown region beyond the eastern Dwina, and reaching towards the Uralian mountains,* but the name was vaguely applied to all the unconquered countries of the Finnish and the kindred tribes, wherever situated. Iotunheim was the land of mystery and darkness, as were the extreme north and west in the early fables of the Greeks: it was called by the Northmen "Risenland," the country of giants,† and "Hundinginland," a region the inhabitants of which howled like wolves and dogs.‡

In periods long antecedent to the arrival of the first Indo-German colonies on the shores of the Baltic, it is probable that the race to whom they gave the name of Iotuns, inhabited all the borders of that sea, and the whole of Scandinavia; but at the opening of the historical times, in the age of the Sagas, wars of conquest had long been waged between the aboriginal Finns and the Teutonic and Slavonian nations who invaded them. At that time we find the Iotun race stretching eastward from Scandinavia towards the Uralian chain, and separated by a definite barrier from the tribes of a different kindred who had expelled them from the south. This barrier is marked out by striking features

* Schlözer, Allgem. Nord. Geschichte, s, 442.

† Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, p. i. s. 414. ‡ Ibid. s. 415.

in the physical geography of the countries. Of the rivers of European Russia, some flow northwards into the Baltic and the White Sea, others towards the Euxine and the Caspian. A ridge of highlands may be traced through the whole extent of this country from east to west, which divides the sources of the northern and southern waters. From the heights of Waldai to the south-eastward of old Nowgorod and the country surrounding the sources of the Wolga, this ridge, termed by the Russians Uwal and the Great Uwalli, extends with irregular bendings towards the east. Passing by the great lake of Bieloi Ozero, it continues between Kostroma to the north, and Vologda and Jaroslawi to the south, divides the domain of the Dwina from that of the Upper Wolga, and ascends towards the Ural between the sources of the Petschora and the Kama. The great Uwalli, running nearly under the sixtieth parallel of latitude, may be said to separate Eastern Europe into two great regions, of different climate and natural productions, one of which communicates by its rivers with the Frozen Ocean, and the other with the Pontic and Caspian Seas. These regions to the southward and northward of the Uwalli present striking differences of vegetation. The oak, the great ornament of the German forests, is confined in the east of Europe to the countries lying to the southward of the heights of Waldai; and the principal elms, *Ulmus sativa* and *campestris*, are scarcely seen to the northward of this ridge. Of the cereal gramina, rye and barley alone grow to the northward; while wheat and oats are native in the regions lying to the southward of the same limit, where the plains, watered by the Wolga and the Dnieper, abounding in rich corn-fields, have been the granary of Europe. The countries thus physically distinguished present a line of separation important in an ethnological point of view.* To the northward of this limit we may place the Finningia, and to the southward the Sarmatia of the Roman writers: the former the immemorial abode of Finnish and Tschudish nations, the latter occupied by tribes of Antes, Serbes, and others, whose lineage is scarcely distinguishable in the middle ages. The relation of the great Sarmatian race living further towards the south

* Müller, Ugrische Volkstamm, b. i.

with the Slavonians, who in the time of Nestor divided European Russia with the Tschudes, is still a subject of some doubt. In the age of that historian there were still Tschudish tribes to the southward of Lake Ilmen, and they continued to be spread far along the steppes of the Wolga towards the south-east, but the Slavic founders of Nowgorod encroached upon them. They still preserve their language and manners in the mountainous parts of the Uwalli. Upon or beyond the Uwalli were, according to the most accurate researches of the academicians of St. Petersburg, the tracts occupied by the various tribes enumerated by Nestor in his Russian annals, as forming, in conjunction with the Slavonic Russians, the population of Eastern Europe. Those tribes in Nestor's table of nations are the Tschudes properly so termed, and the tribes called Meres and Wesses, on the Bieloi Ozero; the Tschudi Savolotschïe or the Tschudes beyond the river Wolok; the Permians, the Petscheres on the Petschora, the James, and the Ougres. The Tschudes of the Baltic or the Pomorskaia Tschudes, the Finns of the Northmen, are here distinguished from the Tschudes beyond the Wolok, who, according to the old Russian historian Tatistschew, occupied the shores of the Ladoga and Onega Lakes. The Petscheres are supposed to be the Syrjæni, on the river Petschora, an active tribe who at an early period carried on a trade in peltry with the people of Siberia; and the Ougres were the natives of Ugria or Yugoria, the limits of which comprehended the Uralian mountains and the country bordering them on both sides.

Even beyond this chain and the rivers which flow from it, the Tschudes, as they are termed by the Russians, are supposed to have extended in ancient times, and to have been spread into the vast regions of Northern Asia.

Since the era of Pallas's journey through various provinces of the Russian empire, and the publication of the Petropolitan vocabularies, many of the academicians of St. Petersburg and other learned men in the north of Europe, have taken much pains in collecting specimens of the languages of the different nations of Siberia; and M. Klaproth in his "Sprachatlas" has collected these vocabularies in tables so comprehensive as to afford a secure ground for the classification of the languages to which the

belong. From the table of vocabularies exemplifying the idioms of the Finns and Tschudes, we perceive at the first glance that these languages, and the nations by whom they are spoken, arrange themselves under the following divisions:

1. The western branch, including the tribes and languages of the Iotuns or Finns and Lappes. They are termed sometimes, less properly, Finns of the Baltic, and by Klaproth Germanised Finns.

To this branch belong the Finnlanders already mentioned; the Ehstians or Esthonians, separated from the Finnlanders by the gulf which bears the name of the latter people; the Karelians, to the eastward of Finnland reaching to lake Ladoga; the Finns of Olonetz, to the northward of lake Onega, and spreading towards the Dwina; and the Lappes, whether natives of Norwegian Finnmark, where they are still termed Finnas, or of Swedish and Russian Lapland.

2. The second branch are the Permian tribes. To the Permian branch belong the inhabitants of various districts on the Upper Kama, the Russian province of Permia, the Syrjænians, and the Votiaks. The old Biarmi of the Sagas on the Dwina, and reaching from the mouth of that river to the Petschore, along the coast of the White Sea, who were the Beorinahs of Ottar, were of this stock, as nearly all the northern writers since the time of Strahlenberg have maintained.

3. A third branch may be termed the Bulgarian, since according to the researches of late writers they are relics of the old population of Great Bulgaria, under which name were comprehended the countries on the Wolga and the Lower Kama, and the plains reaching thence towards the Pontic and Caspian Seas. The tribes of this division, who by Klaproth are termed "Wolgische Finnen" or Wolgian Finns, will be described in the sequel; they are principally the Morduans and Tscheremisses. Some reckon among them the Tschuvasches.

4. The fourth branch are the Ugorian races, the Ougres or Ugrian tribes, termed by Klaproth "die Ugorische Finnen." A learned writer, who has lately investigated the history of these nations in a work of great research, denominates the whole race from this branch, "Der Ugrische Volk-

stamm." If we consider the name of this branch in its local relation merely, it will be nearly equivalent to Uralian.

Among the Ugorian tribes are enumerated:—1. The Wogouls of the Uralian mountain-chain, whose language displays four dialects, indicative of so many tribes. 2. Various tribes of Ostiaks, inhabiting the neighbourhood of the river Obi. 3. The Magyars or Hungarians, who settled in the ninth century in Hungary, but are proved by historical evidence, and principally by the analogy of their language, to be a tribe of this race, and to have belonged to the Ugorian division of it.

I shall now proceed to examine the history of particular nations falling under each of these subdivisions. It may be observed, for the purpose of a more distinct terminology, that the name of Iotuns or Iotnen, comprehends properly the Western Finns, Esthonians, and Lappes; that of Tschudes, the tribes of middle Russia, both on the Wolga and in Permland; Ougres or Ugorian tribes are those of the Ural and Siberia. Each of these names has by some writers been generalised, and made by them to comprehend the whole stock.

## SECTION III.—*Of the Iotuns or Iotnen, including Finnas or Lappes, Finns, Ehstians, and Liefi or Livonians.*

It is remarkable that the Lappes were known for many ages under no other designation than that of Finnas or Skrithfinnas, a fact calculated to throw doubt on the derivation of the name of Finns adopted by Ihre and later writers. The Lappes are termed by their Russian neighbours Lopari: tribes belonging to this division of the Iotune race are distinguished by their wilder and more nomadic manner of life, and still more by their dialects, which though related to those of the Finns are yet separate idioms, and unintelligible in conversation to Finns who live at a distance from the Lappes. The language of the Finns, properly so termed, is much more nearly related to the Ehstian or Esthonian, and to the Liefian or Livonian, and the people who speak these three dialects are similar in their manners. In the time of Pliny the southern

coast of the Baltic to the eastward of the Vistula was vaguely termed Finningia, from the Finnish tribes who inhabited it. Pliny gives it that name, but enumerates among its inhabitants German and perhaps some Slavonian tribes, extending from the Vistula towards the remote East.*

Ptolemy in the second century mentioned Phinni, together with the Gythones and Venedæ, nations of small extent and power in the neighbourhood of the Vistula.†

Tacitus at an earlier period had more accurately described the Finns, evidently inhabitants of countries to the southward of the Baltic.

How far the Finnish races may originally have extended from this quarter towards the south and west is uncertain. Is is very probable that in ages anterior to the conquest of Germany by the Teutonic race they may have occupied all the southern coast of the Baltic, and they may have come into contact with the Celtic nation in the neighbourhood of the Cimbric territory. They appear, according to Geijer, from ancient accounts, to have spread themselves at east into the islands of the Baltic adjacent to the coast of Denmark.‡

The Finnish tribes to the southward of the gulf of Finnland are the Ehstians and Liefi or Livonians. They are chiefly in Esthonia, Russia, and on the coast of the gulf of Livonia, where they live both about Salis on the eastern, and about Angern on the western shore of the great Livonian bay or gulf. Courland is the most western country now containing distinct remains of the old Finnish population. At Walk, one hundred and forty wersts east from Riga, the Esthonian Finnish takes place of the Lettish or Lithuanian idiom among the peasantry. "Here," says the intelligent traveller M. Erman "is the clearly-marked boundary of the Hunno-Finnish race,

* Nec minor est opinione Finningis. Quidam hæc habitari ad Vistulum usque fluvium à Garmatis, Venedis, &c., ferunt.

† Claud. Ptolem. Geogr. p. 73.

‡ See the account of the Iotun Aeger or Hler, in the isle of Lessoë, near Denmark. Lessoë means Hler's Oe or Hler's island. Geijer, ubi supra, p. 346. See also Konung Oläf Helges Haraldson's Saga. Heimskringla, apud Periugskiöld, tom. i. p. 647.

which was formerly spread widely through Europe, and now stretches from Finnland far into Asia, occupying a great portion of the northern space of the Old Continent.* Even at Memel we are assured by this writer that the peasantry who speak this language are strongly marked and contrasted in person and stature with the Lithuanian peasantry.† The former are particularly small in stature : the Lithuanians are tall.‡ The Esthonians, in spite of the calamities‖ to which their country has been subjected in frequent conquests, now amount to about half a million of people: the Livonians are in very small numbers, and chiefly settled about the little river Salis, on the shores of the gulf of Riga. The whole of Livonia probably belonged in early times to the Liefi, for the Duna or Western Dwina was in the commencement of history the boundary between the Finnish people on one side and the Letts or Lithuanian race on the other; but the Letts have gradually encroached, and the name of Lettland now comprehends the old Livonia.§ The Esthonians, like some cognate tribes on the Wolga, call themselves Rahwas, and their country Marahwas. Although Schloezer long ago recognised fully the affinity of the Ehsti and Liefi with the Finns, a late writer, whom I have before mentioned, has conjecturally associated them with the Letts and Lithuanians,¶ who are an entirely distinct people. The authority of Sjögren** is allowed to have a complete preponderance on this subject; according to whom, this part of Europe beyond the Duna is the old abode of a division of the Finnish race.†† The Ishores,

* Erman's Reise um die Welt, Bd. i. s. 40.

† Erman observes that the old traveller Count Herberstein remarked that the population of Old Prussia consisted of giants and dwarfs. He supposes that these two races are indicated by this remark.

‡ The Ehstian language is here distinguished into two dialects, those of Reval and Dorpat. To the latter Adelung supposes that the idiom of the Krewines or the Krebingians belongs, which is spoken on the river Memel.

‖ Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, ii. p. 22. § Mithrid. ii. s. 766.

¶ Arndt über die Ursprung, &c. Frankfort, 1818.

** Sjögren über die Finnische Sprache und ihre Literatur. Petersburg, 1821.

†† Yet a late writer, whose learned researches entitle him to respect, has had the boldness, or rather the absurdity, to conjecture the descent of these nations from the Celts, contrary to all philological evidence. (Parrot, Versuch über die Sprache,

so termed by the Russians, by the Swedes Ingers, who inhabit Ingria, a little further eastward, are said to be a branch of the Karelians. Beyond these are the tribes of the same kindred, whom we shall survey in the next section under the name of Tschedes.

These branches of the Finnish race to the southward of the Baltic, are probably the tribes known to the Romans under ıe name of Finni or Fenni, and to whom Tacitus hesitated hether to ascribe a German or a Sarmatian origin.* Yet the escription which that writer gives of their manners reminds ; of the most uncultivated of the Lappes. They had not yet arnt agriculture. Tacitus thus describes them:

"The Fenni live in a state of amazing savageness and squalid overty. They are destitute of arms, horses, and settled ode—"non arma, non equi, non Penates"—their food is wild erbs; their clothing, skins; their bed, the ground. Their only pendence is their arrows, which for want of iron are headed ith bone; and the chase is the support of the women as well ; of the men, with whom they wander in the pursuit and claim share of the prey. Nor do they provide any other shelter r their infants from wild beasts and storms, than a covering f branches twisted together. This is the resort of youth, this the receptacle of old age. Yet this manner of life is accounted by them happier than to groan over the plough, toil ı building houses, and to subject their own fortunes and those f others to hope and fear. "Securi adversus homines, securi dversus deos, rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt ut illis non voto uidem opus esset."

The earliest account of either stem of this race in Scandinavia is to be found in Procopius. This writer was, as it is well known, a companion of Belisarius in the Gothic and Vandalic wars, in the course of which it is evident that he had opportunities of conversing with natives of the north of Europe,

Abstammung, Geschichte und Mythologie die Lieven, Letten und Ehsten. Stuttgard, 1828.)

* A native Finn, over-zealous for the honour of his nation, contends, contrary to all probability, that Tacitus described Lappes and not Finns. See F. M. Franzen, Dissertatio de Birkarlis. Aboæ, 1789.

and he has described Scandinavia, by him termed Thule, and its inhabitants from accurate information. "Of all the nations who inhabit Thule," says Procopius, "the Skrithiphini (evidently the Skrithfinnas of other writers) are the only people who lead a wild and savage life—*θηρωδη*—without regular clothing and food. The chase affords to both sexes full entertainment, since the forests are more extensive than elsewhere, and very lofty mountains afford an immense supply of game. They live upon the flesh of wild animals, and cover themselves with the skins, which they fasten together with tendons in order to wrap them around their bodies. They suckle not their infants, but when the mother goes to the chase she hangs up the new-born babe, enveloped in a hide, upon a tree, putting a bit of marrow into its mouth. The remaining inhabitants of Thule are not very different in their manners from other nations."*

M. Geijer, who has cited this passage from Procopius, compares with it an account of the same people written about two hundred years later, by the Langobard historian Paul, the son of Warnefrid. Paul terms them Scritobini, a name which he says they obtain "a saliendo," from their habit of leaping: "Saltibus enim, utentes arte quâdam ligno incurvo ad arcus similitudinem, feras assequuntur." Geijer thinks the word alluded to as the etymon of their name is *skrida*, to stride. This historian then adds a description of the reindeer, and the dresses of Scritobini, made of reindeer skins, which appear to have been precisely like the dresses of the Laplanders of the present day. Finnas is the oldest name by which the Lappes were known among the Scandinavians; and the account given by Paul of the situation of the Scritobini agrees with that of Norwegian Finnland:—"Quibus in locis circa æstivale solstitium per aliquot dies, etiam noctu, clarissima lux cernitur, diesque ibi multo majores quam alibi habentur; sicut è contrario, circa brumale solstitium, sol ibi non videtur, diesque minimi, quam usquam alibi, noctes quoque longiores existunt." He describes the people as extremely savage: "Utpote feris ipsis

* Procop. Gotth. Corp. Byzant. tom. i.

ratione non dispares, nec aliis quam crudis agrestium animalium carnibus vescuntur; de quorum etiam hirtis pellibus sibi indumenta cooptant."*

The first writer who distinguished the Lappes and Finns, or mentions them both in terms which enable us to recognise them, is Jornandes, himself a Goth, who took pains to obtain correct notions of Scandinavia, whence, as it is well known, he derived the noble race of Ostrogoths. Jornandes mentions a variety of nations inhabiting Scandinavia, which he terms Scanzia insula:—"In Scandzæ parte arctoâ gens Adogit consistit, quæ fertur in æstate media quadraginta diebus et noctibus luces habere continuas, itemque brumali tempore eodem dierum noctiumque numero lucem claram necire.—Aliæ vero ibi sunt gentes *Refennæ*, qui frumentorum non quæritant victum, sed cornibus ferarum atque avium vivunt." The name of Adogit has puzzled all commentators, and appears to have originated in an error of some copyist. The people so termed must have been the northern Lappes. The Refennæ are termed "*Rerefennæ*" by the geographer of Ravenna, and by Alfred Terfennas. The name probably means *Tree* or Forest-Finns, and belongs to the uncivilised, probably Lappish, tribes in other parts of Scandinavia. Besides these Jornandes mentions the tribe of "Finni mitissimi Scanzæ cultoribus omnibus mitiores," and these are doubtless the agricultural Finns.

If the description given by Tacitus of the Finns is not entirely erroneous, which is very unlikely, we must conclude that people to have been, during the first century of the Christian era, in the lowest degree of barbarism; more savage than any of the Laplanders were at the period of their conquest by the Swedes, and inferior to any of the tribes of the same family of people on the Uralian mountains, and even to the Ostiaks in the northern forests of Siberia. Whatever traits of social improvement the Finns display, at the era of their final subjugation, were derived, not as it would appear from their Ger-

* Pauli Warnefridi Langobardi filii Diaconi Foroiuliensis de Gestis Langobardorum, apud Grotii Hist. Gotth. p. 746.

† Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, p. 612.

man neighbours, but from an unknown source. Their arts, their customs and manners, their religion, their poetry, their habits of thought, their whole manner of existence were peculiar and distinct from anything appertaining to the southern nations of Europe. In the character of the Finns we contemplate the earliest civilisation of Northern Europe. The investigation of their history is interesting, since it affords an opportunity of comparing the primitive inhabitants of this part of the world with the aborigines of remote countries in other continents. In many particulars the ancient people of Europe may be said to stand nearly on a level with the native tribes of Africa, in parts where the foreign religion of Islàm and the arts of the Arabs have not modified the original character of the African race. If we compare them with the natives of Sulimana, or Dahomeh, or Ashanti, or with some of the nations of Southern Africa, we shall be struck with the resemblance which in some points displays itself. In a few particulars we shall admit that the people of the North have the advantage, while in many they are decidedly below the Africans.

The conquest of Finnland by the Swedes was undertaken about the middle of the twelfth century, and was completed before the close of the thirteenth.* Before the invasion of their country, and even prior to any intercourse with the Swedes, the Finns had become a settled people, and, as we have observed, practised agriculture. Eleven centuries had intervened between the time when they were described by Tacitus as savages, and the period of their conquest by the Swedes.

The Finns were, before their subjugation, entirely ignorant of the art of writing, and therefore we have no written document illustrating their ancient history. It appears that they had originally, like most other nations, ancient historical sagas or poetical traditions, but of these they lost remembrance during the long and bloody wars with the Swedes, which devastated their country. The monkish chronicles compiled

* Rühs, Finnland und seine Bewohner.—Dissert. Academ. de anno suscepti a rege Erico Sancto imperii et expeditionis in Finniam motæ G. F. Bohm. Aboæ. 1797.—M. Pauli Juusten. Chr nicl. Episcop. Finnland. Aboæ.

fter their conquest in the fourteenth century, contain fictions opied from the Danish Saxo and the Swede Johannes Mag-us. The principal resources for estimating the social character nd illustrating the history of the people, are the study of their anguage and a comparison of the Finns with the Esthonians, people nearly allied to them, of whose early condition we are omewhat better informed. Of these resources M. Rühs has vailed himself in his ingenious researches into the history of Finnland and its inhabitants, a work containing many striking bservations illustrative of the character of that people.* From his I shall extract some particulars relating to the moral characteristics of the Finnish race.

## SECTION IV.—*Of the Arts and Civilisation and the Social State of the Finnish Race at the era of their conquest by the Swedes.*

The Finns appear to have had no princes or rulers at the era of their conquest; for the Swedish historians speak of no victories over kings or military chieftains. Their resistance was by desultory efforts without concert for mutual aid. The Finnish language has borrowed from the Swedish terms for king, ruler, magistrate, judge, kingdom. The only words relating to any kind of public ordinance to be found in their language are *wero*, custom, tax; and *sakko*, penance. Perhaps the heads of families exacted a sort of tribute from their slaves and dependents, and subjected them to penal chastisement. The only distinctions of rank that can be expressed in their language are those of *wapa*, freeman; and slaves or servants, *brya*, *paloelya*, whose chief employment was in warfare or robbery, and whose condition, though servile, was but little different from that of freemen. The expressions for town, market, street, are taken with some slight modifications from the Swedish, as well as the denominations of different trades and arts, as that of *tailor*, *turner*, *painter*, *tanner*; a proof that the things with which these terms are connected were unknown to the ancient Finns. On the other hand, *kamgari*, a weaver, and

* Finnland und seine Bewohner, Deutsch übersetzt.

*seppa*, a smith, appear to be old Finnish words, and prove that these arts existed of old among them. For all the works and implements belonging to husbandry, including agriculture and the pasture of cattle, the Finns have a complete stock of indigenous expressions formed from words proper to their own speech. The Finns appear to have been particularly attached to agriculture; and accordingly after the conquest, when certain dues were exacted for the bishop and priesthood, the native Finns were ordered to contribute their part in corn, while the Swedish colonists, who coming from Helsingland, were accustomed to pasturage, paid their portion in butter. The Finns have a particular word for butter, viz. *woi*. The term for cheese is borrowed from the Swedish. They are not unacquainted with metals and the art of working them. *Rauta* for iron, *tekaes* for steel, *vaski* for copper, *hopia* for silver, are genuine Finnish terms; for gold, tin, and lead they have no names but such as are borrowed. That the Finns knew of old the art of smelting iron, found probably in their bogs, and which in the native state is called *hölmä*, appears from a variety of terms of art of genuine Finnish origin, and from old songs which ascribe the discovery to the gods. Finnish swords are renowned in the Islandic sagas, and it is worthy of notice that tradition ascribes to Finns and Ehstians the discovery of various mines in Sweden. They appear to have been acquainted with some kinds of trade, for they had words for selling and buying. There is even an expression in the Finnish language for money, which, however, originally signified a *hide*, a sense which it yet retains in the Lapponic dialect. Probably the old Finns used hides as a standard of value, as the Slavi on the Baltic used linen, and the Icelanders fish and rough cloth for the same purpose. All these circumstances indicate that the Finnish nation was no longer in the rudest stage of barbarism, but had made some steps in progressive civilisation. It might be inferred from the existence of such words in the genuine Finnish speech as *kylâ*, a village; *kylâ kenedâ*, a circle of villages; *kenâjâ*, a term afterwards used to designate a sort of assize-court, that some kinds of civil association had been established among the Finns. Most of these expressions are common to them and their kindred the Ehsti,

eyond the gulf of Finnland, and the customs to which they slate may have existed before the separation of the tribes. 'rom the Livonian Chronicle, attributed to the Lettish Henry, appears that the Ehsti, though they lived yet in their native orests, without government, had certain associations for mu- ıal defence, and meetings at which they determined on expe- itions of robbery or warfare by sea or land, and that they occa- onally confided a sort of limited authority for a time to the dest, strongest, and most experienced. The representation rawn of other such barbarous races agrees in every respect to ıe state of the Finnlanders. The hardships of an agricultural fe were enlivened by occasional festivities—birth, marriage, nd funeral festivals. Drinking appears to have been the chief ntertainment on these occasions, and hence the expressions *:ailà juoda, pijjaisia juoda,* to drink, that is to celebrate ıarriages and funerals. Wine was unknown even by name, nd even now in Finnland wine is called *Saxen wiena,* Saxen ır German wine; Germans being called by the Finns *Saxat.* For beer of various sorts they have indigenous names, as well ıs for all the materials and processes employed in producing t, and for the various grains. Bees and honey and mead were also known to them, and have Finnish names. In their festivals, songs and instrumental music were a part of their diversions. On the nature of their songs or poetry I shall add in the following section such information as I can collect. It is very remarkable that these aborigines of northern Europe, unlike in this respect to the natives of Africa, had no notion of dancing; they had not a word in their language descriptive of this amusement, and the peasantry of Savolax and Karelia are still quite ignorant of it. The Tavasters on the coast, who have learnt to dance, have adopted the Swedish word *tanzi* or *tanzan.* Neither are they acquainted with any game or contest for gain, though it is observable that where they have been taught the practice by strangers, they are much devoted to it. Their diversions were principally exercises and feats of bodily strength and activity. As among other semi-barbarous nations, women were degraded among the Finns. The fathers of families sold their daughters and sisters for a certain price to their lovers. To *sell a maiden* is the old

Finnish expression for giving a daughter in marriage. In an old song occur the lines: "He sold his daughter; he took a price for the maid." The bridegroom replies to an inquiry who had been the purchaser, "Thou wast sold to me; to me wast thou disposed of." The bride expresses indignation at the smallness of the price at which she was estimated, which was a war-horse to the father, a cow to the mother, a pair of oxen to the brother, and a sheep to her sister. Of gallantry and tenderness not a trace is to be found. The lot of married women was that of superior domestic slaves.

## Section V.—*Of the Religion and Poetry of the Finns and Lappes.*

An inquiry into the religious notions and superstitious of the Finns seems likely to give us a further insight into their intellectual and moral state than the traits that are preserved of their external manners, arts, and customs. We can obtain but a very imperfect account of the religion, if it deserves that name, prevalent among the old pagan Finns, and yet there are perhaps more traces of it extant than those which remain from the mythology of the Celtic nations. This is owing to the comparative lateness of the period when the Finns were converted to Christianity; and to the fact that there were among the clergy who converted them some who took pains to collect the fragments of their ancient songs of Finnland before their memory had been entirely lost, and to preserve information respecting the superstitious customs of antiquity. By an investigation of these relics, northern antiquarians have succeeded in throwing a ray of light on the ancient Finnish superstitions. An inquiry into the degree of mental culture that existed among the ancient Finns is intimately connected with the ethnography of the aboriginal inhabitants of northern Europe, and I shall therefore lay before my readers such information respecting it as I have been able to collect, the sources of which are not to many persons easily accessible.

The Finnish word for song, *runo*, in the plural *runot*, whence *runoniecka*, a poet, bears but an accidental resemblance to

the sound of the Scandinavian *runes*.* The Finnish verse is without rhyme, and consists of similar octosyllabic lines, in which a sound not unharmonious to a practised ear is produced by a regulated alliteration, every line containing two words which commence with the same syllable or letter. The thoughts to be expressed in each couplet are repeated, the second line containing a repetition of the same sentiment delivered in the preceding member, but set forth in different, and if possible, in stronger words. The old poets of the Finns sang the adventures of gods and heroes, the exploits of their ancestors, and all the joyful and sorrowful events of life, but none of their historical songs have come down to our time. The oldest pieces extant are songs of magic, which were believed to have great influence in preventing diseases and other calamities. Their melodies are generally simple and melancholy airs. They had several stringed instruments, as well as fifes and shawms, which, with their genuine Finnish names, have been preserved to modern times.

Lencquist, one of the most intelligent writers on the Finnish mythology, begins his account of it with these general remarks:†

* Rühs, ubi supra.

† Quod de idolomania atque superstitione Fennorum proferre possum, id ipsum maximam partem ex hujusmodi carminibus conquisitum est—quæ a majoribus accepta vulgi ore in remotioribus angulis adhuc feruntur—consultis reliquiis priscæ superstitionis adhuc extantibus apud plebem ; necnon ex poemate quodam brevi, quod Episcopus quondam Aboënsis M. Michael Agricola, de diis Fennorum composuit et versioni suæ Psalterii Davidici præmisit, anno 1552 editæ. Hoc carmen lucubrationibus suis cum brevi commentariolo inseruerunt Episcopus Petrus Bäng, in Hist. Eccles. Sveo-Goth. et M. Gabriel, Arctopolitanus, in dissertatione edita Upsaliæ, An. 1738, "De Origine et Religione Fennorum." (C. E. Lencquist.)

There are two works published at Abo in later times expressly treating on the religion of the ancient Finns; one by Christfrid Ganander, in the form of a dictionary, or alphabetically arranged. It is in Swedish, and contains under the names of particular gods, a collection of Finnish *runot* illustrative of their attributes, &c. It is in 4to, 1789. The other is an academical essay in Latin by Lencquist in 1782, entitled, "Specimen Academicum de Superstitione veterum Fennorum." It contains a collection of the Runot, with Latin translations, and extracts from the mythological poem of Bishop Michael Agricola.

Of this Agricola there is a brief biographical sketch in M. Paul Jausten's Chronicon Episcop. Finlandensium, pp. 733 et seq. It seems that he was some time a disciple of Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and a great promoter of the Reformation in Finnland. Before his time scarcely anything had been committed to writing in the Finnish language. (See Jausten's Chronicon, p. 735.)

"Veteres Fenni superstitione sua et idololatria primùm ferebantur in res naturales præstantiores, utpote sensibus obvias, solem videlicet, lunam, stellas, terram, montes, maria, fontes, silvas et lapides; quibus, ob proprietates admirabiles phænomenaque singularia, vel ob usum ad se ex illis redundantem, Divinitatem quandam inesse putabant. *Deinde* etiam poeticâ quâdam fictione, ipsis phænomenis, quorum caussas non satis perspiciebant, cultum divinum tribuebant, atque in personas quasi peculiares commutabant, quod etiam morbis et morti ipsi, contigit. Hæc omnia ritibus quibusdam colebant et precibus sibi conciliare studebant. Significat hoc Agricola in memorato supra carmine, sic canens.

**Palweltin myös paljo muuta**
**Kiwet, kannot, tähdet ja kuuta.**
**Colebantur et multa alia,**
**Lapides, stipites, stellæ et luna."**

M. Rühs makes the following comment upon this testimony of Lencquist: "The old religion of the Finns was true Feticism, that is, each individual held the object which he first met for his god, and addressed to it his offerings and prayers: he changed the object as caprice or accident led him to doubt of its potency. The master of a house often established his fetish as a family god, and the chief of a tribe would sometimes exalt it to the rank of a national divinity. Thus the objects of general adoration acquired their popularity; and as the tribe improved in mental culture, the phenomena of nature were personified, which is the first step in the progress from feticism to mythology."

It seems that the ancient Finns worshipped a plurality of gods under the name of Iumalat. This word is the plural form of Iumala, god, which thus appears not to be a proper name as some have supposed it to be.

The Finns worshipped the sun; and the following is a translation given by Lencquist of the *runot* by which the rising sun was invoked:

**Affer veniens munera tua tecum,**
**Affer plenam nobis salutem,**
**Promove prædam ad captum,**
**Fortunam ad hamum nostrum dirige,**
**Optata ad pollicis no tri apicem.**

Among the stars the constellation of the Great Bear received peculiar honours. To mount on the shoulders of Otawainen or the Great Bear, means in the old songs "to be exalted to the highest heaven." *Otawatar* was the wife of Otawainen and the daughter of the sun: she was invoked for the restoring of stolen goods, and for protection against nightly thieves. The earth, according to Lencquist, was worshipped by all the Finnish nations. Mountains and great stones were invoked both by the Finns and the Lappes. Of such sacred mountains several are known in Lapland under the name of Passevare, and there is in Finnland, on a promontory termed "Eräpyhä," the "very holy," a sacred place with four great stones erected in a square. Lakes, rivers, cataracts, fountains, were held sacred, and the offerings formerly presented in such spots to the "numen loci" are found in great numbers. Groves and even particular trees were likewise consecrated and worshipped. The winds also were invoked in the Finnish runot, particularly the south and north winds. Cold itself is addressed by deprecatory verses, which are characteristic of the style of these compositions.* Divinity was ascribed to diseases, and they were subject to a goddess who was styled the daughter of Death, and was invoked in times of danger.† Death itself was a goddess, and named Tuoni or Murta: she ruled over Tuonala or Hades.

There were other objects of worship among the Finns, the nature of which is not so obviously physical, and by some they

* The following is the Latin version of these verses, of which the Finnish original is given by Lencquist:

| | |
|---|---|
| Packanen Puharin (puhurin) poika | Frigas flaminis (Boreæ) fili |
| Alä kylmä kynsiani, | Noli adurere ungues meos, |
| Alä paätäni palele | Noli caput meum frigefacere; |
| Kyll' on sulla kylmämistä; | Satis habes quod geles. |
| Kylmä soita, kylmä maita, | Gela paludes, gelatesque, |
| Kylmä puita ja pehuja, | Gela arbores et frutices, |
| Kylmä kowia kiwiä, &c. | Gela duros lapides. |

† By the following invocation:

Morbus Puella, mortis virgo,
Morbos captivos factos includito
In variegatum vas,
In splendidam capsam.

are supposed to have been deified mortals; but it is more probable that they are the creatures of the imagination. Among them was Ukko, that is Senex, to whom thunder belonged, and the domain of the firmament. He was invoked under the name of the Old Man. It is observed, however, that thunder and lightning are also ascribed in the runot to other gods, when the object is to flatter them and exalt their power. Caleva was a giant, or the father of twelve giants, among whom was Hièsi, the tamer of wild beasts. Tapio was the god of the woods, and an invocation runs thus:

> O! thou bee, smallest of birds,
> Bring me honey from the house of the woods,
> Sweet juice from the hall of Tapio.

Ilmarinen, the god of the air and of fair weather, and Väinämöinen, the Apollo of the Finns, the author of verse and of music, were invoked together, and these are often accounted the chief divinities of the Finnic race. To them also thunder and lightning are ascribed:

> Excitavit ignem Ilmarinen
> Fulgaravit Väinämöinen.

The poetical dialogue of Väinämöinen and Jouckavainen has so much analogy with some dialogues in the Edda, that we can hardly avoid suspecting the Finns to have derived some hints from the Northmen, their perpetual enemies and destroyers. Väinämöinen was the inventor of music and the lyre, and the author of all mental cultivation; he was said to have brought fire upon the earth, and to have been the chief benefactor of mortals; he taught the art of shipbuilding, instructed hunters and birdcatchers. Dwellers in the woods invoked him to play upon his harp, and allure game by the magical sound; fishermen to entice the inhabitants of the waters: his girdle was composed of feathers and down. In heathen times he was accompanied by his younger brother Ilmarinen. In Catholic times he was made to share the dominion of the Blessed Virgin. A Karelian sorcerer, in answer to the question what deities were adored by his pagan forefathers, said, "The old Väinämöinen and the Virgin Mother." Ilmarinen had also the title of Säppä, or smith, and he appears

to have been the god of metals and mining. Kekki or Köyri was the overseer of cattle, or perhaps of agriculture in general.*

The Finns had also many goddesses, chiefly the wives of the gods. Rauni, wife of Ukko, was the goddess of thunder, and when, like Juno, she quarrelled with her husband, thunder-storms were the result of their conjugal strife. *Veden-Emä*, or the Water Mother, was a sea goddess. *Pohjolan Emändä*, the Mother of the North, had sons all ugly and deformed or maimed. *Tapiolan Emändä*, mistress of the forest, wife of Tapio, was invoked by hunters of small game and birds. *Sakkamieli*, the goddess of love, softened the hearts of prudish maidens. All these were in general, when not offended, benevolent genii; but the Finns had likewise some ill-natured gods, though they never rose to the conception of an evil principle, like the ancient Persian Ahriman. Perkele was the author of bodily ailments. Stojätär was a slow consumer. Lieckio and Aiattara were evil genii of the woods, who led men astray and frightened them by uttering various sounds. Besides all these there were inferior orders of spirits, Haldia, genii locorum et domuum; Tontu, corresponding to the Roman Lares; Maahiset, who resembled the Elfwor or Elfs of the Swedes, the Erdmängen of the Germans, and the Barstucci of the Wends, little subterranean men, to whom offerings were made when beer was brewed or bread baked; they were remembered at feasts and banquets, and the housewife who expected good luck with her cattle was obliged to give them a share of the milk; Kapeet, devourers of everything eatable, who sometimes caught hold of the moon and occasioned eclipses; Menningaiset, wandering spectres of hills and dales. Some of their inferior spirits, as M. Rühs observes, appear to have been the creatures of the fancy in later times, as Egres, who had the care of flax and garden fruits, productions unknown to the Finns of the ages of old pagan barbarism.

The Finns are said to have believed in a future life, which they imagined to be nearly like the present, when men will carry on their usual occupations, and require food and clothing just as here, and will enjoy all their worldly pleasures.† The

* Lencquist, p. 32. Rühs, op. cit. † Lencquist, p. 55. Rühs, ubi supra.

kingdom of the dead, or Tuonala, contains barley, game, fishes. They buried with the dead, after the custom of other savage tribes, their bows and arrows, and offered to them food and drink, because they believed that the soul after death has a particular love for the places where they have chiefly resided in their life. There are also in Finnland giant-graves covered with immense stones, in which have often been found single vessels of gold, silver, and other metals, as well as a number of bones of birds, and skulls of small wild animals. The Finnlanders, like the ancient Germans, had no figures of their gods; not because their ideas were too lofty or sublime, but because they possessed no materials, instruments, or any facilities for working. They were not in a condition to build temples or consecrate altars to their gods, nor did they set apart any particular order of priests: for all these ideas they have no expressions in their native language. Every father of a family performed himself the service of the gods, which was carried on in particular places in the woods consecrated for that purpose, of which kind there were some to be found in all Finnish countries. But soothsayers, astrologers, mountebanks, and sorcerers are not to be confounded with priests; such deceivers, who believed that they could discover all secrets, and were called Tietägät, Indomiehat, Welhot, Noidat, were to be found among the Finnlanders, and even at this present time they have not entirely lost their faith in wise men of this description. Some days were more sacred to them than others, and were solemnised with certain ceremonies, and different kinds of amusement; for example, the day on which the seed is sown in the spring. At the end of harvest they lived more freely than usual, and killed and consumed a lamb which had been left unshorn since the spring, with certain superstitious ceremonies. When all was brought in well, and the slaughtering is performed, they have a harvest-feast, as a testimony of their joy for the good products of the year. The Bear-feast (Konnwonpëälliset) was solemnised with many ceremonies, with carousing and noise of cups: the neighbours make a mixture of corn and eatables for their banquet. All the guests were clothed in festive apparel; a youth and a maiden were chosen in full ornament for

a bridal pair. At first, the head of the bear, which had been hanged on a tree, and then the rest of the body, was brought in with pea-soup. A number of other festivals, which also were carried on with amusements, were of Christian origin; and many superstitious customs performed in them, which an ignorant person might easily consider to be remains of heathenism, are nothing more than notions, representations, and relics received from Catholic times, and which may likewise be found in Germany among the ignorant people, only somewhat modified. Whether these ancient feasts were solemnised in large and general assemblies of the people, or only of single families and villages, is not apparent. "It is maintained that the Finnlanders knew no sacrifices, because the language possesses no native word to mark this performance; but the notion of proving his gratitude to the superior beings by offerings of gifts, is so suitable to the uncultivated son of nature, that so striking a deviation ought not to be received without further ground. There are besides many proofs, which have partly been quoted, that these people really offered to their gods, and many things in their old songs point it out. All other Finnish races, even the Laplanders and Ostiaks, consecrate to the beings of a superior nature, at least bones and the horns of reindeers."

## *Of the Religion of the Lappes.*

As the Lappes were in other respects much more barbarous than the Finns, so their ideas connected with religion appear to have been more rude and undeveloped: they were confined to the first, simple, and vague notions usually recognised among savage nations, without the ornaments of allegory or mythology, which the imagination supplies as soon as the mental faculties are in some degree cultivated. We hear scarcely anything among the Lappes of a distribution of offices among various orders of beings, the creations of a poetical fancy. Hope and fear, and the common moral feelings of mankind, conscience and the sentiment of good or ill desert, have given origin among the Lappes as among the Finns,—or rather to the common ancestors of both tribes before their separation, and before the higher culture of the Finns had given a greater developement

to their ideas,—to the belief in certain unseen agents both good and evil, as the authors of reward or punishment to mankind. The fundamental parts of this superstitious belief are the same among both races, and even the names of some of the principal gods are nearly the same; but the Lappes had much less variety in their theology than the Finns. For the Finnish Jumalat and Parkel, the Lappes have Jubmel, who is one being, and Parkel, a mischievous imp or devil, of whom stories are told not unlike the vulgar fables related of the devil among the ignorant in most countries of Europe.* Their mythology consists in fabulous accounts of the warfare of Jubmel and Parkel. Jubmel is the author of life, Parkel of death. "A certain Laplander related to the missionary Högström, that Parkel once made an iron chain, with which he bound Jubmel, and buried him under a great hill, but the latter escaped, and enthralled his adversary. The Lappes believe that there is a third supernatural being, of mixed nature. Parkel made him on a rock without Jumbel's knowledge, but the latter discovered him and bred him up. Being thus son of Parkel and foster-son of Jubmel, he partakes of the nature of both. His chief business is to kill evil spirits: this he does with his bow, which is the rainbow. The name given to this third divinity by the Lappes is Tiermes, meaning thunder.†

The Lappes worship rude images made of the stocks or trees, and particularly large upright stones erected upon hills or on little islands near lakes or waterfalls, or other places held sacred. They give no account of the erection of these stones but say that they were placed there by God at the creation. This is perhaps a modern idea.‡ These upright stones are termed Seiteh.§

It is said that these images of wood and stone were cut occasionally into a rude likeness of the human form, but this was not general. It was usual to consecrate them by anointing

* See Högström, Historische Beschreibung.

† Scheffer's Hist. of Lapland, ch. x. p. 93. Engl. edition of 1704.

‡ Scheffer's Hist. of Lapland. This account is confirmed by the treatise on the Lapponic superstitions, cited above.

§ Seite, pl. Seiteh. "Lapides sive imagines lapideæ aut ligneæ quas cultu religioso proscquuti sunt olim Lappones." (Ihre, Lex. Lapponicum.)

hem, and laws are known to have been made in Sweden gainst the practice of anointing stones. It has been thought hat the Lappes worship the sun and fire. Högström says that ie could find no proof of any such practice; and he observes hat the sun has so little influence in Lapland that it is not ikely to be the object of worship.

The Laplanders appear to have had some obscure notion of ı future state; they imagined the dead to leave behind them *nanes* or ghosts, which haunted particular places, and of vhich they were afraid,* and they performed sacrifices in ıonour of them.

It has been denied, as we have remarked, by some that the Finns performed sacrifices to the gods, but we are assured by Samuel Rheen and other writers cited by Scheffer, that the Lappes certainly performed such sacrifices at stated times, and that they offered reindeers, and on other occasions, cats, dogs, lambs, and hens.† The worship of the gods was performed by the singing of hymns and a loud beating of their enchanted and magical drums.

With the celebrated work of Knud Leem upon the Lappes, a sort of official report was published, sent by missionaries from Drontheim, employed in the mission to the Lappes, on the ancient superstition. It is a very meagre document, deficient in important information, and chiefly filled with an account of the magic of the Laplanders.‡

## Section VI.—*Of the Physical and Moral Characters of the Finns and Lappes.*

Travellers, as I have observed, have been struck by the different aspects of the Finns and Lappes, and they have accounted for the phenomenon in different ways. Some cut the knot by refusing to admit evidence of their consanguinity, though such evidence has been found sufficient to satisfy unprejudiced persons. Others suppose the difference to have arisen from long separation, one tribe having entered Scandi-

* Scheffer. † Scheffer, iii.

‡ De Finnorum Lapponumque Norvegicorum Religione Pagana tractatus singularis, E. J. Jesseus. Appended to Kn. Leem's Commentatio de Lapponibus Finmarchiæ. Copenhagen, 1767.

navia from the north, and the other from a southern climate, and the diversity having been kept up by different habits and physical conditions. This opinion was maintained by Von Buch, who observes that the Finns and Lappes, though kindred nations, are remarkably different in manners and physiognomy. "The Laplanders are small in general: a man of five feet eight inches in stature is not seen among many hundreds of them. The Finns, though they remain for centuries in the same country, do not become smaller than the Swedes and Norwegians. The cause, as this intelligent traveller thinks, is very obvious. It lies in the difference of habits modifying the physical conditions under which the two races exist. The Finns use hot baths and warm clothing. The Laplander never keeps himself in the degree of temperature necessary for the development of physical life."

Linnæus has thus briefly drawn the description of these two races.

"Fennones corpore toroso, capillis flavis prolixis, oculorum iridibus fuscis."

"Lappones corpore parvo, capillis nigris, brevibus, rectis; oculorum iridibus nigrescentibus."

The diversities between them are not, however, always so strongly marked. Scheffer has observed, that these two nations have a considerable resemblance in person. He says, "their bodies and habits are very nearly the same. The Finnlanders have well-set limbs, and so have the Laplanders; both have black hair, stern countenances, and broad faces; and what small difference there is between them, must be ascribed to their different diet and climate."

### *Paragraph* 1.—Description of the Lappes.

The following description of the Lappes has been given by the writer last cited:

"They are not only very short of stature, but extremely lean, so that it is the greatest rarity that can be, to meet with a fat man among them. 'This nation,' says Peter Claudi, 'is very lean, and without moisture; because the cold, which hinders their growth, dries up likewise the moisture of their body and blood. They are also very nimble and active.' Their

breasts are very broad, their waists slender: they have spindle shanks, but are extremely swift on foot. They are very strong-limbed, as Jovius observes; and Peter Claudi says, they exceed other men in strength, as appears by their bows, which a Norwegian can scarce bend above half. But they have no less activity than strength, the first of which is most conspicuous in their swimming over lakes and rivers, with incredible nimbleness; and they are so skilful in diving, that they will continue for a considerable time under water." Ziegler affirms, "that the Laplanders are so active, that with their quivers and arrows on their backs, they will throw themselves through a hoop, not above a cubit in diameter."

"As to the structure of their bodies, in particular, they have very thick heads, and prominent foreheads, hollow and large eyes, with short and flat noses, and wide mouths."

"Their hair is short, straight, and thin; and so is their beard, the hair of which scarcely covers their chins. The colour of the hair of both sexes is black, contrary to what the rest of the northern nations have, who are inclined to fairness. The hair of both sexes, says Tornæus, is black and hard; and among all the Laplanders that I ever saw, I met with but one who had yellowish hair. But this must be understood of Lulah Lappmark, for in Uma Lappmark are many with fair hair. Nicolaus Landius, a native of the Pitha Lappmark, assures us that the inhabitants of the Uma Lappmark are not only much taller, but also handsomer than those of Lulah Lappmark: they have such an aversion to the latter that they will seldom converse with them, even at their greatest fairs. Olaus Magnus says, that the females in these parts are handsome, their complexion being a mixture of white and red."

This is confirmed by the testimony of Tornæus and of Scheffer himself.*

These variations in the complexion of the Lappes are not isolated phenomena. The following traits are given by Reynard, a traveller in Lappland in the seventeenth century. "The old people feel so little of the imbecilities of age, that they can

* See the History of Lapland, by John Scheffer, Professor at Upsal, who was employed by the Chancellor of Sweden to travel into Lapland and write a history of that part of his master's dominions. Chap. v.

scarcely be distinguished from young people. A grey head is very seldom seen. The common colour of the Laplander's hair is red. Blindness, however, is a very common effect of old age among them. Their eyes become imperceptibly weakened by the glare of the snow, with which their country is continually covered, and by the constant smoke of the fires which they light in the middle of their huts, and towards the close of life they lose the power of sight."

Peter Högström, a Swedish traveller and missionary in Lapland, whose description of that country is celebrated in Sweden, and has been translated partly in the 'Allgemeine Historie der Reisen,' compares the Lappes and the Finns in regard to their moral characters and dispositions. He says, "Some Laplanders maintain that their ancestors formerly had possession of all Sweden. M. Högström, however, is of the same opinion with Scheffer, that the Lappes and Finns were originally one nation. The Finns originally lived in the same manner as the Lappes, that is, they kept cattle, before they cultivated the soil. This is the case now. As soon as a Lapp becomes an agriculturist he is a Finn. He builds a house, speaks, dresses, and lives like a Finn, in the midst of his brothers and sisters, who live like Lappes."

"It is then certain," says Peter Högström, "that the Lappes and Finns were originally one nation, which has been clearly and incontestably proved by Scheffer, principally from the agreement between the languages, that there can no longer be any doubt about it. I have in particular remarked that the Lappes who dwell furthest from Finnland, have a manner of speaking which coincides in some respects more nearly with the Finnish than those who dwell nearest to them."

These observations and the preceding facts tending to identify the Lappes with the Finnish race, or to prove that they originated from the same stock, are rendered the more interesting by the consideration that the physical diversity frequently, but not universally, existing among them is very strongly marked. The Finns, as we learn from the description of their features and complexion above given, have the characteristics of the European, and many of them are handsome according to our ideas of beauty. The Lappes, on the other

hand, deviate from the usual characters of the European races, and approximate to the Mongolian. Blumenbach has described the skull of a Lapp, of which he has given a representation in his decades of crania. He says that two Lapponic skulls in his museum closely resemble each other, and at the same time coincide in their configuration with all that the most accurate travellers have reported respecting the physical characters of the Lappes. The primary characters of these skulls are thus described:

"The skull large in proportion to the stature of the body; the form and appearance altogether such as prevail in the Mongolian variety; the shape almost spherical or globose; the zygomatic bones extending outwards; the malar fossa, plane; the forehead broad; the chin rather prominent and acuminated."*

It appears from the above evidence clear that the Lappes have the broad-faced or pyramidal form of skull which I have described in the first volume of these researches as proper to the Turanian nations, and that they have the other physical characters which are generally conjoined with that shape of the cranium, both as to the figure of limbs and stature and the prevailing complexion. We shall find in the sequel of this chapter that these are the characters of several other tribes of the same race, who exist under similar circumstances with the Lappes, as of the Vogouls, for example, in the Uralian mountains.

But even among the Lappes there are varieties of conformation as well as of complexion. Remarkable differences of person exist among the Laplanders themselves. Von Buch says the Laplanders of Nordland have often fine figures. "The flat faces and fair hair supposed to be universal in Nordland are not seen here. On the contrary, I saw with astonishment several true Turkish physiognomies, with noses and bones extremely prominent, and black dazzling eyes, without any trace of the fair physiognomy of the Danes."

*Paragraph* 2.—Description of the Finns and Esthians.

We have no very satisfactory accounts of the osteological

* Blumenbach, Decad. Cranior. 5to.

characters of the people of Finnland. The learned ex-jesuit Dobrowsky, in his 'Litterärische Nachrichten von einer Reise nach Sweden und Russland,' has given a highly favourable picture of the moral character of the Finns. He represents them as remarkable for probity, kindness of disposition, and hospitality. He remarks that the difference between the countenances of the Finns and the Swedes is more easily observed than described. The eyes of the Finns are, as he thinks, somewhat more deeply set; their hair is mostly red: they seem too to be fond of the colour of red, at least when they go to church they adorn themselves with high pointed red caps.

The Finns in Finnland are nearly equal in stature to the Swedes. Other tribes, who probably are more destitute, and in their external condition inferior, bear a nearer resemblance to the Lappes. They are of smaller stature and more like the Lappes. These remarks apply to the Esthonians near Dorpat whose skulls have been described by a celebrated anatomist. I shall cite this description from the work of Hueck on the skulls of the Esthonians at Dorpat, as this will supply in part the want of more detailed information concerning the physical characters of the Finnish tribes.*

"The figure of the Esthonian," says Hueck, "like that of the other Finnish nations, is neither beautiful nor robust. Although here and there, where under indulgent lords, they obtain a more plentiful sustenance, they are seen of tall stature; yet in other places, ground down by slavery, and miserably and scantily fed, they fall short of the middle height." Baer and Seidlitz, in their inaugural essays, agree in the observation that the northern Esthonians are of greater stature than the natives of the country near Dorpat.† The trunk of the body is larger in proportion to the lower extremities; the chest is narrow and flat, whence the pelvis appears of broader shape than usual, and this is most remarkable in females of small stature. The neck is thin, the head somewhat bowed forward.

* De craniis Estonum commentatio anthropologica quâ viro illustrissimo J. T. Busgh doctoris dignitatem impetratam gratulatur Ordo Med. Univers. Dorpatens, interprete Dre. Hueck, 4to. Dorpati Livonorum, 1838.

† C. Baer. diss. inaug. de morbis inter Esthonos endemicis. Dorpati, 1814. "Esthoni qui borealem Esthoniæ partem magnitudine vincunt eos qui ad Dorpatem habitant." (G. Seidlitz (diss. inaug.) consentit.)

The hair long, lank, yellow: the forehead low, flat, but moderately broad. Thick eyebrows overshadow an eye deeply set, either of a greenish grey or for the most part blue. The nose generally straight, rarely flattened, and with small nostrils, seems ill-proportioned to the cheeks, which by reason of their leanness are more conspicuously projecting: the temples, covered with scanty hair, separate the cheeks from high, large, and flat ears. A short interval between the nose and mouth allows less space for the development of the upper than the lower lip. The lips are narrow, the teeth small and soon becoming worn down. A round somewhat prominent chin, covered by a late and not very thick beard. "The hair," as Baer observes, "is most frequently yellow, in infants often white: sometimes black hair is seen with a rather brown skin—*atri capilli cum subfusca facie*—the hair of girls is more yellow than that of men, and they are never found with black hair. The openings of the eyelids are very narrow. The features have an aspect of languor. The compound expression of the countenance sometimes indicates serenity, at others craftiness, moroseness, and stupidity."

This is the aspect of the features in advanced age, when the countenance appears obscured by a burnt and dusky complexion: the younger Esthonians, especially girls, when not yet exposed to the severities of the climate and an abode in smoky cabins, and to the hard labours of a slavish life, have often a cheerful, healthy, and open countenance, and their features are much more handsome.

The proportion of the limbs is by no means regular. The shoulders are narrow, arms long and hands broad, the legs short and thin, feet flat, pelvis broad. The muscular system, as well as the chest, is less developed than either in the Russians or Germans. The Esthonians are not very strong, nor are they quick and active: their gait is slow, and their gesture crooked and weak. Though mostly thin, yet they are prone to get fat if they have rest, and wholesome and plentiful diet. Their temperament is, as Baer declares, generally phlegmatic, inclined to the melancholic. A few are strictly melancholic, namely, those who have black hair and beards. With this bodily constitution is closely connected a melancholico-

phlegmatic temperament of mind, so that the Esthonian indulging his inclination, is slow, lazy, and indifferent. Yet a slight mental culture and suitable exercise develope and bring into play the good qualities of which he is susceptible. For although slow, he is found to be patient of labour and tenacious of his purpose; though incurious, yet he comprehends what is presented to his mind, and follows out with accuracy his lessons: hence he shows himself by no means rude or deficient in various arts. The mind of the Esthonian is particularly susceptible of religious impressions, of a sense of the just and honourable, and of feelings of tenderness; enrolled with their fellows in warfare they display the virtue and bravery of ancient times. The soundness of their intellects, and their faculty of learning enable them to comprehend the true principles of Christianity and of every kind of mental culture, and give reason to hope that the Esthonians may hereafter advance in civilisation.

This description, which embraces the whole Esthonian nation, undergoes variations, when the produce of fishing, traffic, and various kinds of gain, brings some into a condition less subject to authority than others who are oppressed by poverty, care, or hard labour.

It seems from this description that the Esthonians display in their bodies and minds the effects of long-continued degradation and the miseries of slavery. They appear to be physically very inferior to their kinsmen the Finns, who have always enjoyed comparatively freedom and prosperity.

The following is a description of the skull of the Esthonians in its most general type.

"In the Esthonian race the skull has an angular form, which however often passes into an oval figure. A wedge-shaped skull is more rare among them, and I have never observed the skull of an Esthonian of a round form."

The skull at the first view, when compared with the facial part of the cranium, appears large, and surveyed from the upper or back part, square; for not only the latera parietalia are very prominent, but also the occiput in the region of the upper semicircular line is much expanded, both towards the back part and the sides. The sinciput is not much less

in breadth than the occiput; the forehead is plane, less gibbous than usual, and low. It only appears somewhat broad owing to the circumstance that the external orbital process of the os frontis being prominent, is joined below by a likewise projecting malar bone. The temporal fovea is amply developed, the depression being yet not very deep, and it is terminated on the anterior side by a strong posterior margin of the frontal process of the malar bone, externally by a rather strong zygomatic arch, under which the articular tuberculum is very prominent, a crest projecting on the posterior side, by which the zygomatic arch is continued above the external opening of the ear. Moreover the condyloid processes of the occipital bone are large and more prominent than in other skulls. The mastoid process on the other hand, in all the Esthonian skulls examined, is small and less rough, while Russian skulls have long and thick mastoid processes. Not more developed is the external occipital protuberance; nor in general are the impressions of the muscles very conspicuous on the occipital bone.

In the base of the skull nothing remarkable appears: the interior occipital protuberance is rather greater than usual; the lineæ cruciatæ are strongly marked, and the transverse furrows deeper; while the ossa petrosa project much towards the cavity of the skull, and the os occipitale, where it forms the lower occipital foveæ, is less convex; by this conformation the space which the cerebellum occupies is evidently narrowed. Nothing else is observable, except that the foveæ in the anterior part of the cranium appear to be somewhat more angular, and the jugular foramina somewhat greater than in other skulls.

The facial part, compared with the whole skull, is small, broad, and low. The breadth of the face is not produced so much by greater developement of the malar bone, which is the fact in Mongolian skulls, as rather by a greater eminence of the malar process of the upper maxillary bone. On this account the distance between the malar bones, compared with the breadth of the forehead, appears much greater than in Europeans in general. Hence the external orbital margins are spread further outward, and the distance between the orbital margins is greater, and the orbits themselves wider: therefore

the malar process of the maxillary bone being thus prominent, it follows that the antrum maxillare is more spacious. In the same manner the sphenoidal sinuses are deeper than in German heads; even the cells of the ethmoid bone are greater; and the papyraceous lamina, which generally stands in a perpendicular direction, is in the Esthonians somewhat chambered, and projecting towards the orbit. The frontal sinuses are very large, which in the external aspect is indicated by a prominent glabella, and by projecting superciliary arches; connected with this greater developement of all the sinuses, is a more ample expansion of all the mucous membranes lining them.

The malar process of the upper maxillary bone being stronger than usual, and on the other hand the frontal process and the alveolar process of the same bone being shorter, the whole face, from the frontal suture of the nasal bones to the alveolar limbus, is less extended. This broad form of the face, with contracted length, displays its influence on the shape of the orbits, and gives to the skull of the Esthonians its most characteristic type, for the orbits are, in comparison with their breadth, low, and have transversely an oblong or an almost square shape. This appearance depends on the proportions already described of the superior maxillary bone, and so much the more affects the eyes, as the supra-orbital margin under a very convex superciliary arch, descends lower, and is of a form less curvated, while opposite to it the infra-orbital margin also makes a very prominent edge. From the anterior to the back part the orbit is deeper than in other skulls, and on account of the narrow entrance appears to be deeper than it really is.

The root of the nose is compressed and flat, and the nasal bones not much chambered out. The frontal process of the upper maxillary bone being shorter and the alveolar process lower, and at the same time the body of the upper maxillary bone less broad than usual, the space surrounded by the teeth is necessarily narrower. The incisor teeth of the upper jaw being turned obliquely forwards and rarely perpendicular, their alveolar edge passes gradually into the hard palate. The peculiar evolution of the organs which assist manducation, oc-

casions differences even in the cranium, for the whole circuit of the temporal fossa is more exactly defined, not only by the semicircular line of the os frontis, but also by a very prominent crest, above the opening of the ear, into which the zygomatic processes are continued behind. Moreover in almost all the Esthonian skulls the external pterygoid processes are very large. Often the spinous process of the sphenoidal bone is at the same time so prolonged, that it coalesces with the posterior margin of the former process. This conformation indicates a greater evolution of the external pterygoid muscle. The lateral motion of the lower jaw is thus increased; hence the crowns of the teeth are found very much worn in persons having greater than usual powers of mastication, and living on vegetable food. It only remains to be observed, that in the lower jaw, the ascending ramus is lower than in other skulls, the angle more obtuse, and the posterior part of the body of the jaw less broad and the anterior part higher, and the chin itself rounded and rarely angular.

These characters are discovered in various degrees in different individuals, but perceptibly exist in all the skulls of Esthonians at Dorpat.

It is very evident that this type of the human skull differs very considerably from that of the Mongolian. Dr. Hueck has pointed out the following particulars in which the difference chiefly consists. The Mongolian face is broader, the cheek-bones very strong, the malar fossa shallow, the nasal bones small and flat, teeth strong and straightly placed, surrounding a large space; the orbits are deep, less square. Oblique palpebral openings answer to the formation of the facial bones, for the internal orbital process of the frontal bone descends more deeply than in Esthonians and other Europeans, whence the lachrymal bone and the entrance to the canal are lower down. The internal canthus being adjacent to this is placed lower; hence the obliquity of the rima of the lids.* We thus find nothing common to the Mongolian type and to the shape of the Esthonian skull, except a certain squareness of figure which is not constant.

* I doubt the correctness of this observation, and beg to refer to remarks, in a following chapter, on the obliquity of the eyes in Chinese and Japanese skulls.

If these observations are compared with the preceding description given from Blumenbach of the Lapponic skull,* and that great physiologist was correct in referring the latter to the Mongolian type, we shall admit that a great diversity appears to have taken place in these two branches of one national stock.† Neither tribe appears, however, to have one uniform character. The Laplander approximates occasionally, as we have seen, to the true Turkish physiognomy, or rather to the handsome form of the Osmanli, for this is the meaning of the traveller whose description has been cited above.

It is impossible to account for these diversities by reference to the hypothesis, so often adopted in parallel cases, of intermixture with foreign nations. The Finns have not acquired their xanthous complexion, or the form of their features, from the Swedes or any other Teutonic nation. For the mass of population in the interior provinces of Finnland has always remained distinct in race, pure and unmixed; and the Esthonians are a race of miserable serfs, who have never stood in any other relation to their Slavonian lords, from whom they differ in a striking manner. Neither have the Lappes derived the shape of their features and of their skulls from any Mongolian and Tartar race. Their geographical situation renders any such intermixture impossible.

In the account given of the Finns by a late writer whom I have already cited, many traits are described illustrative of their corporeal and mental peculiarities. I shall extract some particulars from this account, since the ethnography of the Tschudish nations, so nearly connected and yet so diverse, is more than usually interesting in relation to the physical history of mankind.

With regard to the physical formation and character of the Finns, says M. Rühs, great varieties are to be found in different provinces. On the sea-coast, where many Swedes have settled, the original race is already much degenerated. The Finlanders are of a dusky complexion, have a serious gloomy

* The opposite plate contains a copy of Blumenbach's figure of a Lapponic skull, and two figures of an Esthonian, taken from the Dissertation of Hueck.

† As this is a point of great interest in national craniology, I have given in a plate a copy of Blumenbach's Lapponic skull, and the figures by Dr. Hueck of a well-characterised Esthonian skull. It will be seen that they differ considerably in their leading characters. The zygoma of the Laplander is characteristically Turanian or Mongolian; that of the Esthonian is nearer to the Indo-Atlantic type.

aspect, and harsh voices, a slow utterance, strong limbs, and a firm gait. Their hair is yellow, sometimes red, or white, and sometimes of a dark yellow. "The man by his word, the oxen by his horn"—sanasta miestä, sarwesta herkää—is an old Finlandish proverb that will suit the national character, particularly in the interior of the country, where it has been preserved in its purity. The wilfulness of the Finlanders is become a proverb in Sweden. The Finlanders do not willingly hold intercourse with strangers, although they receive them with great hospitality; but it is worth some pains to become acquainted with them. When they are provoked, they are violent, passionate, and revengeful. They have no curiosity for novelties; and it is extremely difficult to induce the Finland peasant to make any alteration in his mode of living or of agriculture. They are in general very temperate: in the northern parts they cook meat during the summer only on Sundays. With their few wants they live in a kind of affluence; and it is not uncommon, even in a smoking room, to be served in silver vessels of considerable size, upon which the head of the family has spent his overplus. The labourer works with persevering exertion: he is in the fields and meadows from sunrise to sunset, is content with scanty fare, and enjoys scarcely four or five hours of rest. The Finlanders are not deficient in mechanical skill, which is evinced in the manufacture of their various implements. Their wooden vessels, which are even sold in foreign countries, are all made by the peasants. Quarrels, fights, or crimes of violence are seldom to be heard of in the inland parts. Their habits are still tolerably pure: from 1795 to 1802 the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children was as one to twenty-two; in the towns, particularly in Abo, more often as one to eight or nine.

The northern Finlanders are accused of a certain degree of cunning, which they are said to practise particularly in their journeys in Tawastland, where they trade principally in salmon and skins, bartering these for linen, hops, and similar articles. Their craftiness is more formidable owing to the strength and boldness which accompany it. The inhabitants of the north are much feared by those of the south, particularly since the former are looked upon as great sorcerers; and they do not

neglect to turn this impression to their advantage; they undertake, for example, to cure the barrenness of women: they perform a magical operation in the bath which seldom fails. This superstitious simplicity is without doubt the cause of the contempt which the northern Finns entertain towards the southern, and especially the inhabitants of the Tawast land. The word *Hämälainen*, which is the Finnish name of the Tawasters, is in the whole of East Bothnia synonymous with *foolish*, and hence the Finnish proverb "*menna Hämäläna*," to *go to Hämälä*, that is, "*to become a fool.*"

In the middle ages the name of Finn was synonymous with sorcerer: it was generally believed that this people had a particular intercourse with the devil. There are still sorcerers in Finland; but even the most skilful among them believe that the Lappes are far superior to them; they call a very experienced dealer in the black art "*a true Lapp*," or "se on koko Lappi;" they even undertake secret journeys into the Lappish country when they require any important advice. The Finnish sorcerers can discover stolen goods, strayed cattle, and can foretell the prosperous or the unlucky issue of any undertaking by peeping into a brandy-glass. They are physicians, and heal even absent persons, if merely some of the clothes or furniture of the sick are brought to them. These sages are visited from very distant places: they are always furnished with a variety of amulets,—for instance, human skulls, bones, earth from the churchyard, snakes'-heads, and the like. The churches, churchyards, and burial-grounds, called kalmits, which are found here and there in woods and upon islands, and are looked upon as remains of the former Lappish inhabitants of the country, and for which the superstitious have great veneration, are the magazines from which these credulous people fetch their implements. Bodies are cut by them in pieces. The wizards if provoked fall into a rage, gnash their teeth, their hair stands on end; they jump, stamp with their feet, and behave like madmen. Their so called "enchanting songs" or *runot* are their most powerful means. The Finns when heathens sang hymns to the honour of their gods, which were considered sacred and influential. This practice could not be overcome at the conversion of the people to Christianity,

which was done by force. The songs therefore have descended from pagan times, but have received various additions during the reign of the Catholic religion; they are undoubtedly older than any other Finnish songs. The followers of this superstition think that they can subdue and rule over all elements, bodies, and animals, if they can but investigate their concealed and mystical origin, and can make them the subject of their songs. These are, however, gradually becoming obsolete, and during the last generation the belief of their efficacy has much lessened. Those who are famous and experienced in the knowledge of their incantations bequeath this lore to their children, so that they are generally peculiar to certain families. The thaumaturgus generally carries his implements in a bag, and is hence called a *sack-man*. It is remarkable that these Finnish sorcerers fall or throw themselves into a state of stupor or enthusiasm, from which they cannot even be awakened by fire; during this time their souls roam about, and investigate hidden things, which they disclose at their return. It would be curious to inquire why these superstitious ideas and representations are so similar amongst all the nations of the north. The conjurors of the Finnish nations, the shamans of the Tartars, the angekoks of the Greenlanders, all act exactly in the same way.* This is the remark of M. Rühs. We may further observe that superstitious habits and customs very similar, and almost precisely parallel, have been described among the native races of Africa.

## Section VII.—*Of the Tribes of Tschudes in the northern and central Provinces of the European Empire of Russia.*

We have already observed that there were various tribes of people scattered through the northern parts of the Russian empire, distinguished both in language and manners from the Slavonian nations, who in ancient times dwelt in their vicinity, and bordered on them towards the south. When the Slavonians became more civilised and more powerful, through the influence of foreign intercourse, and through the military prowess of Scandinavian chieftains, they gradually reduced

* Finnland und seine Bewohner, von Rühs.

the aboriginal hordes, whom they termed Tschudes or Barbarians, and drove them further northwards. In the earliest periods of authentic history in these countries, the Tschudes occupied, as we learn from Nestor and Lomonosow, a line stretching from Lake Peipus near the borders of Esthonia, commonly called "Tschudskoïe Ozero," or the Lake of Tschudes, directly eastward. Relics of this people are found in some parts of the Uwalli, or the mountain-chain of Waldai. They extended thence eastward to the shores of the White Sea and the rivers Dwina and Petschora or to the Biamaland of the Sagas. The term Tschudes scarcely implied among the old Russians a national distinction, and it is probable that the writers who first gave this name in common to many scattered nations were not aware of their real affinity. This has been proved by a comparison of their dialects; and we are now assured that the different Tschudish tribes spread through the north of Russia are branches of one race, which is a particular stem of the same stock whence originated the Iotuns of the Baltic countries.

Many numerous and extensive Tschude races appear to have been exterminated or lost in the early Russian warfare, and perhaps in the late wars between the Russians and the Tartars or Mongolians. The principal Tschudish tribes now subsisting in separate masses of people in Russia may be reduced under the following heads: 1. The Permian or northern branch; 2. The southern or Bulgarian.

### *Paragraph* 1.—Permian branch.

The name of the modern Permia preserves that of the old Biarmaland, celebrated in the sagas and in all the traditions of the north during the early middle ages of European history. Klaproth indeed attempted to draw a distinction between Permia and Biarmia;* but it has been shown by the accurate researches of later writers, that the only real difference is the wide extent of the latter, and the narrow limitation of the former term.† Old Biarmia in the largest sense comprehended, together with the countries on the Kama, the modern Permia,

* Asia Polyglotta.

† Depping, Histoire des Expeditions maritimes des Normands, vol. i. Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, ii. p. 327.

all the northern tracts on the White Sea, from the Onega and the Duna to the Petschora and the borders of the Uralian chain. This was the country of the Bearmahs visited and described by Ottar to King Alfred,* who found there a civilized people cultivating the ground with skill and industry. Biarmaland seems to have been an early seat of the civilisation of the north, and it is not improbable that the ancient culture of the Finnish race was spread westward from that region. In the eleventh century it is known that there was on the Dwina a commercial town frequented during the summer by traders from Scandinavia. The Biarmi there sold to the Northmen not only peltry, salt, and iron, the produce of their country, but likewise Indian wares, which came to them by the old path of Eastern trade, through the medium of the Chasars and the Bulgarians. Tzordyn or Great Perm was, according to Strahlenberg, a great mart at this early period.† This writer observes that there are in no part of Russia more numerous ruins of fortresses and ancient tombs than in that region.‡ An unquestionable voucher for the real existence of an ancient trade with the East, are the great numbers of eastern coins which have been discovered in tombs and in other places through the whole extent of this country, from the lakes Ladoga and Onega to the Dwina.§ These coins, which have been carefully examined by many antiquarians in Germany and in Russia, are pieces of silver money belonging to chaliffs and other eastern princes who reigned before the year 1000 of

* Beyond the Dwina Ottar found the first tilled lands discovered in his voyage from Norway; all the rest till he came to the Dwina was a desert inhabited by fishermen, fowlers, and hunters. These were all Finnas, viz. Lappes. The Beormahs told him many things respecting their own and the neighbouring countries; and they appeared to him to speak the same language as the Finnas. (See Foster's Account of Northern Discoveries. Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, b. i. p. 417.)

† Strahlenberg, Hist. of Siberia, p. 189.

‡ Strahlenberg, ubi supra. Also Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta.

§ Strahlenberg. See also a learned memoir by O. G. Tychsen, "von dem in den Gegenden des Baltischen Meeres so häufigen alten Arabischen Silbergelde," in Eichhorn's Repertorium für Bibl. und Mongenländische Literatur, Th. 6. The subject of these discoveries, and the circumstances which occasioned the accumulation of such coins in the north, have been discussed by many German and Russian writers, and particularly in a late work entitled "Die Handelszüge der Araber unter den Abassiden durch Afrika, Asia, und Ost-Europa, von Fried. Stüwe; Berlin, 1786; see pp. 172 and 272.

the Christian era; and many of them are silver Persian coins of the kind used by the Arabs before the year 695, when the Arabian or Saracen money was first cast. From these facts M. Frähn and other learned men have inferred that a great traffic by caravans was carried on during the middle ages through the eastern parts of Europe, between the northern coast then inhabited by Scandinavian and Finnish races, and the countries near the Euxine and the Caspian, which the arts and the refinement of southern Asia had recently penetrated.

The Pagan Biarmi on the Dwina worshipped the Solotaia Babba or Golden Woman. They are said to have paid adoration to fire and other elements. According to the evidence collected by Müller, the Permian province was conquered in the twelfth century by the warlike Nowgorodian; and it is recorded in the annals of Russia that in the year 1343 Permia was converted to the Christian religion by St. Stephen Permeki, who invented the Permian alphabet and founded a monastery at the mouth of the river Wym.*

It appears from Nestor's accounts, that a separate division of this race, more nearly allied to the Finns, who occupied countries on the Duna in early times, moved towards the west. The Permians or Biarmi are recognised under the name of Permii as early as the eleventh century, and are identified with the Sauolocenses or Savolotchie.† These people are the Tschudes of the Uwalli or Waldai mountains who are known to the Russians. They appear to have inhabited the country about the Ladoga and Onega lakes when the first attack was made upon them by a Russian prince in the year 1079.‡

There are three tribes of people still inhabiting parts of ancient Permia, and speaking dialects allied to the Finnish language: these are the proper Permians, the Syrjæni, and the Wotiaks. The two former constitute in reality one people, and give themselves in common the designation of Komi or Komi-murt; *murt* signifying man. The Permians inhabit the

* All these points have been investigated with great research by M. Müller in his learned work, so often referred to, entitled "Der Ugrische Volkstamm. See b. i. p. 343; bd. ii. p. 327 et seqq.

† The Sauolocenses and the Permii are mentioned by the commentator on Virgil, Julius Pomponius Sabinus. Schlözer's Nestor's Annals, ii. s. 43. Müller, *ibid.*

‡ Tatischtschew bey Sögren, Mém. de l'Acad. des Sc. St. Pet. Müller, *lib. cit.*

comparatively elevated countries watered by the Upper Kama, so far as its confluence with the Ocher, and districts on the Witschera and Tschussowaja. The Syrjæni live to the westward of the Permians on the banks of the Wytschegda and Suchoma: they have the Samoiedes for their neighbours towards the north, and the Finns of Olonetz towards the west.

The people of Syrjænia and Permia are described by Everard Ysbrandt Ides, in the account of his journey through Siberia in the year 1692. He says that "the inhabitants of Syrjæne or Wollost-Usgy speak a language resembling that of the Livonians, near Germany, for some of his retinue who understood that language could comprehend a great part of what these people said." He must allude to the Liefi or Finnish people on the gulf of Livonia. Solowitschogda, he adds, is a very great city, inhabited by merchants and artificers in silver, copper, and bone, and surrounded by salt-pits; but the natives of the province do not live in towns, but mostly in small villages built in the woods. The country terminates in a forest. "The stature and habit of these people are not different from those of the Russian peasantry. They all live by agriculture, except those employed in the manufacture of furs. They pay tribute to his Czarish majesty, but are under no waywode, choosing judges among themselves. They are Christians of the Greek church."*

The third Permian tribe, viz. the Wotiaks, inhabit the country on the Wiatka, and between that river and the Upper Kama. They call themselves Uhd-murd, meaning "hospitable people." Their name in Slavonic is Voti. Pallas says that they inhabited the same country before the invasion of Russia by the Tartars, when they were governed by princes of their own.

The Wotiaks have been described by many travellers in Siberia, but more particularly by Gmelin. He says that "in the villages of the Votiaks, which are situated beyond the Tartars of Kasan, nearly all the inhabitants, both men and women, have red hair." Pallas confirms this statement. He describes the Votiaks as different in many respects from the Tscheremisses. "They are more lively, gay, and less obstinate; but on the other hand much addicted to drunkenness." "Among

* E. Ysbrandt Ides. Travels from Muscovy to China.

them are very few tall, well-made, and robust men. The women are small and not handsome. There is no nation among whom hair of a fiery red is so common as among the Votiaks; yet there are individuals who have brown and others who have black hair, but most generally it is of a chestnut colour: they have, however, in general, red beards."

The Votiaks, according to Gmelin, are poor, and live in small villages: the chase is their principal occupation. As soon as the frost commences, they go into the woods and kill bears, wolves, foxes, &c. Their arms are chiefly bows and arrows.*

Erman has given some additional details respecting the Votiaks. He says they are men of strong, athletic bodies, broad shoulders, and in no respect partaking of the weak stature of the Tscheremisses and Tschuwashes. Their hair is always red.

The tribes of Votiaks who are not yet converted to Christianity have the same kinds of superstition as their kindred the Ostiaks and Vogouls in the Uralian countries, and the Tschudes of the Wolga, who will be described below. They live chiefly in the neighbourhood of Glasow. They worship a superior god whom they term Jumar, and place in the sun; likewise an earth-god and a water-god, with which they connect the representation of a good and evil principle, for the water-god is a maleficent imp. The distinction has, however, no moral import, but only relates to physical good and evil, or what is useful and injurious. To both of these beings sacrifices are offered in consecrated places in the forests. They consist of eatable things, such as honey, milk, sheep, geese; and the offerings are made during eight days at least, three times in a year, viz. at the time of ploughing, before setting the grain in the spring, in autumn, and at the beginning of the hay-harvest. They sacrifice to the good genius in times of prosperity, and to the evil one in adversity. After their prayers the offerings are in part burnt and partly scattered over the land. The priests direct their proceedings. The priests of the Votiaks are termed Toma: they are the chiefs and elders of the tribe. The places of sacrifice are termed

* Gmelin's Reise nach Kamtschatka durch Sibirien, von Jahre 1733 bis 17[illegible]43 Allgemeine Historei der Reisen; Leipzig, 1769, 19th b. Keralio's French translation of Gmelin, tom. i.

Keremets:* they are spots in the forests surrounded by lofty pine-trees. At the fourth great festival in the year, which is after the completion of all their agricultural work, they sacrifice a horse, generally of a fox-colour, never a black one, with other animals; the Toma burns the fat and the bones, and they eat the flesh, but hang up the heads of the oxen and sheep, and the whole skeleton of the horse, in a pine-tree. The prayers are uttered not at the rising of the sun but at midday. The Votiaks besides worship idols, which are a sort of penates. They term them Modor.†

*Paragraph* 2.—Of the Southern or Bulgarian branch of the Tschudish race.

Districts of considerable extent near the middle course of the Wolga, and comprehended in the Russian governments of Nijnei-Nowgorod, Kasan, and Oremburg, are inhabited by the Tschudish races called Morduines and Tscheremisses, among the former of which are sometimes reckoned the tribes of Arsas and Mokshas. These tribes, though resembling in physical characters, and in dress and manners, the Finnish and Permian nations, and connected with them by affinity of languages, are still more closely united among themselves by a near resemblance in their dialects. Of this a sufficient proof is afforded by the vocabularies of all the so termed Finnish idioms collected by various travellers, and of which the largest comparison may be seen in Klaproth's Sprachatlas. The evidence afforded by these vocabularies is a sufficient ground for reckoning the tribes on the Wolga as a distinct branch of the Tschudish people.

The Morduines, according to Pallas, are divided into three tribes, termed Mokscha, Ersan, and Karatag.‡ The former live in the forests, along the banks of the river Moksha, and in the mountainous regions between the Soura and Volga. The names of rivers and brooks indicate, as Pallas observes, that

* Keremets is probably the same as the Kalmets of the Lappes.

† Müller's Sammlung Russ. Gesch. Georgi Beschreib. Pallas, Reisen durch Versch. Prov. 3. Müller's Ugrischen Volkstamm, ii. s. 395.

‡ Pallas, ibid. tom. i. p. 128.

the government of Pensa was formerly inhabited by them.* They differ in dialect from the other tribes of Mordouines.

The Mordouines pretend that they were never idolaters, but worshipped the heavens,† and as Pallas remarks, like all the nations of Tschudish origin, they turn to the east on saying their prayers. Strahlenberg says, that the Mordouines used to sacrifice oxen to their god Jumi-shipas, which is the same as Jumala.

"The Mordouines differ little from the Russians, except in complexion, in which they resemble the rest of the Tschudish nations." Pallas says, "Les Mokshaniens sont moins sales que les Ersaniens. La couleur blonde et même rousse des cheveux est moins commune chez eux que parmi les autres; la plupart les ont bruns ou châtains. Leurs femmes sont, ainsi que les Ersaniennes, rarement belles, mais en revanche très laborieuses."‡

Erman terms the Arsa and Moktscha tribes of the Mordwi. He observes, that the evidence afforded by their languages and most of their customs, connects the Mordwi with the Finnish nations, but that they are distinguished by a more powerful frame of body and greater stature, and by their florid complexion —"weit kraftigere Gestalte und blühende Gesichts-farbe"— from the Finnish nations in more western countries, especially from the Esthonians. A still observable dislike to the slaughtering of animals, except as offerings to supernatural beings, distinguishes the Mordwi, and indicates the prevalence of ideas derived from the Mongoles.

Between the Wolga and the Sura, the country rises into a plateau, covered with oak forests, and inhabited by the Tscheremisses. Beyond the district occupied by this people are the abodes of another separate tribe, termed the Tschuvasches.§

* Pallas, Travels in the Crimea, vol. i. p. 27.

† Pallas, however, observes that the Mordouins have lost, in a great measure the memory of their ancient usages and traditions. They worship the *sky*, under the name of *skaï*.

‡ Pallas, Voy. i. p. 128, &c.

§ It is not improbable that the Tschuvasches may have been originally a Tschudish tribe, who became assimilated to the Turkish race by being long subject to the Bulgarians. The Turkish kingdom of Bolghari extended over extensive countries on the Lower Wolga.

The latter are sometimes included among the Finnish races, but by the testimony of their language belong, according to Pallas, Rosen, and other travellers, more properly to the stock of the Tartars. The Tscheremisses are always reckoned as Tschudes, and are of the same great branch as the Morduines. The Tscheremisses inhabit low huts in the forests: the clothing both of men and women consists of white linen; they are very slow in adopting agricultural habits.

Erman says that the stature of the Tscheremisses is weaker and smaller than that of the Mordwi, and that they display a remarkable timidity in the expression of their countenances. They retain their ancient pagan religion, and make offerings of horses, sheep, and goats to malevolent genii in the darkness of the woods, and present fruits as gifts to the benevolent gods in the open fields.*

The Tscheremisses seen by Erman had long black hair flowing down their shoulders, but this appears not to be the general character. Pallas gives a very different account of them. His description of the Tscheremisses is as follows: "The Tscheremisses inhabit countries watered by the same rivers, Wiatka and Kama: they form a considerable horde in the government of Kasan. They are of a middle stature: almost all of them having hair of a clear chestnut colour, or of a light red: these colours are most conspicuous in their beards. Their faces are very white, but their features broad: they are by no means robust, and are commonly timorous, thievish, and excessively obstinate."†

According to Strahlenberg the Tscheremisses used to worship Jumala, without any image or temple, under green trees. They made a fire and threw meat and bread into it, crying, "Jumala sargala,"—Jumala have mercy upon us.‡

The languages of the Tschudish tribes on the Wolga have many terms cognate with the Tartar or Turkish language; and Adelung and Klaproth suppose the ancient inhabitants of this region to have been intermixed with people of Tartar origin, and particularly with the descendants of the ancient Chasars.

* Reise um die Welt, Band ii. 1. † Pallas, Voy. en Sibérie, tom. vii. p. 24.
‡ Strahlenberg's Hist. of Siberia.

Professor Rask rejects this opinion as utterly improbable, since all the tribes in question keep themselves perfectly distinct from intermarriages with strangers, and will not even suffer foreigners to live among them or near them. According to Rask the dialects of these nations are intermediate links in the chain of Finnish and Tartar languages: they have all preserved parts of an original speech, once common, according to him, to all the Scythian race; and the Wolgian tribes have still more in common with the Tartars than the remote Finns, who were separated at an earlier period from the central body of the nation. A more extensive acquaintance with all the dialects of this family of languages is required, in order to determine which of these opinions rests on the best foundation. It may, however, be observed, that the Finnish idioms have originally some essential characters in common with those of the Tartar nations. We shall hereafter advert to this relationship, and show that there are some grounds for maintaining Professor Rask's opinion, that all these idioms belong to one great class, or perhaps to one great family of languages, which includes all the Finnish dialects, with those of the Tartars and other nations of Eastern Asia.

## Section VIII.—*Of the Ugrian Tribes: Wogouls, Ostiaks, Magyars or Hungarians.*

To the eastward of the nations enumerated above is a more extensive region, inhabited by tribes termed by writers of various times, Ugrians or Ougres, Uralian Finns, or nations of Jugoria.

Ugrien, Jugrien, or Jugoria, is a country the sovereignty of which is claimed in the old imperial title of the Russian czar. There has been much controversy as to its situation. The old traveller Müller placed it in Russia, on the Petschora, and between that river and the Uralian mountains. Schlözer made it extend southward to the Witschegda; Georgi thought it was on the coast of the White Sea, from the Uralian chain to the Obi. According to Lehrberg, who has written a learned memoir on this subject, ancient Ugrien lay not on the coast of the White Sea, nor on the Petschora or the Witschegda, nor in

European Russia. It comprehended a great part of Siberia, between the country of the Samoiedes on the shores of the Frozen Ocean and the gulf of Obi on the northern side, and the domains of the Tartar Khans, reaching from the fifty-sixth to the sixty-seventh degree of north latitude. It extended in breadth from the northern part of the Uralian chain to the river Narym eastward, and to the Agar, which flows into the Obi above Surgut. Lehrberg's authorities are old Russian maps, and passages in the Russian annals, and in the account of Baron Herberstein's embassy to Moskow in 1516. If the inferences drawn from these data are correct, it must be concluded that a great part of the country now called Siberia was at an early period subject, nominally at least, to the Russians of Nowgorod. Southern Jugoria fell afterwards under the Tartars, when it became a part of the Siberian Tartar kingdom or Czariate, or rather Khanate, of Tjumen. This Tartar kingdom was founded by Ousom-khan of the Nogay race. The old Jagorians or Ugrians were the ancestors, as Lehrberg has proved, of the modern Vogouls and Ostiaks.*

It has been thought by many that the name of Ugria is of Slavonian origin, and means "terra ad montes sita," from an etymon in the old Slavonian language, in which case it might be a proper epithet for the country bordering on the Uralian mountains; but a late writer has observed that the region bordering on the Uralian chain has long had a similar name in the language of its native inhabitants, which is quite different from the Russian and Slavonian.† The origin of the name is obscure, but it is, as we shall find, of ancient date, and has been recognised in the national appellative of a race more celebrated than any of the present inhabitants of the Uralian countries.

### *Paragraph* 1.—Of the present Ougres, or of the Vogouls and Ostiaks.

The Vogouls now inhabit the northern part of the Uralian chain. They give themselves out to be the same people as

* Lehrberg, über die geographische Lage und die Geschichte des im Russisch-Kaiserlichen Titel genannten Jugrischen Landes—Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der alteren Geschichte Russlands, von A. C. Lehrberg. St. Petersburg, 1816.

† Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm.

the Ostiaks, and call themselves by the same name of *Mansi*. The districts where they are now found reach from the Vitschera, on the western side, to the Khonda and Tauda on the eastern. They have no community, but wander in separate families through the forests, and live by hunting. They still retain much of their ancient idolatry. There are many rivulets and places in this part of Siberia, which bear the name of Schaïtanska, or Schaïtanskaia, from the idols of the Vogouls, which the Russians commonly term Schaïtan. One of these, says Pallas, was lately found near the Sosva and the Lobva, in a forest newly consumed by fire. It was a statue of copper, representing a man holding a javelin in his hand, and stood near a very lofty pine tree.*

The language of the Vogouls, according to Gatterer, resembles the Hungarian, and the proper Finnish, and more especially the dialect of the Khondish Ostiaks. Georgi, in his description of the nations inhabiting the Russian empire, derives it from the Finnish, but allows it to have so much peculiarity, that it may be considered as a particular language.† Pallas says, "Their language has much affinity with the Finnish, as far as I could ascertain by a vocabulary; but they have several dialects. The Vogouls on the borders of the Sosva differ from those of the Toura, as well in their pronunciation, which is shorter and more masculine, as in their manner of expression. They are more lively than the others, who are naturally phlegmatic.‡"

### *Paragraph* 2.—Of the Ostiaks.

The name of the Ostiaks is very widely spread in Siberia, and is often applied to races of men who are probably very distinct from the proper Ostiaks of Ugrian origin, whose principal country is the region bordering on the Obi. The term Ostiak appears to be derived from the Tartar Usch-stysch, meaning 'foreigner' or 'alien,' and nearly synonymous in the Turkish language with the Tschud or Tschudaki of the Russians. Another origin has been ascribed to the name by Klaproth, but this, according to Erman, is undoubtedly the true one.

* Pallas, Voy. en Sibérie, ibid. † Mithridates, i. p. 559. ‡ Pallas, vol. iii.

The tribes of the Obi, to whom the name of Ostiak is now appropriated, inhabit the country lying to the eastward of the Vogouls, and to the southward of the Samoiedes, who are their neighbours along the shores of the Icy Sea. They dwell on the borders of the Obi and all its contributory streams, from the mouth of the Tym to the Synjaja below Beresow and on the shores of the Irtish up to Demianka. Klaproth has given vocabularies of five Ostiak dialects spoken in different districts of the Ostiak country: they belong to the Ostiaks of Beresow, those of the Narym, the Yugan, Lampokol, and Wassyugan. These dialects are very nearly allied. Other specimens were collected by Messerschmidt, and more recently by Erman who has added much to our previous information respecting this people and their language.

Pallas has made the following observations on the language of the Ostiaks. "The language of the Ostiaks on the Obi has much affinity with the Finnish or Tschoude language, but it has still more with the Vogoul. Many dialects may be remarked, differing according to the country. Those who live above Berezow and those who border upon the Vogouls speak a very mixed language. The Morduine, among the most distant of the Finnish dialects, is that which has most resemblance with the Ostiak."

It is evident, on an inspection of the vocabularies collected by different writers, that the idiom of the Ostiaks belongs to the Ugrian branch of this great family of languages. It is especially much nearer to the Vogoulian than to any other dialect of the same class; out of twenty-two Vogoulian words compared by Erman, twelve are immediately recognised as nearly the same as in the Ostiak. There is no affinity between the Tartar and the Ostiak languages. There is at least not one Tartar word among those collected by Erman. On the other hand, the idiom of these natives of Siberia display traces of some affinity with the languages of the north-eastern regions. Four of the words collected resemble the Kamtschatkan. Many of the Ostiak and Vogoulian words bear in their form and construction a striking resemblance to the languages of the Koluschi and Aztecas in the north-western and central

regions of America. The following are specimens:—*tick-watl*, I will eat; *labtuchotl*, Sunday; *wjätchosachotl*, Saturday.*

The Ostiaks have in some places the practice of tattowing their bodies, producing blue parallel lines by inserting particles of coal. Erman, who observed this fact, says that in Northern Asia the custom of tattowing belongs to the rarest class of phenomena; except among the Ostiaks, he only noticed it among some families of Tungusians in the remote East.†

### *Paragraph* 3.—Of the Hungarians or Magyars.

It has appeared to many persons incredible that a people so full of energy and courage, and so superior generally in physical and intellectual qualities as the Hungarians, should have originated from the same stock as the stupid and feeble Ostiaks and the untamable Laplanders. Yet this opinion has long gained ground, and seems now to have become the general conviction of those who direct their attention to the history of Eastern Europe. The evidence on which it rests is partly historical, and this has been confirmed by philological investigations. That the Magyars originated from Ugria or Jugoria, or from a region bordering on the Uralian mountains, has been always a prevalent tradition in the east of Europe. Herberstein, who resided at the court of Moscow from 1516 to 1526, obtained this account. He mentions "Juharia sive Juhra, ut Rutheni per aspirationem proferunt. Hæc est Juharia, ex quâ olim Hungari progressi Pannoniam occupârunt, Attilaque duce multas Europæ provincias debellârunt. Aiunt Juharos in hanc diem eodem cum Hungaris idiomate uti, quod an verum sit, nescio. Nam etsi diligenter inquisierim, neminem tamen ejus regionis hominem habere potui, quocum famulus meus linguæ Hungaricæ peritus colloqui potuisset." Herberstein evidently confounded the Magyars or Hungarians with the older Hunns, the followers of Attila: the account which

* In the language of the Aztecas this singular termination of words in *tl* is very frequent, as *acatl*, *ochotl*; and the consonants are almost entirely palatines and dentals, as in the subjoined specimen of Ostiak words. The same peculiarity prevails to a great extent in the Kolushian and several other languages of tribes on the north-western coast of America.

† Erman's Reise, i. s. 438.

he obtained related undoubtedly to the Hungarians, whose descendants, according to this statement, spoke a language still extant in the Uralian country in his time. He terms the inhabitants of the Uralian mountains and of Siberia, Ugritzi, and says, "fluvium Oby Vogulini et Ugritzi gentes accolunt."* The southern part of this country was called in the middle ages Great Hungary, from its original inhabitants. It is likewise termed Pascatir and Bascardia, from the Bashkirs, a Turkish race who are its later occupants, and who have often been confounded and supposed to be of the same race with the Magyars. The Franciscan monk Piano Carpini, who travelled in 1246 to the court of the Great Khan, speaks of Great Bulgaria, the country whence the Bulgarians issued, namely, the kingdom of Bolgari on the Wolga; and he likewise mentions the land of the Bastarques, erroneously written instead of Bashkurt or Bashkirs—"qui est la Grande Hongrie."† The minorite William Ruysbroek or Rubruquis, who was sent by St. Louis, in 1253, on a mission to the Khan of the Mongoles, traversed in his way Bashkiria, which he terms Pascatir.‡ The following passage from his narrative, frequently cited from Bergeron, affords some valuable information to my present purpose.§ "Ayant cheminé environ douze journées depuis le fleuve Ettilia (Wolga), nous trouvâmes un autre grande rivière, nommée Jagag (Jaik), qui vient du septentrion et du pays de Pascatir (Bashkir,) et s'embouche dans cette mer. *Le langage de ceux de Pascatir et des Hongrois est le même;* ils sont tous pastres, sans aucunes villes, ni bourgades: du coté de l'Occident ils touchent à la Grande Bulgarie," meaning the old Bulgarian kingdom, of which Bolgari was the capital;—the ruins of this town are seen below Spask, on the left side of the Wolga. "From that country towards the east in this northern side no town is any further to be found. So that Little Bul-

* Herberstein. Rerum Moscovit. Comment. Basil, 1571. Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, s. 106.

† Nestor, ibid. s. 114. Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm.

‡ Mith. ii. 770. Abel Remusat, ubi supra, p. 319.

§ Bergeron, p. 7. "Les Tartares passèrent par le pays des Mordouins—et de là contre les Bileres, qui est la Grande Bulgarie—puis tournant contre Baschart ou Pascatir, *qui est la Grande Hongrie.*" (p. 48.)

garia is the last country where towns exist. It is from this country of Pascatir that the Hunns formerly came forth, who were afterwards called Hungarians, and that is properly Great Bulgaria."

A remarkable passage containing a reference to the Bashkirs in Great Hungary, that is in Bashkiria, has been cited by M. Frähn, the learned editor of Ibn Foslan. It is an account given by a Mohammedan in Aleppo, of the Bashkirs resorting thither. "Ego vero offendi in urbe Haleb magno numero genus hominum, qui Baschgardi audiebant: crinibus et facie valde rubicundis erant et scientiæ juris sacri juxta ritum Abunanifæ operam dabant. Eorum aliquis quem adieram, de ipsorum patria rebusque percontanti mihi respondit. Terra nostra ultra Constantinopolin jacet in regno alicujus nationis Francicæ, id est Europææ, cui nomen Hungarorum est. Nos, Muhammedis sacra profitentes, eorum regi subditi in tractu regni ejus quodam triginta admodum incolimus pagos, quorum quisque etiamsi parum absit quin oppidulum referat, rex tamen Hungarorum metu, ne ipsius detrectemus imperium ne ullum eorum muris sæpiri vetat."* The most remarkable thing here, and that which is puzzling in the account, is, that the Bashkirs are here said to have red hair, which does not agree with their present characters, whereas it coincides with the description of the Ostiaks and other Ugrian nations, and probably was in the early times a trait of their kinsmen the Hungarians. The confusion has probably arisen from the fact that among the Bashkirs, and in alliance with them, there are two tribes of the Tschudish race. One of these, called the Metschegers, have adopted the Turkish language, and are sometimes reckoned among Tartar races. They were, however, mentioned by Nestor among the tribes of Tschudes subject to the Russian empire, and lived in the time of that writer near the Morduines and Tscheremisses on the Oka. The other tribe, termed Teptjäres, still speak a Tschudish dialect, which resembles those of the Votiaks and Tscheremisses.

Different as the modern Hungarians are from the wild Uralian races, the description of the old Magyars at their first

* Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, bd. ii.

arrival in the central parts of Europe accords precisely with that of the Vogouls and Ostiaks, their nearest kinsfolk. They are represented as fishermen and hunters skilled in the use of bows and arrows, but unlike the equestrian and nomadic hordes of the Turkish race. An old chronicler of the events of the ninth century gives the following description of them and notices of their history: "Ex supra dictis igitur locis Scythiæ gens memorata Hungarorum ferocissima et omni bellua crudelior, retro ante sæculis ideo inaudita quia nec nominata, a finitimis sibi populis, qui Pecinaci vocantur (namely, the Petschenegars) à propriis sedibus expulsa est, eo quod virtute et numero præstarent, et genitale rus exuberante multitudine non sufficeret ad habitandum. Horum itaque violentiâ effugati * * * valedicentes patriæ iter arripiunt. Et primo quidem Pannoniorum et Avarum solitudines pererrantes, venatu ac piscatione victum cottidianum quæritant; deinde Carantanorum, Marahensium et Bulgarum fines irrumpunt, perpaucos gladio, multa millia sagittis interimunt, quas tanta arte ex corneis arcubus dirigunt, ut earum ictus vix præcaveri possit."*

It seems on the whole established as an historical fact, that the Magyars are a people of the Ugrian race who inhabited the country on the southern part of the Uralian mountains, whence they were expelled by the Turkish tribes of Petchenegers and Chasars, and that they sought refuge in the plains near the Lower Danube. In this region they first made their appearance in the reign of the Greek emperor Theophilus, between 829 and 842. Their subsequent history has been traced by M. Zeuss in the works of Byzantine historians, particularly in the description of the empire by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and in the Russian annalists. It seems that their own national appellation is Magyar. By the Russians they were termed Ugri, as originating from Ugria, and this name has been corrupted into Ungri and Hungarians.†

* Regino ad ann. 89;—citat apud Zeuss, ubi supra, p. 747.

† Nestor terms them Ugri; the Bohemian name for them is Uhry, the Polish, Węgry, pronounced like the French Vingry, whence the corrupt Russian Wengri. The *n* is introduced by the Polish pronunciation. Nestor calls the Magyars "Black Ugri," to distinguish them from the "White Ugri," a name which he gives the Chasars. From the fact that the Russian historian gives to this Turkish tribe the same

We must now advert to the proofs of connection which have been discovered between the language of the Hungarians and the dialects of the Finns and Tschudes. All these idioms belong to one family of languages. In the present chapter we must consider their mutual relations. In a succeeding one the proper place will occur for inquiring more particularly what relations they all bear to the languages of other human races.

Philologers have compared the Hungarian language with various other idioms. Beregszaszi has found resemblances between the Magyar and the Semitic and most of the Indo-European languages, and even with the Mantschu, the Kalmuk, and Tartar: the only northern language which he has admitted to this comparison is that of the Algonquins in North America, and the affinities discovered in this last with the Hungarian are, in the opinion of Erman, more important than those which have been traced in any of the before-mentioned idioms. This fact deserves a fuller investigation. The affinities discovered or imagined between the Hungarian language and the idioms of the Asiatic nations, compared with it by Beregszaszi, may be sufficiently explained, as Gyarmathi has proved, by reference to the ancient wanderings of the Ugrian tribes, and to the intercourse which nomadic races maintain with the different nations dwelling near the paths of their migratory course. But this solution will not be found applicable to the resemblance between the Magyar and the languages of the Finnish stock. It was long ago observed by Rudbeck, by Strahlenberg, and others, that there are numerous words common, or very similar, in the speech of the Hungarians and the Laplanders. This fact first became fully known to the astronomers Hell and Sajnowïts, who were sent from Vienna to Lapland, in 1764. The latter published at Copenhagen a work entitled "Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse."

name, with merely a distinguishing epithet, it appears, as M. Zeuss observes, that he uses these designations without ethnographical accuracy, and gives them to both Magyars and Chasars merely because they successively had possession of the same country, namely, the plains between the Ural and the Pontus, which were a part of Ugria or the Uralian land.

Since that time the subject has occasionally occupied the attention of philologers,* and the idiom of the Hungarians or Magyars has been compared not only with the Lappish but also with many other languages belonging to the same family. Gyarmathi, who was familiar with the Hungarian as his native speech, and who had studied the Lapponic and other dialects, has demonstrated the intimate relation of the Magyar with the idioms of the Lappes and Finns, a relation which, as he has proved, not only comprises a great number of their original words or primitive roots, but extends likewise through the fundamental principles of their grammatical structure. This first work of Gyarmathi was followed by another from the same author, to undertake which he was incited by the celebrated Schlözer. Schlözer furnished him with the materials which enabled him to compare the Hungarian language with the dialects of the Esthonians, the Votiaks, Tschuvasches, Tscheremisses, Permians, Syrjænians, and Morduines. These languages are still too imperfectly known to admit of a complete analysis and comparison of their grammatical systems with that of the Hungarian, but the evidence produced by Gyarmathi is sufficient to prove beyond all doubt that an extensive analogy exists between them. It has been proved by several late writers, that though all these idioms belong to one great department, which, strictly speaking, may be termed one family of languages, the affinity between the Hungarian and the Eastern or Asiatic branches of this stock is much closer than that between the Hungarian and either the proper Finnish, or the idioms spoken by the Tschudish nations in the Russian provinces of Europe. The Hungarian dialect embraces a great number of words derived from other languages of Asia and the eastern parts of Europe, but its nearest affinity is with the idioms of the Vogouls and the Ostiaks, and more particularly the latter. Klaproth has maintained this opinion, and has sufficiently established it by a comparison of vocabularies taken from all the principal Tschudish and Finnish dialects; and some additional evidence has been adduced

* A treatise by J. Hager appeared at Vienna, in 1793, under the title "Neue Beweise der Verwandtschaft der Ungarn und der Lappländern."

to the same result by Müller, and the enterprising and intelligent traveller Erman.*

We have, on the whole, sufficient evidence from the affinity of these languages to confirm and establish the conclusion supported by historical testimony, that the Magyars emigrated from the country termed Great Hungary, which bordered on the Uralian mountains, and was a part of the Old Ugria of the Russians; and further, that this people, now the most energetic and courageous, and in all moral and intellectual qualities the first nation in Eastern Europe, are of the same stock with the degraded Vogouls and Ostiaks, from whom they descended, and whom they precisely resembled at the era of their first appearance in Europe.

## Section IX.—*Observations on the Physical and Moral Characters of the Ugrian Tribes.*

The three nations described in the last section, viz. the Vogouls, Ostiaks, and Magyars, may be considered as belonging to one division of the widely-extended race, which supplied the earliest known inhabitants of the north of Europe and of part of Siberia. They formed as it appears one nation at a period much more recent than that of the separation of the Iotunns and Tschudish tribes. The dispersion of the latter over northern Europe must have long preceded the arrival of the earliest Teutonic colonies in the countries bordering on the Baltic. The separation of the Magyars from the other Ugrian nations took place some centuries since the Christian era.

### 1. *The Magyars.*

But the descendants of the Magyars who now inhabit Hungary differ widely, as it is well known, in physical and moral characters from the savage Vogouls and Ostiaks, as well as from their own ancestors. Hence arises a question of great interest, to what causes this change is to be ascribed? Is it the result of intermixture with Turkish or Tartar na-

* Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm. Erman's Reise um die Erde, b. i.

tions? This has been the opinion of some writers. But it must be remarked that the Hungarians had quitted their ancient country, and had settled on the Danube long before the great invasion of the Mongoles, and therefore before the eastern parts of Europe, as well as the west of Asia, were brought under the permanent dominion of the Turkish khanates. It appears that a part of the Magyar race were expelled from their original abode by Petschenegars and Chasars, who were Turkish tribes. In the wars which preceded this migration, the intercourse of the Ugrian people with their Tartar enemies is not likely to have been so intimate as to produce an intermixture of the two races. But what seems decisive on this question is the fact, that on their arrival in Pannonia the Magyars were in their habits and mode of life entirely unlike the nomadic Turks. Previously to that era they had undergone, as we have seen from the passages in the last section in which they are described, little or no change in manners, and they were still exactly like the other fishing and hunting tribes of the Uralian mountains. Soon after their arrival in Europe the Magyars came into a sort of alliance with the German princes, and assisted them against the common enemies of both races, the Slavonian nations, who were making inroads into the heart of Germany, and whom the Magyars expelled from the fertile parts of Hungary, which have been since their permanent abode. It does not then appear, from the circumstances of their history, probable that the Hungarian people can have been at any time intimately associated or blended with the Turkish race.

The principal causes of the great difference which exists between the Magyars and the other tribes of the same race, must be sought in the influence of external circumstances exercised during ten centuries, and by the change of habits induced by the events of their history. They exchanged their abode in the most rigorous climate of the old continent, a wilderness where Ostiaks and Samoiedes pursue the chase during only the mildest season, for one in the south of Europe amid fertile plains, which abound in rich harvests of corn and wine. They laid aside the habits of rude and

savage hunters, far below the condition of the nomadic hordes, for the manners of civilised life. In the course of a thousand years they have become a handsome people, of fine stature, regular European features, and have the complexion prevalent in that tract of Europe where they dwell. In liveliness and wit, and warlike courage, they are certainly not inferior either to the Slavi of Bohemia or the Germans of the Austrian territories, with whom they have been long connected by political relations.

## 2. *Of the Vogouls and Ostiaks.*

The transmutation of the Magyars above noticed is so remarkable a phenomenon in the history of human races, that it furnishes a motive for a more accurate inquiry into the moral and physical condition of the still barbarous tribes who are the kinsmen of the Magyars in the north. In another point of view I have thought it advisable to collect all the information within my reach connected with this subject. The reader will be enabled by it to compare the aborigines of Europe with those of Africa. He will perceive, after weighing the evidence of facts, that the earliest inhabitants of this now favoured quarter of the world were in no respect superior to the most destitute tribes of Southern or Central Africa.

Although the Ostiaks are so nearly related to the Hungarians, they differ from that people widely in physical as well as moral characters.

The physical characters of the Ostiaks are thus described

* The Magyars are the dominant race in Hungary, but form not half the population: they do not amount to more than three millions and a half out of ten millions. The Slovaks, a Slavonian people from whom the Magyars conquered the country, still inhabit the mountainous parts. They amount to two millions. A late traveller in Hungary, Mr. Paget, describes the Hungarian women as remarkably beautiful. Though the Slovaks are a people of flaxen hair and light grey eyes, the Magyars are remarkable for very dark hair and large full eyes, joined with a fair complexion. Mr. Paget speaks of the swarthy features of the Magyar peasants. He says that they differ much from the Slavic peasantry, who are distinguished by a slow, heavy look, and that the females of Hungary have not that coarseness of outline which adheres to the Saxon race. (Hungary and Transylvania, by John Paget, Esq. Lond. 1839. Vol. i. pp. 10, 265.)

by Pallas: "The greater part of the Ostiaks are of middle stature, rather short than tall, slightly robust, with thin and slender legs: they have almost all a disagreeable figure and pale complexion: no particular feature characterises them. Their hair, *commonly reddish or of a golden white*, renders them still more ugly, particularly the men, who let it fly in all directions round their heads. There are very few agreeable figures among the women, particularly when they are advanced in age. The Ostiaks are very simple, timorous, and full of prejudice. They are tolerably good-natured. Their life is hard, and by no means pleasant. The men are much given to idleness. They are very slovenly, and even disgusting, in their way of living."

The following description of the same people is by the celebrated old traveller Ysbrandt Ides, who visited Siberia in 1692:

"The Ostiaks are of middle stature, most of them having yellowish or red hair, and their faces and noses being disagreeably broad; they are weak, and unable to labour hard: averse to war, and unfit for military exercises. Their chief weapons are bows and arrows, with which they shoot a few wild beasts, but the principal part of their food is fish. Their clothes consist of sturgeon and other fish-skins, for they wear neither linen nor woollen. Their shoes and stockings are sewed together, and they wear a short coat with a cape or hood, which in case of rain they pull over their heads."

The Vogouls, bordering on the Ostiaks, differ from that people in their complexion and features. They are a dark or black-haired race, and have features which, according to the description given by travellers, approach the Mongolian. In this respect they resemble the Lappes. Both nations, on the borders of the Frozen ocean and in the Northern Ural, appear far removed from any probable commerce or intermixture with the race of Kalmuks or Mongoles.

Pallas thus describes the personal character of the Vogouls:

"The Vogouls are little and effeminate. They have some resemblance to the Kalmuks, except that they are whiter. They have round faces: their women are tolerably handsome. They have long hair, of a brown or black colour: fair or red-haired persons are rarely seen among them. They have little beard, and what they have is very late in its growth."

The best account of the habits of the Vogouls is given by M. Erman; of it the following is an abstract:*

"The Vogules are a handsome people; they change their abodes after much longer intervals than many tribes of Siberia, being only induced to remove from their quarters by a wish to spare the game. There are never more than five huts, to which the Russians give the Tartar name of yûrti, in one station, and as the wild animals would be scared by too much smoke, two such camps are never seen at a less distance than fifteen wersts from each other. It is worth while to remark, that all our observations on the style of building in these yûrts, and in the arrangement of their fireplaces, agree precisely with what we afterwards noted among the Ostiaks. Reindeers serve them as domestic animals, and in summer draw their light sledges over smooth marshy grounds. Winter is, however, their season for labour, for travelling, and assembling together. It is then that they are occupied with the hunt for peltry, with which they carry on a very profitable barter with their neighbours the Ostiaks, Samoiedes, and Russians. For this traffic they make long annual journeys towards the north-east. In the warm months the Vogules give themselves up to sleep and repose from their winter toils, when, for the protection against flies and gnats afforded by the smoke of their yûrts, they seldom quit their habitations. Here they consume at leisure the booty of the winter."

M. Erman collected a vocabulary of Vogoulian words, which, compared with the idiom of the Ostiaks, display so much resemblance as fully to prove that the two nations might hold converse together. It is remarkable at the same time, that out of twenty-two Vogoulian words collected, not one has any affinity to a Tartar root, while four indicate a striking analogy to the speech of the Kamschatkans.

M. Erman describes the features of a Vogoul, the only individual of the race whom he had an opportunity of seeing when on the borders of their country, which he visited at the season when they seldom quit their huts. He says that the features were so distinct as to be striking even in a man clothed in a Russian dress. "A peculiar dark expression—ein eigen-

* Reise um der Erde von Adolph Erman, bd. i.

thümlich finsterer Blick—of the eyes, which are deeply set in their orbits, together with that type of countenance which is generally considered as characteristic of the Mongolian nations, with cheek-bones extremely projecting, are traits of the Vogules.* A more vigorous frame, of middle height, stronger bones and very different manners, a demeanor serious and almost dejected, distinguish them widely from the Tscheremisses and Tschuvasches, but reminded us of the external appearances of the Votiaks."†

We have less information concerning the moral characteristics of the Vogouls, whose country in the northern tracts of the Ural is out of the path of intercourse, than respecting the Ostiaks. Ysbrandt Ides describes their whole religious worship to consist "in making an offering once a year, when they go in crowds into the woods, and killing one of each species of beasts, they flea off the skins, hang up the carcases on a tree, and falling prostrate on the earth, offer up their prayers; after which they eat the flesh and retire home; which being done, they are free from the trouble of praying for that year. They acknowledged a God, who reigns over the sun, moon, and stars, and likewise a resurrection from the dead. When any of them die they lament over the corpse in a dismal manner. With the body they bury all the bed apparel and ornaments of the deceased, with some money."

They marry as many wives as they can keep. The husband purchases the bride of her father. They never marry within the fourth degree of consanguinity. They have no priests.

The same traveller has given a curious account of the religious rites of the Ostiaks. He says, "they worship gods made of wood or earth in various forms: yet they acknowledge a supreme God who governs all things, but to him they pay

* Other writers might be cited who agree in ascribing to the Vogouls a precisely Mongolian type of features. The following is the account given of them in the journal of Laurence Lange, who was sent on a mission from St. Petersburg to the Emperor of China in 1715: "We found in the mountains of Werchoturia another sort of people, who call themselves Wogulteg; they are like the Kalmuks, with broad faces, short and thick noses, and small eyes. They can give no account how they came thither; nor is their language the same as that of the Kalmuks." (Laurence Lange's Journey to Pekin.)

† Erman, i. 384.

no worship. They dress their idols in silken clothes and place them in their huts. On one side of the god hangs a wooden vessel with milk or pap, with which they daily feed their idols; but as the idols cannot swallow the milk-diet, it runs out of their mouths down their whole bodies, where it remains in a manner very disgusting. When they pay adoration to their gods, they stand before them in an erect posture, tossing their heads backwards and forwards, without bending their bodies in the least; besides which they whistle and cheerup with their lips as we do when we call a dog."*

Strahlenberg says, "that when he was among the Ostiaks they had images of various shapes rudely carved, before which they walked about perpetually making a noise with their mouths like mice or rats. It is said, he adds, that they were formerly wont to drown a virgin once a year in the river Oby, as a sacrifice to the god of that river, as the Egyptians used to do to that of the Nile."†

The author of the 'Allgemeine Historie der Reisen,' in his 'Besondere Nachricht von den Ostiaken,' observes that they have gods of two sorts, one public and the other private, or worshipped only by individuals or families. This is precisely the fetish worship of the Negro nations. When Philoteus Archbishop of Tobolsk undertook their conversion, he found that they had idols of metal: their idols were in the shapes of animals, such as dogs, bears, and reindeers. The father of a family was the sole priest, magician, and godmaker: he makes offerings, consults the gods as oracles, and announces the advice which he obtains. Some Ostiaks have, like the Laplanders, magical drums, of which they make use in order to learn whether they shall recover of diseases, whether their fishery will be prosperous, and, when anything is lost, whether

* "Some of the Ostiaks came one day on board the ship in which Ysbrandt Ides was, to sell fish, when one of his servants having a Nuremberg bear in clock-work, which when wound up drummed and turned his head backwards and forwards, and continually moved his eyes till the work was down, he set the machine at play. As soon as the Ostiaks espied it they mistook it for a god, and all of them performed before it with great zeal their customary religious worship and danced excessively in honour of the bear, nodding their heads and whistling at a great rate." (Ysbrandt Ides.)

† Strahlenberg, p. 434.

it will be recovered; in short, for all those purposes for which credulous people in civilised nations consult wizards, or persons supposed to be possessed of some mysterious craft.*

M. Erman has communicated additional information respecting the worship of the Ostiaks. According to him, they have an hereditary order of priests and magicians termed Schamans, to whom belongs the office of mediating between men and the gods, of announcing oracles, and offering sacrifices. These schamans pretend to be invulnerable, and pierce their bodies with knives, which, according to the testimony of eye-witnesses at Obdorsk, they thrust into their bellies. The Russians believe them to be inspired by the devil. Erman thinks it likely that these hereditary priests hand down some esoteric dogmas explaining the performance of their external rites. Of these last he has given an account, which, as he says, he has delivered the more fully, as he received it in writing from Russian eye-witnesses, because he afterwards observed with extreme astonishment precisely the same rites put in practice in America among the Koluschians on the Sitcha.† The magical rites of the schamans near Obdorsk begin with movements and contortions before a fire: the magician cries horribly, beats a sort of drum, agitates himself, and shakes the metallic appendages of his robe, and the bystanders strike with their arms upon iron kettles. At length the schaman throws himself on the ground, and the bystanders put a halter round his neck and cover him with a skin, intimating him to be in the society of spirits: two men draw with all their strength the ends of the halter, and the priest thrusts his hand round his neck to prevent himself from being strangled, which, however, has actually occurred. When he can no longer hold out, he makes a signal that the spirit has left him, and then imparts to his companions the intimations which he has received.

* Allgem. Hist. des Reisen. Besondere Nachricht von den Ostiaken, s. 541.

† I refrain, says M. Erman, from any further remarks on the customs of the Ostiaks till I come to describe them as I afterwards witnessed them among the American aborigines. "In the mean time it will be worth while to consider the armed dances still practised in Hungary. We may be led in this way, and by the medium of the Ostiaks, to a clearly-marked point of contact between the nations of Europe and the American aborigines."

Opportunities have occurred of extending a more inward research into the metaphysical and religious notions entertained by the Ostiaks, which are the more valuable as similar means of investigation are wanting with respect to all other Siberian nations. The metropolitan Philopheï, who in 1712 attempted the conversion of the Ostiaks on the Obi, was accompanied by Grigoryi Newizkyi, who is said to have been incited, not by the sacred desire of winning souls to the Christian fold, but merely by a wish to learn what really were the old traditional notions of the pagan Ostiaks. The important fact of which this curious inquirer became thoroughly convinced, and of which, according to Erman, there is no room whatever for doubt, is, that the Ostiaks, with all the degrading materialism of their superstition, have yet, and had before Christian missionaries came among them, a firm conviction in the existence of a Supreme Being, of whose nature they had pure and exalted ideas, and to whom they affirmed that they had never made offerings, neither had they ever attempted to represent his form. Toruim is the name of the supreme divinity among the Ostiaks, and it is remarkable that the same denomination is connected with a similar meaning by the Vogouls. The notions represented by it in the minds of these people were so pure that the Russian missionaries everywhere adopted it as a designation for the object of Christian worship, while they endeavoured to wean the people from a belief in the sensual objects of their superstition, or taught them to regard the latter as demons. The last-mentioned order of gods were according to the same authority the deceased members of each family, images of which were preserved, and for three years fed, as before described, in the houses of the deceased, after which period they were interred; while the defunct schamans were permanently deified, and had temples containing rude images erected to their honour, many of which are found in the country of the Ostiaks. The Ostiaks had besides four inferior divinities, which were denominated *Oertik, Yelan, Long, Meik;* from the former it can hardly be doubted that the name of *Oerdoeg* is derived, which among the converted Hungarians has always been used as the designation for the devil, though it must be observed that Oertik of the Ostiaks is a beneficent demon,

the favourite of Toruim, and in the contingencies of life a powerful intercessor. His form is merely a rude bust without feet, the wooden face being covered with a metallic plate, and the body clothed with valuable furs, which are the donations of worshippers. Yelan has a somewhat different form. This idol is honoured with dances executed before him by men in complete armour, which, according to Erman, who has visited the country of the Kolushians on the Sitcha, are strikingly similar to the war-dances of these Americans. Long is the master of secret and refined artifice; medicine belongs to him: offerings made to him by the sick must be works of art: skins are never presented to him. Meik is a sort of devil, the god of unluck; his wooden block is covered with an unadorned robe of a beaver-skin: to his image the Ostiaks make vows of gifts and service when they are in danger of perishing in the wilderness, or of being destroyed by storms of snow. In the places consecrated to these images gifts are found, such as vessels of gold and silver, and coins: the value of these deposits is said to amount in some cases to ten thousand rubles, and the crime of plundering them is punished by the Russian government by exile in the mines. Beside such gifts the Ostiaks sacrifice to their idols great numbers of reindeers, apparently as expiatory sacrifices, since they put them to a slow and cruel death.*

## SECTION X.—*Concluding remarks on the Physical and Moral Characteristics, and on the History of the Tribes belonging to this Family of Nations.*

A comparison of these nations with respect to their physical and moral characteristics will suggest some remarks interesting in their bearing on the natural history of the human species.

There are many instances of considerable diversity in form, stature, and complexion among these nations, making their appearance under circumstances which prevent our ascribing them, with any degree of probability, to intermixture with foreign races.

* Erman's Reise um die Erde, Band ii. Berlin, 1638.

Some tribes have generally black hair and eyes, and dark complexions; others are xanthous, have light and blue eyes; some have hair of a fiery red, and this so generally as to excite strongly the attention of travellers. Dobrowsky has divided the tribes of this race according to their complexion. He says, "Some other nations akin to the Finns by language have almost uniformly red hair and blue eyes; such are the Permæcki, the Siræni, the Wotiaks, the Ostiaks of the Obe, as Strahlenberg declares." The circumstance above observed is so much the more remarkable as other tribes akin to the Finns by the alliance of language have black hair and black-brown eyes. Such are the Laplanders, the Tscheremisses, the Mordwinns, the Wogules. To the black-haired class belong also the Hungarians, as indeed their language approaches most nearly to that of the Wogules."*

Dobrowsky refers to Strahlenberg, whose testimony is of greater weight as he spent many years in Siberia, and seems to have described the people from his own observation. Strahlenberg divides the tribes inhabiting the Russian empire by their complexions. He says, "Some of them have black hair and small dark-grey or grey-brownish eyes, while others have reddish hair and large bluish eyes. The Bashkirs, Cosaci Horda, the Oby Ostiaks, Permæki, Siræni, and Wotiaks have almost all red hair and bluish eyes. And the Tscheremissi, Kalmucs, Wogulitzi, Morduini, Samoiedes, Laplanders, and a part of the Finnlanders have black hair and little dark grey or brownish eyes."†

It must be observed that these statements are too general to be perfectly accurate; we have seen from a more particular account that differences exist in individual tribes. The Lappes of some districts have fair complexions with yellow hair: this, as we have seen, is the case in Uma Lappmark, where the Lappes are of taller stature and finer form than in Lula Lappmark, and often have light hair and fair complexions. If the diversity of complexions followed the great divisions of the Iotune or Tschudish tribes it might be ascribed to intermixture with foreign nations, but this is not the fact. The generally

* Dobrowsky, Litt. Nachrichten, s. 93. † Strahlenberg, N. and O. Asien, 172.

black-haired Lappes belong to the same great branch as the xanthous Finns: again, the Vogouls, who are almost equally dark as the Lappes, are nearly allied to the red-haired Ostiaks, and both these tribes to the dark-haired and handsome Hungarians.

The cause which gives rise to this variety of complexion is difficult to discover. It can hardly be ascribed entirely to difference of climate or of race. It must be observed that, in general, the appearance of fair complexion is connected with greater stature and a larger and more vigorous frame than that which is prevalent in the darker tribes or families. Von Buch remarks that the cause of this variation is very obvious. It lies in the difference of external circumstances and agencies, which depends not on local but on moral conditions. The Finns are well fed and warmly clothed, and sheltered from the inclemency of the winter cold, of which they further lessen the effect on their constitution by the frequent use of hot baths. The Laplander, as Von Buch observes, never keeps himself in a degree of temperature sufficient for the full developement of physical life. The same conditions which give rise to the difference of stature, since the two phenomena occur together, may be supposed to occasion also the variety of complexion. It seems here as if the appearance of the xanthous variety, with a fair, florid complexion, was the result or accompaniment of a greater degree of vigour in physical life, and a more ample developement of the body, and particularly of the sanguiferous system. Perhaps this state of the constitution and bodily growth is connected with the abode of the parents and the birth of the infant, in a cold climate. The adaptation of such a habit of body is evident. But when the cold is extreme and nutrition is defective, this additional degree of vigour and developement is not given to the bodily frame. Nature has not power, with such defective means, to accomplish it.

It is not less important to notice the diversities which exist between these tribes in the form of body and the shape of the skull, in which every intermediate degree may be traced between the character of the Turanian races and the Indo-Atlantic or European type. On this subject enough has been said in the preceding sections.

# CHAPTER VI.

## OF THE GERMAN NATIONS.

### SECTION 1.—*General Survey.—Extent of Ancient Germany.*

THE German nation, reckoned at the Christian era among barbarians and beyond the boundaries of the civilised world, had soon after the end of the fourth century achieved the conquest of the Roman empire. In moral energy the German race was so superior to the rest of mankind, and the Romanized nations were so prostrate before their arms, that the old stock of inhabitants might eventually have been exterminated from Europe, if German dynasties and German colonies established in conquered provinces had not changed the condition and renewed the vigour of the subdued people, among whom the new race formed for some centuries a military and noble caste. Franks and Alemans, and Burgundians and Visigoths in Gaul; Heruli, Goths, and Langobards in Italy; Suevi, and Vandals, and Ostrogoths in Spain, were in too small a proportion in the mass of the people to impress their language eventually on the conquered nations. In these countries the Latin idiom and the physical and moral characters of the old races have prevailed; and the great body of the people may be considered as descended from them. It was chiefly in Britain and on the Upper Rhine and towards Switzerland that a German population, properly so considered, encroached far on the boundaries which had previously limited the extent of that race, and in these countries Saxon and High German dialects became the vernacular and eventually the national speech.

Ancient Germany was bounded by the Rhine and Danube towards the south, by the ocean on the west, on the east by

the Vistula,* or by the uncertain limits of Sarmatian tribes; towards the north ancient Germany had no limitations: all the countries beyond the Baltic, supposed of old to be islands or clusters of islands in the Northern Ocean, were comprehended in its extent.

It must be observed that some German tribes lived beyond these limits, both towards the east and west. German tribes were known in Gaul, and several of the nations inhabiting Sarmatia, that is the region beyond the Vistula, were ascertained or supposed to be of Germanic origin. On the other hand, there were districts within the boundaries of Germany still occupied by people foreign to the Teutonic blood. Such were the Celts of Boiohemum and of the Hercynian Forest, and the remains of the aboriginal people of Scandinavia. The Wends of Northern Germany perhaps entered it after the great southward migration of the northern tribes.†

The diversified nature of the country in different parts of Germany may have given rise to the great varieties observed in the character of the inhabitants. The districts on the Rhine were the best cultivated; and here under the Roman dominion towns of growing refinement soon displayed themselves: Strasburg, Spiers, but particularly Mentz and Cologn,—for the left branch of the Rhine was already occupied by German tribes in the age of Cæsar,—became flourishing cities soon after the Roman government was established over Gaul. In the interior of Germany the Hercynian Forest extended over tracts which a traveller could pass in sixty days. Taking its rise near the fountains of the Rhine, it terminated at Rugen on the Baltic, in order to reappear on the northern coast of that inland sea and cover the whole of Finnland. The Black Forest, the Odenwald, the Westerwald, Spessart, the woulds of Bohemia, Thuringia, and the Hartz, are remains of the Hercynian Forest. The northern coast of Germany consisted of morasses, subject to frequent inundations, where the natives fixed their

* Germania hinc ripis Rheni usque ad Alpes, à meridie ipsis Alpibus; ab oriente Sarmaticarum confinio gentium; quâ Septentrionem spectat oceanico littore obducta est. (Pompon. Mela, de situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 3.)

† Schloezer thought that some of the Wendish tribes had obtained a footing in ancient Germany before the migration of the northern tribes, but he wa nearly singular in that opinion.

dwelling upon spots of firmer and more elevated soil. Between the sea-coast and the Hercynian Forest the country consisted of vast heaths or steppes, for the most part only fit for pasturage and the chase. This was the land of the Suevi, a nomadic people of simple manners, but high-minded and valiant, and in warfare prodigal of that life which they expected to recover in the everlasting halls of Woden.

Both Cæsar and Tacitus describe the Suevi as the most powerful and warlike division of the German race. According to the latter they were not a particular tribe, but a great division of the German people, divided into different names and kindreds, though all bearing the common designation. It was characteristic of the Suevi to braid their hair and tie it over their heads in knots, which was considered as a mark of freedom. The most ancient and noble of the Suevi were the Semnones, who assembled at a stated time in a sacred grove, and there, as Tacitus says, by the public slaughter of a human victim, celebrated the fearful origin of their sacred rites.*

*Paragraph* 1.—Divisions of the German race into four great tribes.

Ancient writers have left us some accounts of the distribution or division of the German race into lesser groupes or families; but these would be unintelligible if they were not illustrated by philological information. Researches into the history and affinity of languages and dialects afford in this as in other instances the most available means of arriving at satisfactory conclusions as to the relations of particular tribes. The first writer who attempted with any degree of success to distribute and classify the German dialects, and to trace the history of the German language, was the author of the Mithridates. Adelung divided the whole number of the German dialects, both extant and such as are only known by written remains, into two classes, which he supposes to belong respectively to two races; he terms the races, with very doubtful propriety, Suevi and Cimbri, and their language the Ober-deutsch or Upper-German, and the Low or Nether-German. He supposed the Ober-deutsch or Upper-German, of which the modern

* Tacitus, Germania, c. 38.

High-Dutch is a refined and improved variety, to have been originally the language of all the tribes in the north-eastern parts of Germany. In the same department he included the Goths, the Suevi, and the Vandals, some of whom are by later writers, as we shall observe, considered to form a separate class. The Low-German or Nether-Dutch language and its dialects belonged, according to Adelung and others, to the Saxons, Frisians, and other nations of Western Germany. The difference of these two languages is, in the opinion of Adelung, so strongly marked that it cannot be supposed to have originated in Germany, but argues a very ancient separation of the two races before they quitted their primitive bodes in remote parts of Asia. Though these tribes must ave undergone, both in earlier and in later ages, occasional ntermixture from the mutual alliances and subjugations which ake place among neighbouring tribes, yet the distinctive chaacter of their dialects is still clearly to be recognised in the ifferent branches of each great stem. Local relations have ineed changed, and that within the age of authentic history; the uevic tribes having abandoned their country in the northast of Germany to various hordes of Slavonic origin who ntered it after the great southward migration of the German ordes, transplanted their language to the south-eastern parts f Germany and the adjoining countries. From the Suevic or lemannic branch are descended the people of Switzerland, lsace, the Upper and the Middle Rhine; from the Langoards, who took a more easterly direction, are derived the Bavarians, the Austrians, the Tyrolese, and other German subjects of Austria, and the people who still preserve relics of the German language in the Vicentine and Veronese.

The distinctive character of the Upper German language consists partly in a peculiar mode of utterance, for which the people who speak it are remarkable. It abounds with guttural and hissing and imperfectly articulated consonants, and deeplytoned diphthongal sounds, which take place of the softer dental and palatines, and the open vowel sounds of the Lower German dialects.

The Lower German language must not be confounded with the Platt-deutsch, which is only one of its varieties. The

dialects of this speech in general are remarkable for substituting a soft aspirate for the hard guttural, a dental *t* for the sibilants *s* or *s*, a simple *s* for the hissing *sch*, *p* for *pf*, or for *f*, as piper for *pfeifer*, *tehen* or ten for *sehen*. Adelung observes that the Lower German languages are rich in expressions connected with navigation, traffic, and maritime affairs, but poor in abstract terms. The characteristics of the Lower German are recognised in the dialects of all the Belgians and the borderers on the Lower Rhine, in the English and Lowland Scottish.*

Adelung considered the Scandinavian dialects, in which are included the Icelandic, the Danish and Swedish, as intermediate between his two principal German languages, and supposed them to have resulted from an intermixture of tribes belonging to the two great divisions of the German race in the Scandinavian peninsula. Later writers on the history of the German languages have been led by further research to adopt a very different conclusion on this subject. Professor Rask has maintained that the German and the Scandinavian, or the old Northern speech, may rather be termed sister languages than cognate dialects. He observes that "the dialects of the Scandinavians and those of the Germans have respectively many traits by which the members of each are connected among themselves, and distinguished from those of the opposite division." Even the classical High German and the language of Holland resemble each other in many particulars, in which both differ from the Swedish and Danish.† Rask therefore considered the old Norse and the German as two sister languages, and this opinion coincides with that of Professor Jacob Grimm, the most celebrated philologer who had devoted himself to the history and etymology of the German language. Grimm divides the dialects of the German language into four classes: first, the Gothic, known to us by the extant parts of the version of the Scriptures, made by Ulphilas into the idiom of the Mœso-Goths; secondly, the Old High German, or the

* These remarks were published by Hofrath Adelung in his history of the German language, and afterwards appeared in the second volume of the Mithridates.

† Rask, über das Alter und die Echtheit der Zendsprache, &c., übersetzt von F. H. von der Hagen. Berlin, 1826.

Francic; exemplified by the remains of Otfried, the glosses of Keron, and other relics of the language prevalent in Franconia, Swabia and Switzerland during the middle ages; thirdly, the Low German dialects; fourthly, the Northern language, the Norse or Scandinavian. He observes that these four great stems of dialects display various relations to each other. The first and second are nearly related; by Adelung they are reckoned, as we have seen, under one division, that of the Upper German, but the mutual affinity of the three German languages is much closer than the relation which they all bear to the Old Norse.*

A learned and accurate writer, whose main object has been history and ethnography, M. Zeuss, has availed himself of these results of philological research in elucidating the distribution of German tribes left by Pliny and Tacitus. His attempt appears to be more successful than any former endeavours,

* Professor Grimm's data are developed in his Herculean work on the German languages, which bears the inadequate title of "Deutsche Grammatik." His general conclusions were collected from scattered notes and papers in periodical works by M. Zeuss, in a work entitled "Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme," p. 79 et seqq.

I must here observe that some remarks have been made on the philological system of Professor Grimm by a writer whose opinions on subjects of this nature are entitled to the highest regard. M. E. Barnouf, in the appendix to his learned "Commentaire sur le Yaçna," maintains that it is advisable, in comparing the Germanic languages with the Zend and Sanskrit, to limit the comparison to the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon, and to pass over the Francic, termed by Grimm the Old High German. "Je le nomme Francique à bon droit d'après l'exemple d'Otfrid." He adds his reason for this advice: "Dans le Germanique et l'Anglo-Saxon on voit un type général; tandisque dans le Francique, l'on voit beaucoup de nuances diverses qui me semblent être plutôt locales que chronologiques. Grimm a pris pour base la prononciation la plus rude, comme la mieux caractérisée; mais, à mon avis, elle n'a jamais été générale. Allez à Zurich ou à St.-Gall, vous y trouverez encore aujourd'hui les gloses de Kéron toutes vivantes. Grimm a même été jusqu'à prendre quelques monosyllabes Gothiques pour des contractions, quand l'orthographe de l'ancien Haut-Allemand présentait en apparence deux syllabes, par exemples *baurgs* = purah. Mais cela n'est que l'endurcissement des organes qui ne savent pas prononcer une consonne après un *r*, sans l'intervention d'une voyelle parasite. La forme Gothique s'est maintenue dans toutes les langues romanes: borgo, Burgos, bourg. Les gloses donnent *homo* (homme): Otfrid écrit *gomo*, et c'est ainsi qu'ont parlé les Francs de la cour; le nom de la reine Gometrude le prouve. Ainsi donc l'ancien Haut-Allemand ne ferait que compliquer la doctrine des permutations, qui est simple et belle entre le Sanscrit, le Grec et le Latin d'une part, et le Gothique de l'autre." (M. Barnouf, Comm. sur le Yaçna. Addit. et Corr. clxiii.)

made, as it has been, with better resources. Tacitus has given an ancient myth, prevalent among the Germans in his time, respecting the origin of their race and its principal distributions:—"Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus est, Tuisconem deum, terrâ editum, et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque. Manno *tres* filios assignant e quorum nominibus proximi oceano Ingævones, medii Herminones, cæteri Istævones vocantur."* The story of the earth-born god Tuisco and his son Man, is a piece of mythology which was probably misunderstood by Roman interpreters, but the three names which follow are plainly the designations of three great tribes or divisions of the German race, and they seem all to belong to the Teutonic or southern division of it, that is to exclude the northern or Scandinavian. For this important section of the Germanic race a name is wanting in the enumeration of Tacitus; and the old saga on which it was founded, appears not to have included them among the descendants of Tuisco and Mannus. They seem to be comprehended by Pliny under the designation of the Hilleviones,† who are said to have inhabited an island in the Northern Ocean of vast extent and deserving the appellation of a new world.

The brief notices of an ethnographical division of German tribes left by the Roman writers, compared with the results of philological investigation, afford some ground for distributing the nations of ancient Germany under the four following heads:

* Different attempts have been made to explain these names. It is probable that the termination *ones* is but a formal ending, similar to that of Gothones and Burgundiones, which are likewise written Gothi and Burgundii. We have then the simple names Ingæv, Istæv, Hermin. Ingæv is supposed by M. Zeuss to be the same word as Yngvi, which meant originally *noble, exalted*, and is the root or etymon from which the royal race of Sweden derived their name so celebrated in the northern sagas of Ynglingar. *Istæv* or *Isdæv* is derived from a root, meaning an illustrious race, of which Grimm has displayed the relations. It is thought by Zeuss to be synonymous with Astingi, the name of the royal caste among the Visigoths and Vandals. In like manner the name of the Herminones has been derived from the Gothic word *airmun*, in Old High Dutch *irmïn*, and connected with the celebrated names of *Irminsul* and *Arminius*: it therefore means, as applied to a class of nations, "the mighty or powerful ones."

† Sinus Codanus—refertus insulis. Quarum clarissima Scandinavia est, incompertæ magnitudinis; portionem tantum ejus quod sit notum Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis. (Plin. H. Nat. lib. iv. c. 13.)

1. Herminones, termed Hermiones by Pliny, comprehended among them four tribes or races: the Suevi, including probably the Quadi and the Marcomann, joined in the Suevic kingdom of Maroboduus; the Hermunduri, ancestors of the Thuringians; the Chatti; and the Cherusci. To these tribes mentioned by authors among the Herminones some others are added, supposed to have belonged with them to the same Upper German stock or to the class of nations by whom the High German dialects were spoken. The principal of these are the Sigambri, the Batavi, the Tubantes, the Lygian nations in the eastern part of Germany, to whom the Vandals were allied, and the Bastarnians, still further eastward than the Lygians. The countries inhabited by all these nations are situated inland or towards the centre of Germany, in their relative position compared with the remaining tribes, who are either nearer to the German Ocean and the Baltic, or in remote parts towards the north-east, in the territories lately belonging to Poland and Old Prussia.

2. The Ingævones are placed by Tacitus near the ocean. They were the inhabitants of the west and north-west of Germany. Pliny enumerated among these tribes the Cimbri; the Teutones, supposed to be the Jutes, to the eastward of the Oder; and the "Chaucorum gentes," further westward, on the coast of the German Ocean towards the Ems. These are the people to whom the Low German dialects belonged; but the enumeration of the tribes is, as we shall find, very defective.

3. The Istævones of Tacitus are supposed by M. Zeuss to be the tribes comprehended in the class of German nations termed by Pliny "Vindili," whose name probably meant people of the sea-coast. The Vindili are nations inhabiting the coast near the mouth of the Vistula and the eastern part of the Baltic countries, which were afterwards occupied by Slavic and other races foreign to the Teutonic blood. They were the Guttones, Gothones, whose language is preserved in the Mœso-Gothic version, for there is scarcely a doubt that the Gothones are the people who, having migrated to the southward, were afterwards known as Goths. The Burgundiones were ancient neighbours of the Goths; they were on this side of the Vistula: the abode of the Varini and Carini is not ascertained.

4. The Hilleviones or Scandinavian nations, of whom the different tribes are enumerated by Ptolemy, claim the fourth German language, or the Old Norse.

The outline thus sketched may suffice for showing that the principal divisions of the Germanic nations as marked out by the ancient traditions of the people, and handed down to us by Roman writers, coincide in a general point of view with the distribution of races which the German dialects display. I shall now attempt to give a more particular account of the several groupes of nations, and of the geographical positions of each tribe. In this I must incur the risk of furnishing a somewhat tedious catalogue of names, which, however, is necessary for elucidating the history of ancient Germany, and for laying a groundwork for further researches into the origin and connection of the nations of modern Europe.

## SECTION II.—*Of the early Abodes and History of the Tribes belonging to each of the great Branches of the German Race.*

Modern writers who have treated on the geographical divisions of Germany and the position of the different German tribes, such as Cluverius, D'Anville, Mascou, Mannert, Luden, and Reichard, have collected and compared the notices regarding their history left by ancient authors. A later and more successful attempt to elucidate this subject is to be found in the work of M. Zeuss, who seems to have exhausted all the resources that can be brought to bear upon it. In the following enumeration I shall nearly follow his arrangement.

### *Paragraph* 1.—Nations of the Oberland or Highland of ancient Germany.

The following German nations mentioned by the ancient writers inhabited the inland and higher countries. They appear, as far as can be collected from relics of their idioms, and from the orthographical construction of proper names belonging to them, to have spoken High-German dialects. They are supposed to have been comprehended in the division of Ger-

man tribes termed by Pliny and Tacitus Hermiones and Herminones. M. Zeuss has enumerated these tribes under the following divisions: 1. The Sigambri and some other tribes who inhabited the high country on the Rhine from the neighbourhood of Neuwied upwards. 2. The Chatti and Hermunduri in Hessia and Thuringia. 3. The Cherusci and other neighbouring tribes in the country between the Upper Weser and the Elbe, occupying the territories of Brunswick Luneburg, and the adjoining tracts, in the southern part of Lower Saxony. 4. The Marcomanni and other nations in Bohemia and its borders. 5. The Lygian tribes, between Bohemia and the Vistula, in the modern Silesia and the Duchy of Posen. 6. The Bastarnian tribes beyond the Vistula and near the Carpathian mountains.

### A. *Of the Sigambri and the neighbouring tribes.*

1. The Sigambri, a powerful German tribe in the time of Cæsar, are placed by that writer "proximi Rheno."* They are supposed to be the Gambrivii of Tacitus,† and the Gamabriuni of Strabo,‡ and occupied the first hill country on the right bank of the Rhine near Neuwied.§ Subdued by the Romans they were transplanted to the left bank of the Rhine, where they occur under the name of Guberni, between the Ubii and Batavi, opposite the mouth of the Ruhr, in the neighbourhood of Meurs. 2. The Marsi,‖ a tribe of obscure history, hardly distinguishable from the Sigambri, are mentioned by Tacitus with the Gambrivii.¶ Neither of these tribes is mentioned after the time of Ptolemy by their old names: under those of Franci and Salii, they became formidable to the Romans. 3. Ubii, to the southward of the Sigambri, before the time of Cæsar "civitas ampla atque florens."** They were removed by the Romans to the country about Cologn.†† 4. Usipii, Tencteri, Tubantes, inhabited, after the defeat of Varus, the country on both sides of the Lippe.‡‡ Ptolemy

* Cæsar, Bell. Gall. vi. 35. † Tacit. Germ. ii.

‡ Γαμαβριούνοι, Strab. vii. p. 291. See M. Zuess, p. 83. Strabo generally terms them Σούγαμβροι, Sugambri; and Ptolemy Σύγαμβροι. Late writers term them Sicambri.

§ Zeuss, p. 83. ‖ Strabon, lib. vii. p. 290. Tacit. Ann. lib. i. c. 56.

¶ Strabo expressly terms them a part or section of the Sugambri.

** Bell. Gall. iv. c. 3. †† Tacit. Ann. 12. 27. Germ. 28. ‡‡ Tacit. Ann. i. 60.

places the Tencteri near the Sieg, and the Tubantes southward further from the Rhine. All these three tribes seem to have been absorbed into the mass of people who appear under the later name of Alemanni.* 5. Ampsivarii, driven by the Chauci from territories on the Lower Rhine, sought the refuge of many other expelled tribes on the bank of the Rhine to the northward of the Lippe.† They appear in later times, in conjunction with the Chatti, as forming a considerable portion of the Franks. 6. Chamavi in earlier times occupied the same region as the Usipii and Tubantes;‡ placed by Tacitus to the southward of the Frisii; by Ptolemy in a later time, joined with the powerful tribe of Cherusci in the country reaching towards the Hartz mountains. They were joined afterwards to the Franks. 7. Bructeri, divided into Greater and Less by the river Ems, on the banks of which they are placed by Tacitus and by Ptolemy.§

B. *Chatti and Hermunduri, and the neighbouring Tribes.*

To the eastward of the Sigambri Cæsar mentions only Suevi.‖ The Suevi of Cæsar are soon afterwards termed Chatti and Hermunduri. Cæsar describes an extensive desert to the southward of the Suevi: thence the old Celtic inhabitants had been expelled; this was the country settled by the Romans under the name of the Agri Decumates. Beyond the latter Tacitus places the Chatti.¶ The Chatti occupied an extensive country of triangular form, one corner reaching to Mount Taunus on the Rhine, one to the Upper Werra, and the third below the Diemel.** The Mattiaci†† were a small tribe near Mount Taunus,‡‡ at the "Heissen Brunnen," *Hot Springs.* The Chattuarii, indicated by their name to be a section of the Chatti, as well as the Batavi and Caninefates, who are declared by Tacitus§§ to have been descended from the same people, inhabited, as it appears, the islands of the Rhine.

* Zeuss, p. 90. † Tacit. Ann. B. c. 55, 56.

‡ Tac. ibid. Germ. 34. § Ann. i. 60. Strabo, vii. p. 291.

‖ Bell. Gall. vi. 10. ¶ Tacit. Germ. c. 30. ** Zeuss, p. 98.

†† Mattiacum, with a Celtic termination, was a name originating probably, as Zeuss conjectures, with the neighbouring Celts, "Mattiaci in Germania, fontes calidi trans Rhenum." (Plin. 31, 2.)

‡‡ Plin. N. H. li. 2. §§ Tac. Hist. iv. 12.

They were driven out of the country by the Chatti. 2. The Hermunduri, beyond the Chatti, extended from the Werra towards the East; they were placed by Tacitus at the source of the Albis, but that writer was probably not well informed as to the higher course of the river Elbe.*

### C. *The Cherusci and the neighbouring tribes.*

The Cherusci are mentioned by Cæsar among the chief tribes of Germany, their name being found with those of the Suevi and Sigambri. After the Romans had broken the power of the latter, the Cherusci made an obstinate resistance: they destroyed the legion of Varus and withstood the arms of Germanicus. They defeated the army of Maroboduus, and the Suevic confederacy united under that leader.† In later times he Cherusci, as heads of the Saxon Confederacy, opposed hemselves to the Franks and Thuringians. The territory ccupied by this great and powerful nation cannot be exactly letermined by any extant account. According to a statement btained from Ptolemy, they occupied the countries to the orthward of the Hartz forest,‡ which in later times separated he Saxons from the Thuringians, as in Cæsar's time the orest of Bacenis divided the Cherusci from the Suevi.§ The Cherusci are mentioned together with the neighbouring tribe of Fosi.‖ The Angrivarii inhabited both sides of the Weser, adjoining the Cherusci.¶ The Langobardi had, according to Ptolemy, the Chauci on their northern side, and reached eastward to the Elbe, to the southward of Hamburg, and towards Saltzwedel.** Velleius nearly agrees with Ptolemy in his account of the position of the Langobards. He places them near the Chauci, and reaching towards the Elbe.†† It seems, from the narrative of Tacitus, that the Langobardi were neighbours of the Cherusci, whom they joined in the war against Maroboduus, but they were comprehended in the great Suevian

* Germ. 41. Zeuss, 104.

† Cherusci sociique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumpsere bellum in Maroboduum. (Tac. Ann. ii. 45.)

‡ Ptolem. loc. cit. Zeuss, 107. § Bell. Gall. vi. 10. ‖ Tac. Germ. 36.

¶ Tac. Ann. ii. 8. ** Zeuss, 110.

†† Velleius, ii. 106. Ruptæ Chaucorum nationes:—fracti Langobardi, gens etiam Germanâ feritate ferocior; usque ad flumen Albim Romanus cum signis perductus exercitus.

empire of that chieftain. Next to the Langobards Tacitus enumerates several nations, evidently beyond the Elbe, with the exception of the Angli, who are proved, by a passage of Ptolemy, to have inhabited the left bank of that river.* The Langobards were already celebrated in the time of Tacitus for the valour which they displayed in their warlike enterprises.† The Dulgibini, Chaulci, and Chasuarii were inferior tribes near the Langobards, to the eastward of the Elbe.‡

D. *The Marcomanni and the surrounding nations.*

The celebrated tribe of the Marcomanni are first mentioned by Cæsar among the followers of Ariovistus: their position appears to have been on the upper and middle course of the Mayne, whence their warlike bands found an easy path towards the east, south, and west.§ Hence Maroboduus led them into a country, surrounded by mountains, which had been previously abandoned by the Boii, and which retained from its ancient inhabitants the name of Bojohoemum or Bohemia.‖ Strabo is not clear in his account of this event, but the situation of the Marcomanni is distinctly marked by Ptolemy. He mentions the Varisti as living on one side of the—Γάβρητα ὕλη—Silva Gabreta, and the Marcomanni on the other. The Gabreta Silva, as M. Zeuss observes, can be no other than the Böhmerwald, or Bohemian forest. To the eastward the Marcomanni were separated from the Quadi by the Hercynian forest. Even towards the south they extended not beyond the chain of mountains: between the latter and the Danube, lesser and evidently Celtic nations are placed. At the head of the Suevic kingdom founded by Maroboduus were the Marcomanni; they are called especially Suevi. By this name Tacitus distinguishes them in more than one passage.¶

* Germ. 40. Ptol. ibid. Zeuss, ibid.

† "Langobardos paucitas nobilitat, quod plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium sed præliis et periclitando tuti sunt." (Tac. Germ. 40.)

‡ Tacit. Germ. 34. Ptolem. ibid. § Bell. Gall. iv. 3.

‖ Gens Marcomannorum, quæ Maroboduo duce excita sedibus suis atque in interiora refugiens incinctos Hercyniæ silvæ campos incolebat. (Vellej. ii. 108.) —Boiohoemum: id regioni quam incolebat Maroboduus, nomen est. (Vellej. ii. 109.) Manet adhuc Boiohoemi nomen signatque loci veterem memoriam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus. (Tac. Germ. 42. Zeuss, ubi supra, 15.)

¶ Annal. ii. 62. i. 44. Zeuss, p. 107.

The Quadi were the eastern neighbours of the Marcomanni. The eastern part of the Hercynian forest which surrounded Bohemia, the wald or forest of Moravia, separated the Marcomanni from the Quadi,* beyond whom Ptolemy places the Λοῦνα ὕλη—Lunian wald, the country of anciently worked iron mines, which in the time of Tacitus were dug by the Gothini.† It does not appear that in Cæsar's time the Quadi had yet settled in this country. That writer places the Volcæ Tectosages, who were Celts, in the Hercynian forest; and M. Zeuss has observed that they cannot with probability be fixed in the forest country of Moravia, and that the Quadi were perhaps bands of the victorious Marcomanni who pushed their conquests on the eastern side.‡

Beyond the Quadi and the Luna sylva, that is towards the south-east, Ptolemy places the *Bæmi*, whom he terms "a great nation reaching to the Danube, and there bordering on the Teracatriæ." The latter were perhaps a Celtic people. It seems that after the leaders Maroboduus and Catualda had fallen, the Suevic bands founded a new domain under Vannius, at the head of the Quadi, and these are probably the Bæmi, who preserved the name of Bohemia, from which they had been driven. By Tacitus this new Suevian state, which reached to the Carpathian mountains, is termed "dives regnum, quod Vannius trigenta per annos auxerat." His subjects are termed Suevi by Tacitus, and this tribe of Suevi, which in later times had the name of Bæmi, were the farthest of all the German tribes towards the south-east, where they reached, according to Ptolemy, from the Lunian forest to the Danube.§

It was in the eastern region of Germany, and among the Suevian tribes, that those warlike confederations began in the second century which first disturbed the Roman empire. At the head of these were the Marcomanni and other Suevic bands, as the Quadi, whom Ammianus terms "immensum quantum antehâc bellatrix et potens."‖

### E. *The Lygian tribes.*

The Lygii or Lugii are placed by Tacitus to the eastward

* Tac. Germ. 41. C. Ptol. loc. cit. Zeuss, 118. † Tac. Germ.

‡ The name of the Quadi is perhaps preserved in Quedlinburg.

§ C. Ptolem. p. 53. ‖ Ammian. xxix. 6.

of the nations already mentioned. They were a groupe of nations distinct from and in hostility with the Suevi. Ptolemy reckons among them the Buri, who are placed by Tacitus nearly in the same quarter, and makes them extend to the Vistula.* The country of the Buri was near the sources of the Oder and the Vistula.†

### F. *The Bastarnæ.*

The Bastarnæ are the first German nation mentioned in history: they are enumerated among the troops led by the Macedonian king Perseus against the Romans, in the first half of the second century before Christ. Their abode was on the northern bank of the Lower Danube, whence they reached to the Carpathian mountains, behind the Dacians. As the Greeks were accustomed to the inroads of Gauls from the adjoining tracts of the Scordisci, they mistook the Bastarnæ for Gauls, and Polybius, Plutarch, and Livy, who copied Greek accounts, mention the Bastarnæ as Galatæ. Strabo, however, declares them to be of the Germanic race:‡ he was the first writer who gave any distinct account of them and of their tribes. Pliny likewise asserts them to be Germans, and Tacitus fully confirms that opinion by reference to their language. "Peucini quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt."§

The physical characters of the Bastarnæ must have been remarkable, since they are noticed by many writers, as resembling those of the great northern races of Europe. Polybius mentions their great stature and boldness in combat, and Livy observes their "procera et immania corpora," and "quanta in periculis audacia." Plutarch terms them "*ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα, θαυμαστοὶ δὲ τὰς μελετάς, μεγάλαυχοι δὲ καὶ λαμπροὶ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπειλαῖς.*"‖

The Bastarnæ, as M. Zeuss observes, appear as the first numerous German nation who moved gradually towards the Euxine from their ancient abode, which was probably near the higher course of the Vistula in the neighbourhood of the

* Tac. Germ. xlv. Ptolem. Geog. lib. ii. cap. 11. † Zeuss, 125.
‡ Strabo, vii. 306. § Plin. iv. 14. Tac. Germ. xlvi.
‖ Polyb. xxvi. 9. Liv. xl. 5. et seqq. Plut. Aemil. Paul.

ygii. By Scymnus Chius they are mentioned as a new people n the neighbourhood of the Pontus.* Their movements have n historical importance which we shall have occasion to otice when we come to the history of the Goths.

*aragraph* 2.—German tribes inhabiting the Low Countries on the sea coast, supposed to be the Ingævones of Tacitus.

A. *Frisii,† Chauci, and the neighbouring tribes.*

The name of the Frisii, which is still preserved in that of riesland, appears first in history in the account given by Taci- us of the expedition of Drusus, by whom they were obliged to ay tribute:—"Frisiis, transrhenano populo, Drusus tributum usserat modicum pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militares oria boum penderent."‡ Pliny mentions the Frisii and Frisia- ones with other nations between the mouths of the Rhine, bove the Batavi.§ Ptolemy makes the "*Φρισσίοι*" inhabit- nts of the whole sea-coast of the German Ocean, as far as the nouths of the Ems, or Amisios.

The Chauci are joined with the Frisii in the earliest accounts f that people, with whom they appear to have been nearly onnected. The Weser flowed through the country of the Chauci and divided them into two bodies. "Visæ nobis Chau- orum gentes, qui majores, minoresque appellantur," says Pliny. Ptolemy mentions the Lesser Chauci as succeeding o the Phrissii, that is, situated to the northward of them, and eaching to the river Visurgis or Weser, after whom were the Greater Chauci, reaching as far as the Elbe or Albis. The Greater Chauci occupied the modern Dutchy of Bremen. Taci- tus describes the situation of the Chauci in a similar manner. He says, as we turn from the west of Germany towards the north, we first discover "the country of the Chauci, which though it begins immediately from Frisia and occupies part of the sea-shore, yet stretches so far as to border on all the nations before mentioned till it winds round to meet the territory of the Chatti." He represents the Chauci as bordering to the north- ward on all the western nations of Germany. "This immense

* Scym. Ch. v. 50. *Οὗτοι δὲ Θρᾷκες, Βαστάρναι τ' ἐπήλυδες.*

† Tac. loco supra citato. ‡ Tac. Ann. iv. 72. § Plin. H. N. iv. 15.

tract is not only possessed but filled by the Chauci, a people who maintain their greatness by justice rather than violence. They abound in men and horses, and maintain their military fame even in peace."*

Pliny visited the country of the Chauci, and described the people and their mode of life from personal observation. "On this coast," he says, "the Ocean twice in each day and night ebbs and flows over an immense space, which is subject to an eternal controversy between the sea and land. Here the miserable inhabitants keep themselves in cabins fixed on hillocks, and are like people floating in boats when the sea has risen, and like shipwrecked wretches when it subsides, and they catch around their dwellings the fishes which fly from them in the retiring waters. They can feed no cattle for food or milk, nor even carry on war against wild beasts like their rude neighbours, since neither pastures nor thickets are at hand. They weave into cords sea-weed and marshy reeds, and with these materials frame nets for catching fish; they have no other drink than water collected in troughs from showers of rain. Yet these nations, if conquered by the Romans, would deem the lot of servitude their greatest calamity. Thus does fortune indulge many for their own punishment."

B. *Nations of the Cimbric Peninsula and the neighbouring countries.*

We have already mentioned the Cimbri among th enations whose connection with the Celtic race is rendered on the whole probable, by a few words of their language which are yet extant, and by the description left of their manners. The Romans took them for Germans, as Plutarch says, judging from their complexion. An argument which probably had more weight was their connection with German tribes, particularly with the Teutones. It does not appear, however quite clear that the Cimbri left their northern abode in company with the Teutones. It might be supposed, from t occasion on which the Teutones are first mentioned, that th met the Cimbri accidentally, when both nations were engag in a similar attempt. The Cimbri were first seen by t

* Tacitus, Germ. c. 35.

Romans under the Consulate of C. C. Metellus and Cn. Papirius Carbo, B.C. 115, when they invaded Illyricum and defeated the consular armies.* Noreja is mentioned by Strabo as the place of the conflict.† Neither of the writers names the Teutones on this occasion. Appian, indeed, probably by mistake, terms the host merely Teutones. He mentions their departure thence into Gaul. In the south of Gaul the Cimbri were again victorious: they passed the Rhone, and, after defeating the Roman generals, traversed the Pyrenees into Spain, and were repulsed by the Celtiberi. After their return to Gaul they resolved upon the invasion of Italy, and here they are found acting in concert with the Teutones.‡ But they marched by separate routes: the Teutones and Ambrones, who appear to have been more closely connected, passed in one body through Liguria, while it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to traverse Noricum by a north-eastern route. The defeat of both armies by Marius immediately ensued.

This account leaves it somewhat doubtful whether the migration of these tribes from the north was a simultaneous movement; and even if it were, the circumstance by no means proves their consanguinity. The Tigurini, who joined their expedition into Italy, are known as a Celtic tribe.§ The armies of Attila included bands of Goths, Alani, and other nations, and the Teutones and Ambrones may have been people reduced under the more powerful Cimbri, without any family relationship.

The Teutones are supposed to be mentioned by Pytheas:‖ Pliny names them among the Ingævones or German tribes, who inhabited the sea-coast. Tacitus appears to term them Nuithones, among the nations beyond the Elbe. Ptolemy places them opposite the Langobards from the Elbe to the Oder, between the Saxones, Suardones, Suevi, and Varini, that is, near the lakes of Mecklenburg and the Havel.

The Ambrones, closely connected, as it appears, with the Teutones, vanish from history. Nothing is found to indicate

* Livii Epit. 65. † Strabo, v. p. 214. ‡ Liv. Epit. 67.

§ Eutropius mentions them thus: "Romani Consules in Cimbris et Teutonibus, et Tigurinis et Ambronibus quæ erant Germanorum et Gallorum gentes victi sunt." (Lib. v. 1.)

‖ The passage of Pliny in which Pytheas appears to have mentioned the Teutones is probably corrupt, as we shall afterwards observe.

from what quarter of the north they came, and M. Zeuss conjectures that their descendants are the Saxons beyond the Elbe. The Teutones were identical with the Jutes.

*The Saxones.*—The original tribe of Saxons must be distinguished from the Saxon confederacy of late times, which embraced many tribes or divisions of tribes. The Saxons named and described by Ptolemy are a single tribe, whose abode was opposite the Cauchi, on the neck of the Cimbric peninsula; they reached from the mouth of the Elbe to the river Chalusus, supposed to be the Trawe. Ptolemy also mentions three islands belonging to the Saxones in the mouth of the Elbe, probably Nordstrand, Föhr, and Silt. This was the tribe whence came the followers of Hengist.*

Several tribes of lesser note are mentioned by Ptolemy as living southward of the Saxons, on the peninsula of the Cimbri.

The Anglii were the most southern tribe of this groupe of nations. Ptolemy mentions the Angili or Anglii as a Suevic nation: he places them to the eastward of the Langobards, and extending northwards to the Elbe. This position indicates that they lived near the Lower Saale, along the Elbe, down as far nearly as the Ohre. The situation of the Angles on the western bank of the Elbe, opposite the Semnones and Varini, and in the neighbourhood of Hermunduri, Langobards and Cherusci, might lead to the suspicion that they belonged like those tribes to the Upper German stock; but their intimate connection with their northern neighbours, and the remains of the Anglo-Saxon literature, which display no varieties of dialect, combined with other arguments, leave no doubt that the Angles were a Low-German race.

### C. *Tribes on the coast of the Baltic: Suardones, Rugii, Turcilingi, and Sciri.*

The Sciri were the most remote people of the German race. They lived beyond the Vistula, in the neighbourhood of the Wends and Aistians.

I shall mention the nations of the fourth, or northern or

* The name of Saxons is supposed by many, and M. Zeuss adopts this opinion, to be derived from the weapons which the Saxons bore: "Erat autem illis diebus Saxonibus magnorum cultellorum usus, quibus usque hodie Angli utuntur, morem gentes antiquæ sectantes. Cultelli nostra lingua *sahs* dicuntur."—Witech. Corbej. p. iii.—Zeuss, 150. Nennius makes Hengist say to his followers, "Nimed eare saxes,"—Take your weapons.

Scandinavian, branch of the German stock, in a future section.

*Paragraph* 3.—German tribes of the north-eastern region.

Nations of the German race in the north-eastern region beyond the Oder, and spreading thence to the Vistula, and beyond that river through countries long since occupied by tribes of a different lineage, may be considered as a particular division of great Teutonic people. By M. Zeuss these nations are supposed to be the third department of the German tribes termed Istævones, but this identification is by no means so well established as the two former.* It is more evident that the eastern German nations are the Vindili of Pliny, who mentions the particular names—"Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones." The first and last of these are known to have inhabited countries bordering on the Vistula.

In a following section I shall endeavour to investigate the history of the principal nations belonging to this groupe, and I shall at present merely advert to their ancient positions.

1. The principal nation among them are the Guttones, doubtless the Gothones of Tacitus.† All modern geographers place this tribe beyond the Vistula. Pytheas found a people of the same name in that country, that is inhabiting the coast of the Frische Haff, three centuries before the Christian era. Their name is recognised in that of the river Guttalus, supposed by Voigt to be the Pregel, which flows by Königsberg into the gulf of Dantzig.‡

* Tacitus places the Ingævones on the ocean, as we have seen, and Pliny mentions them among the Chauci and Teutoni. The Hermiones of Tacitus are the Middle or Midland tribes—Hermiones medii. Pliny mentions them, namely, Suevii, Hermunduri, Chatti, and Cherusci. Thus far there is no doubt, but we have no hint from Tacitus who were the Istævones; he only says that they were the remaining tribes. But Pliny terms the Istævones "proximi Rheno." Pliny must then have been mistaken, if the Istævones are the eastern German nations. Yet he is said to have collected his information respecting Germany in the country.

† Tacitus places the Gothones beyond the Lygian nations, which is near the situation of the Guttones of Pliny.

‡ That the Guttalus was some river to the eastward of the Vistula appears, as Voigt observes, from the order in which it is mentioned. In enumerating the rivers of this country Pliny mentions the Guttalus first, then the Vistula, and the Albis or Elbe last. It appears that he begins from the eastward. See Voigt's Geschichte von Preussen, b. i. s. 40.

2. To the westward of the Vistula were the Burgundians, mentioned by Pliny among the Vindili. By Ptolemy their situation is marked out: he says they are next to the Semnones, whose position upon the Oder is known, and reaching to the river Vistula.* Reichard, Voigt, and Zeuss suppose them to have inhabited the coast of Pomerania about the rivers Netze and Warta.

3. Of the other tribes mentioned by Pliny, the Varini are placed by Voigt in Mecklenburg and Swedish Pomerania, where the river Warnow, Warnemunde, and other local names seem to preserve their national epithet. They are probably the people known to late writers, as Jornandes and Fredegarius, by the name of Warni. The Carini are entirely lost.

4. Semnones, who according to Velleius and Ptolemy occupied an extensive country reaching from the Elbe to the Oder, are considered by Zeuss as belonging to the eastern German race. They were a great Suevic nation, and, if the name of Suevi had any ethnological meaning, would rather seem to be associated with the Hermiones or nations of the Central Highlands.

## Section III.—*Of the Migrations of the German Tribes into the Roman Empire, and the subsequent Distribution of the German Races.*

We have seen that the German tribes, previously to the movements among them which commenced about the second century of the Christian era, held a local position nearly corresponding with the division of their families and dialects. Along the coast of the German Ocean, and across the isthmus of the Cimbric peninsula to the shore of the Baltic, were spread the tribes of the Chauci and Frisii, the Anglii, Saxones, and the Teutones or Jutes, who spoke the Low-German languages, and formed one of the four divisions of the German race, corresponding, as it appears, with the Ingævones of Tacitus and Pliny. In the higher and more central parts the second

* Ptolemy names them *τὸ τῶν Βουγουντῶν ἔθνος*. There can be no room for doubt that he means the Burgundiones.

great division of the race, that of the Hermiones, was spread, the tribes of which spoke Upper or High-German dialects. Beginning in the west with the country of the Sigambri on the Rhine, and from that of the Cherusci and Angrivarii, near the Weser and the Hartz, this division comprehended, besides those tribes, the Chatti, the Langobardi, the Hermunduri, the Marcomanni and Quadi, the Lugii, and beyond the Vistula, the Bastarnæ in the neighbourhood of the Carpathian hills. To the eastward and northward of the last-mentioned, near the lower course of the Vistula, and thence at least as far as the Pregel, were the primitive abodes of the Goths and their cognate tribes, who are perhaps the Istævones.

In the second century of the Christian era movements began to take place, almost simultaneously, as it would appear, in various parts among the northern and western nations of Germany, which gave rise to extensive changes in their relative positions and brought them into new combinations. The confederacies that were formed for the common objects of conquest or migration assumed new names, and it is in many instances difficult to recognise under the epithets now given to the several groupes of German tribes, the various nations associated in each department. In some few examples the old designations were preserved, but in most they were abandoned for titles which are now for the first time heard, but which continued to be celebrated during the middle ages, and in some instances still maintain a conspicuous place in the history of modern Europe. I shall enumerate the most extensive of these confederacies: their history contains that of the principal revolutions which changed the condition of ancient Europe, and brought into existence the national divisions, and the social and political arrangements of modern times.

### 1. *Of the confederacy of the Alemanni.*

One of the earliest of these confederacies was that which bore the name of Alemanni. The origin of the Alemanni was a coalition of various bands, the relics of many conquered tribes in the middle parts of Germany.

It is uncertain what particular tribes contributed in the first place to form this aggregate. It is probable that they were

chiefly Suevic nations. The name of Suevi or Suabi was soon associated with that of Alemanni, and here we find the link by which the old Suevian designation passes into the modern one of Suabian.

They are called by the earliest writer who mentions them *ξύγκλυδες ἄνθρωποι καὶ μιγάδες*,* a communion or assemblage of many nations, which, as it seems, they meant to express by the assumed name of All-men, Alle-männer, or Alemanni.

The original position of the Alemanni was the debated and often vacant land in the corner between the Rhine, the Danube, and the Mayne, which is nearly the situation of Suabia. They became known about the time of Caracalla,† and were powerful on the Rhine and in the north-eastern parts of France till they were conquered by Clovis and the Franks. Procopius and Jornandes, in relating the transactions of the times of Aetius and the Gothic king Theodoric, mention a tribe termed Suevi, Suavi, or Σουαβοι, as intimately associated with the Alemanni.‡ By Paul, the Lombard historian, they are identified.§ "Regio illa Suevorum," says Jornandes, "quibus juncti Alemanni, ab oriente Boioaros habet, ab occidente Francos, in meridie Burgundos, a septentrione Thuringos."‖ The German Swiss and the Suabians are the descendants of the Alemanni.

## 2. *Of the Franks.*

All the countries on the Rhine, from the Alemannic or Suabian territory to the mouth of the river, were the region of the Franks, a name more formidable to the Romans than even the preceding. The first Franks were the Sigambri, who after their subjugation under Drusus, disappear for a time, but

* The earliest account of the Alemanni is found in a passage cited by Agathias the Byzantine (Histor. i. 6.) from the relation of Asinius Quadratus, who is extolled for his accurate knowledge of German affairs. (See M. Zeuss, p. 306.)

† Alemannorum gentem devicerat. Spartian in Antonin. Caracall. c. 10. Dion. Cassius, 67. Gibbon, chap. 10. Zeuss, 205.

‡ The Peutingerian table places Alamannia between Suavia, (which name is here applied to the country of the Chatti and Hermunduri,) Hessia and Thuringia, and the Armalausi in the back of the Schwartzwald. (Zeuss, 808.)

§ Droctulf ex Suavorum, hoc est, Alamannorum gente oriundus. (Paul. Diac. iii. 18. Zeuss, 317.)

‖ Iornandes de Rebus Geticis.

are mentioned by Ptolemy under their old name, and soon afterwards appear in alliance with the Chamavi under the designation of Franks or "Freemen" on the banks of the Lower Rhine, from the Lippe to the mouth of the river. It appears from Gregory of Tours and other writers, that the name of Sigambri was not forgotten by the Merovingian Franks.*

But there was another and a distinct nation who also took the name of Franks. In the reign of Aurelian, a people called Franks appeared in the neighbourhood of Mentz, and laid waste Gaul. Shortly before this period the Chatti had invaded the empire in the same quarter, about the end of the second century, and these eastern Franks are called for some time indifferently Franks and Chatti.† They were separated from the Lower Franks by the intervening tribe of Bricteri or Bructeri.

### A. *Of the Lower or Salian Franks.*

The Franks of the Lower Rhine are called by Sidonius, "Paludicolæ Sicambri."‡ From the river Sala,—the Issel?—it has been conjectured that they derived the celebrated name of Salii, by which, as Ammianus says, it was in his time customary to distinguish them. In the time of Constantius they occupied Batavia; they were held in check by the Romans till the age of Valentinian: the same people, still termed Sigambri as well as Franci and Salii, thenceforward made continual encroachments, and under Clovis founded the empire of the Merovingians.

### B. *Of the Upper or Ripuarian Franks.*

The Upper Franks laid waste Gaul and invaded Spain in the time of Gallienus.§ The main body consisted of the warlike Suevic nation of the Chatti, to whom were joined their northern neighbours the Ampsivarii. They were termed in Latin Riparii and Ripuarii, perhaps from the shores of the Rhine. Their last king, Sigibert, according to Gregory of Tours, had

* "Mitis depone colla Sicamber. Adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti," are the curious words addressed by Bishop Remi to Clovis at his baptism. (Greg. Tur. ii. 31. Zeuss, 227.)

† These two nations of Franks have left their names respectively in France and in Franconia.

‡ Sidonius Apollinaris.

§ Vopisci Aurel. 7. Zeuss, p. 338.

his court at Cologn: they were conquered soon afterwards by Clovis; and the Riparian Franks in submitting to the Salians retained the "leges Ripuariorum," which are always distinguished from the Salic Law.*

### 3. *The Thuringians.*

The Thuringian kingdom was of great extent and power, in the centre of Germany, before it yielded to the ascendancy of the Franks. The Suevian Hermunduri are mentioned for the last time by Jornandes: soon after the Thuringi† appear in their place. They are mentioned under the Latinised name of Toringi among the vassals of Attila by Sidonius, and at the fall of the Hunnish empire they appear to have become powerful through the eastern parts of Germany. Bisinus, king of the Thuringians, was, according to Gregory of Tours, contemporary with Childerich, and his wife Basina is said to have been the mother of Clovis. The Thuringian empire was conquered by the Merovingians in the time of Justinian, and all the east of Germany fell under the power of the Franks.‡

The Thuringian popular idiom is a strongly-marked dialect of the Oberdeutsch. Michaelis thought it very similar to the Mœsogothic.§

### 4. *The Saxons.*

In the northern circuit of the Hartz forest, from the Elbe to the Ems, the principal tribes of early times were the Langobards, the Cherusci, Angrivarii, Chauci, and Chamavi. Only two of these names are traced in later history. The Langobards moved towards the south-east, and the Chamavi to the Rhine, where they became united to the Franks. In this region it was that the name of Saxons first displayed itself, and there can be no doubt that the new confederacy absorbed the old tribes of this quarter.‖ In the time of Carausius the Saxons are men-

* Zeuss, p. 344.

† Hermunduri. Hermun is perhaps the general epithet of the Herminones; Duri may be the particular name, which slightly modified becomes Thuri, and with the usual termination, Thuringi.

‡ Boucquet, iv. 59. Zeuss, 257.

§ Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament vol. iv., on Versions.

‖ M. Zeuss maintains that the Cherusci were the principal tribe who took the name of Saxons. We must suppose that the league was headed by the tribe of Saxones properly so termed, viz. the Saxons beyond the Elbe, from whom came

tioned as powerful marauders in company with the Franks. By Julian the Φράγγοι καὶ Σάξονες are termed "ἐθνῶν τὰ μαχιμώτατα." In the time of Valentinian the league of the Saxons had become formidable to the Romans. They were attacked and defeated by that emperor in the country of the Franks. On this occasion they are termed a nation inhabiting the coasts and morasses near the ocean, terrible by their bravery and agility, and dangerous to the Roman borders.* The piracies of the Saxons who infested the Baltic during the fifth century probably issued from the tribe beyond the Elbe; but the expeditions by land seem to have been undertaken chiefly by the people who had newly assumed the Saxon name.

The Saxons and the Franks were the chief nations in the western part of Germany during the fifth and sixth centuries, and they were frequently at war after the formation of the Frankish confederacy until the ascendancy of the Franks became established. This, according to the researches of M. Zeuss, happened at the same time with the fall of the Thuringian kingdom. They had been the allies of the Thuringians, as it appears from passages of Comes Marcellinus and of Gregory of Tours.† But the Saxons were never subdued till the time of Charlemagne.

This account of the origin of the Saxon league explains the variations and peculiarities of the Saxon dialects. The Cherusci were an Upper-German race; but the Chauci, who in the history of the wars carried on against the Franks in the fourth century appear to have formed the western part of the Saxon body, and may be supposed to have furnished a great part of the population of Westphalia, were a Low-German race, as we learn from the enumeration of tribes by Pliny. The dialect of the Chauci was probably similar to that of their lowland neighbours the Frisians; but the speech

the Saxons of Hengist. Claudian more than once mentions the Cherusci, when he alludes to the incursions of Saxons, as

"…. latis paludibus exit
Cimber, et ingentes Albim liquere Cherusci."
Claudian, Laud. de Consulat. Honor.

* Orosii, vii. 32.

† Eo anno rebellantibus Saxonibus, Chlothacharius rex—pervagans totam Thoringiam et devastans, pro eo quod Saxonibus solatium præbuissent.

of the Cherusci prevailed in the formation of the old Saxon language; and hence it came to pass that the Upper-Saxon, the Alt-Sachsisch of Grimm, though it differs much from the dialects of Southern Germany, in which the character of the High-Dutch is fully developed, and even approaches in some particulars to the Anglo-Saxon, yet bears in general unequivocally the character of an Upper German dialect.*

### 5. *Of the Frisians.*

The old Frisii inhabited the country between the Ems and the Eastern Rhine or Issel; but after the fall of the Roman power the name of Frisians extended itself over a much wider space, either by the spreading of the people themselves into a part of the country occupied by the Chauci, or what is more probable, by commerce with the eastern Chauci. The later Frisians reached as far as the Middle Rhine. Dorstat, on the northern bank of the Middle Rhine, is included by the geographer of Ravenna in the country of the Frisians.† A Frisian population also occupied the banks of the Maas as far as its union with the Waal.‡ The Frisians were the only considerable people in the maritime tracts of Germany to the westward of the Franks and Saxons.

The only existing specimens of the old Frisian language are to be found in the Leges Frisiorum, written in the time of Charles the Great, and in records and legal documents of later date. The extant dialects of the Frisian are the idiom of Dutch Friesland, spoken also in North Holland; the Chauco-Frisian which once prevailed through East Friesland, Oldenburg, the bishopric of Lower Munster and the neighbouring countries where it has given way to the Lower Saxon, and is now preserved only in a few districts; the North Frisian, the idiom of people who have spread themselves over the sea-coast coun

* The Alt-Sachsisch or Old Saxon is a different language from the Anglo-Saxon, and belongs to a different class of German dialects. In Grimm's Deutsch Grammatik the forms of both are fully given, and compared with each other, and with the various known German dialects. This circumstance shows the propriety of distinguishing the Saxon confederation or the great Saxon body of the middle ages from the tribe of Saxons beyond the Elbe, whence the Saxons who colonised Britain issued.

† Geog. Ravenn. iv. 24. i. 11. Zeuss, p. 398.

‡ Annal. Fuldæ. Zeuss, ibid.

try in the dukedom of Schleswig and of Holstein, where they are very distinct from the Germans, as well as from the Danes, both which nations they hold in aversion and contempt. The North Frisian is still spoken in Husum and Tondern, the country of Bredstädt, and in the islands of Helgoland, Fohr, Silt, and Amröm.*

## Section IV.—*The same subject continued:—Migrations of German Tribes from the North-eastern parts of Europe into the Roman Empire. Of the Gothic department of the German Race.*

About the same period when the Alemanni, one of the earliest of the new German confederacies formed during the second and third centuries which contributed to the downfall of the Roman empire, were first heard of in the West, the more celebrated names of Goths and Vandals, and Burgundians and Lombards, became known in the eastern parts of Europe. Alliances were formed, as it seems, among the remote nations of northern Sarmatia, then inhabited by people of the Teutonic blood, for the conquest of lands under a more genial climate than that which for many centuries they had been doomed to endure. What were the particular circumstances of the age which communicated such an impulse of movement at the same time to many nations, it is impossible to discover, but the results are within the scope of history.

### *Paragraph* 1.—Of the Goths.

The Goths were the most celebrated of these nations. At their first appearance on the borders of the Roman empire during the third century, the Goths were taken by the Romans for Getæ, as it happened that they invaded the empire from the region lying to the northward of the Danube which had been long inhabited by people of that name. By the historians and poets of several succeeding ages we find them termed indifferently Goths and Getæ. Thus Spartian who wrote the life of Caracalla about eighty years after the

* Adelung's Mithridat. ii. s. 242; also his "Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache."

death of that tyrant, and forty after the first great Gothic invasion of the empire, says, that it was proposed to term the emperor Geticus, by a sort of sarcasm, "quod Getam occiderat fratrem et Gotthi Getæ dicerentur." He was named Parthicus and Arabicus, from his reputed victories over the Parthians and Arabians. Flavius Vopiscus, in the life of Probus, terms the Goths simply "Geticos populos;" and Pomponius Lætus, in the life of Claudius, styles them "Getas." Orosius calls them "Getæ illi qui et nunc Gotthi." St. Jerom terms their language "barbaram Getarum linguam." Lastly, Procopius, a writer particularly well informed respecting the history of the northern nations, after designating the Gothic nation as—τὸ Γετικὸν, adds these words: "Γετικὸν γὰρ ἔθνος φασὶ τοὺς Γόρθους εἶναι."*

That all these writers were mistaken who identified the Goths with the Getæ will appear from a very slight review of the history of the latter people. The Getæ were a Thracian tribe, and were originally inhabitants of the country lying to the southward of the Danube, which was long regarded as the boundary between Thrace and Scythia. They belonged to a different department of the Indo-European family of nations, of which I shall trace the history in a following chapter of this volume.

* Procop. Cæsariens. Bell. Gotth.

The poets in like manner term the Goths Getæ. Claudian calls them Dacci, which is another name for the Getæ:

"……Mistis descendit Sarmata Dacis,
Et qui cornipedes in pocula vulnerat audax
Massagetes, cæsamque bibens Mæotida Alanus
Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus."

The same poet, in his panegyric on Stilicho, says:

"Non te terrisonus stridor venientis Alani
Nec vaga Chunorum feritas, non falce Gelonus
Non arcu pepulêre Getæ, non Sarmata conto."

Ausonius terms the Goths Getæ in the following passage:

"Jane veni: novus Anne veni: renovate veni Sol,
Hostibus edomitis, quâ Francia mista Suevis
Certat ad obsequium Latiis ut militet armis;
Qua vaga *Sauromates* sibi junxerat agmina Chuni,
Quâque Getes sociis Istrum adsultabat *Alanis*."

—Claudian. in Rufin. lib. i.; item De Consulatu Stilichonis. Ausonii Poemata, 332.

*Paragraph* 2.—Early notices of the Goths.

The first notice in history of a people who may be supposed to have been the ancestors of the Goths, occurs in a citation from the narrative of Pytheas, written in the third century before the Christian era. Pliny in giving an account of the production of amber says, that according to Pytheas there was "an estuary of the ocean called Mentonomon, inhabited by the Guttones, a people of Germany. It reached six thousand furlongs in extent. From this place an island named Abalus was distant about one day's sail, on the shore of which the waves throw up pieces of amber. The inhabitants make use of it for fuel, or else sell it to their neighbours the Teutones." Pliny adds, that Timæus gave full credit to this story; "he called the island not Abalus but Baltia." There are evidently some inaccuracies in this account. The Teutones were not neighbours to the people of the amber coast: their country was Jutland, at the neck of the Cimbric peninsula; and M. Zeuss conjectures, with great probability, that instead of "Teutonis," Pliny wrote "Guttonis or Guttonibus," alluding to the people just before mentioned. Mentonomon has been supposed to be Medenau, on the coast of Samland or Samogitia; it seems to be unquestionable that it was that part of the Prussian coast termed the "frische Haff." The isle of Abalus, according to M. Voigt, can be no other than a part of the coast of Samland a little further to the eastward, which has been termed an island in later times. Some suppose it to be the Kurische Nehrung, reaching towards Memel.*

The connection of the name of the Guttones with the place where this natural production is found thus defines the position of that people, and proves that they had their abode on the coast of the Baltic, beyond the mouth of the Vistula, three centuries before the Christian era. How far they reached is uncertain. It is probable, as we have before observed, that they extended to the Pregel.

Tacitus places the Gothones beyond, that is, to the northward of the Lygii, who inhabited the country on the left bank

* Voigt's Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten. Königsberg, 1827. Bd. i. s. 22, u. s. w.

of the Vistula, and towards the higher Wartha. It would appear from his account that he supposed them not to reach so far as the sea-coast: "Trans Lygios Gothones regnantur paulo jam adductiùs quam cæteræ Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii." The Rugii, however, are declared by Procopius to have been a Gothic tribe.* They have left their name in Rugenwald, to the westward of Dantzig, and in the isle of Rugen.† Thus we find the Goths in the age of Tacitus not far from the position in which Pytheas placed the Guttones. Pliny gives that precise name to a tribe whom he classes with the Burgundians among the Vindili, or nation of the coast.‡ It appears that these last-mentioned tribes were separated by the Vistula, the Goths being on the eastern side of that river. Such was the position of these kindred nations at the end of the first century. In the second century they appear to have changed their abode. Ptolemy, in an accurate enumeration of the tribes of Sarmatia and Eastern Germany, makes no mention of Guttones or Goths in the northern regions, though among the nations of lesser note who inhabited the shores of the Vistula to the southward of the Venedi, and towards the sources of that river, two are enumerated, viz. the Gythones and Phrugundiones, who may be supposed to be the same tribes, or perhaps branches of the same stems.§ This is far to the southward of the position originally assigned to the Guttones.‖

The migration of the north-eastern tribes of Germany towards the south had, perhaps, already commenced, from which effects so important were destined to result. The occasional cause of these movements can only be conjectured. It has often been supposed that the commotions which ensued on the wars of the Marcomanni gave the first impulse. The Marcomanni were, as we have observed, a powerful and warlike tribe, who under their chieftain Maroboduus gained possession

* Procop. Bell. Goth. iii. 2.—οἱ δὲ Ῥογοὶ οὗτοι ἔθνος μὲν εἰσι Γοτθικὸν, αὐτόνομοί τε τὸ παλαιὸν ἐβίων. See Zeuss, ubi supra, p. 486. Voigt's Preussen, B. i.

† Voigt, ubi supra. ‡ Plin. H. N. iv. 14.

§ Ptolem. Geog. Tab. Sarmatiæ.

‖ Compare Cluver. Germ. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 34. Zeuss, pp. 135, 302.

of Bohemia, and subdued or brought into their alliance all the neighbouring clans. It appears from expressions of Tacitus and Strabo, which have been compared by Luden and Voigt, that various German tribes entered into the confederacy of Maroboduus. Strabo says that he made himself supreme chieftain over the Lugii, a great and numerous people, and the Zumi, the Butones, or rather the Gutones, the Mugilones and Sibini, and the Semnones, a principal division of the Suevi.* A revolt at length took place, and a warrior of the Gothones at the head of the rebelling tribes overturned the power of Maroboduus. At this time we are assured that numerous bands from the north forced themselves upon the kingdom of the Marcomanni.† In the time of Domitian the war of the Marcomanni with the Romans commenced. Sarmatian, Lygian tribes, Roxolani, Costoboces, and Bastarnæ joined in hordes in supporting the cause of the Marcomanni. The contest continued for ten years: after its termination great changes appear to have taken place in the local position of many tribes. The most important of these was, as M. Voigt has observed, an advance of the Venedi from their position further eastward into the tracts previously occupied by the Gothones, who appear either to have been drawn towards the south in the warlike movements which accompanied that contest, or to have been driven out of their country by the Venedi.‡ Ptolemy recognises no other inhabitants of the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Vistula towards Samland and the Kurisch-Haff, than Venedi. During the same period we discover various traces of a movement towards the east among the northern tribes. In the reign of Domitian Suevic hordes in alliance with Sarmatian Jazyges passed the Danube,§ and in the same direction we find the great body of the Gothic nation moving under the kings whose exploits are recorded by Jornandes.

* Strabo, lib. vii. p. 290.

† "Victovalis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus, aliis etiam gentibus quæ pulsæ a superioribus gentibus, nisi reciperentur, bellum inferentibus." (Capitolin. M. Anton. Philos. c. 14. Zeuss, ubi supra.)

‡ The former supposition is supported by the fact that when the Wends and Obotrites entered the country in the north of Germany, which they long possessed, they found it, according to Helmoldus their historian, destitute of inhabitants. (See Helmold. Chron. Slavorum.)

§ Sueton. Domit.—Voigt, lxiii.

Ptolemy is the latest writer who mentions the Goths on the banks of the Vistula: in the second half of the second century they appear to have advanced to the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Euxine. An account of their progress is only to be found in their own history, which was collected by Cassiodorus and Jornandes in the fifth century, partly from the earlier writings of the Gothic historians Ablavius and Dexippus.

*Paragraph* 3.—History of the Goths from their own writers.

"In the furthest North," says Jornandes, on the authority of ancient sagas, "hostile tribes long divided the island of Scanzia" or Scandinavia, "a region extending to the limit of the habitable globe, where in the winter a gloomy night covers the earth with darkness during forty days, and in the summer the sun remains above the horizon for an equal time. The Suethones dwell nearest to us, who with swift horses chase the few wild animals of their woods, and transport their valuable skins through a hundred different nations to us in Italy. In the same part of the world, continues the historian, dwell the gentle race of Finns, and in an adjoining country the Danes, a nation of great stature. "Ex hâc Scanziæ insula quasi officina gentium aut certe vagina nationum, cum rege suo, nomine Beric Gothi quondam memorantur egressi: qui ut primum è navibus exeuntes, terras attigere, ilico nomen loco dederunt, nam hodie ut fertur Gothiscanzia vocatur."* Hence they advanced and settled in the country of the Ulmerugians, who dwelt on the shore of the ocean, namely, of the Baltic: they expelled those people, and conquered the neighbouring tribe of Vandals. Here their multitude having greatly increased, they proceeded, under their king Filimer, the fifth in descent from Berich, "ad Scythiæ terras quæ linguâ eorum Ovin vocabantur." Into this country a part of the Gothic host obtained entrance by passing over a river, and they made their way victoriously "ad extremam Scythiæ partem, quæ Pontico mari vicina est." All these accounts, says Jornandes, are related "in prisca eorum carminibus, pæne historico ritu," and they are at-

* It is evident that Jornandes had here in his recollection the very style and manner of the Roman legend of the landing of Æneas. At the same time he had some local knowledge of the Baltic and the coast of the Guttones.

tested by Ablavius, an excellent annalist of the Gothic nation, in his most veracious history." He then describes the country to which he affixed the name of Scythia, and makes the Vistula its western, and the Danube its southern boundary. "In the first part of Scythia, near the Mæotis, dwelt king Filimer; in the second, which included Dacia, Thrace, and Mœsia, Zamolxis." Here the story of the Getæ from Herodotus is introduced, proving how prevalent, even among the Goths, had become the notion that they were to be identified with the ancient Getæ. A third seat of the Goths was on the Pontic Sea. Here they became more civilised, and lived in separate families; the Ostrogoths in the east, governed by the royal race of Amali, and the Wesegoths by the illustrious Balthi. He goes on to relate that in the reign of the emperor Philip the Goths, under a king Ostrogotha, passed the Danube and invaded Mœsia and Thrace, and again, in the reign of Claudius, besieged even Marcianopolis. Then follows a relation, which is important, as it connects the origin of the Gepidi with that of the Goths, and also throws light on the history of another German tribe. "How the Getæ, that is the Goths, are related, I will satisfy you in a few words: you may remember that I declared in the beginning the departure of the Goths with their king Berich from the bosom of the isle of Scanzia: they passed to the hither shore of the ocean in three ships, one of which by slowly sailing,—'*pigra*' being expressed in Gothic by the word '*gepanta*,'—gave name to the tribe of the Gepidi: "Quod nec ipsum credo falsissimum, sunt enim tardioris ingenii." These Gepidi, "tacti invidiâ, commanebant in insulâ Visclæ amnis vadis circumactâ. Nunc eam ut fertur gens Viridaria incolit. Ergo Gepidarum rex Fastida patrios fines per arma dilatavit: Burgundiones pæne ad internecionem delevit." Jornandes goes on to relate that Fastida king of the Gepidæ made war with Ostrogotha, who was sovereign both of the Ostrogoths and Wesegoths, notwithstanding the nearness "in blood" of the Goths and Gepidæ.

There is no reason to doubt that the outline of this history is true, so far as it relates to the descent of the Goths from the shore of the Baltic to that of the Euxine; the previous part of the relation, that of the voyage of the Goths across the sea from Scandinavia, "the foundery or the sheath of nations," is

a legend similar to Bede's story of the descent of the Picts in long ships from Scythia. It is, however, remarkable that a corresponding saga was recorded in the memory of other nations of northern Germany.

The Goths, after their arrival on the shores of the Pontus, spread themselves from the banks of the Don to the mouth of the Danube, and reached from the Euxine to the Carpathian hills. Here they are distinguished at first by two names descriptive of the abodes of particular hordes. In the sandy steppes towards the east lived the tribes called Greutungi,* and in the forests towards the west the Tervingi,† and these names are nearly coextensive with those of Ostrogothi and Wesegothi, or Eastern and Western Goths, afterwards adopted. On the extension of these tribes and their local relations to each other notices may be collected from Ammianus. Near the Dniester or Tyras, the valley of which was termed "Valli Greutungorum," Athanaric the Wesegoth or Westgoth, styled "Thervingorum judex," stationed himself to defend his country.‡ This river separated the two divisions of the Gothic nation. Ammianus terms the inhabitants of the banks of the Tanais, "*Greuthungis confines.*" § These Tanaites were the Alani, who dwelt on the Tanais till the invasion of the Hunns: they were neighbours of the Goths on the eastern side, and between them and the river Don. Towards the north-west the Goths bordered on various German tribes, for contests are mentioned between them and the Burgundiones, Vandals, and the Gepidæ.‖

Ammianus, who is the most instructive writer on the history of the Goths, has given a brief account of their first invasion of the Roman empire in a passage, of which the following is a translation: "Great bodies of the Scythian nations (he means the Goths from Scythia) having broken through the

* More accurately Griutingi (Griutingos), from the Gothic word Gruit. Tervingi, rather Triuingi, from *triu*, tree. The name of the Gruthungi occurs in the poems of Claudian:

"Ausi Danubium quondam tranare Gruthungi
In lintres fregêre nemus." (De iv. Cons. Honor.)

† Pollio. Claud. vi. Zeuss, 407. ‡ Ammian. xxxi. 3.

§ Ibid. ‖ Mamertin. Paneg. c. xvii. Zeuss, p. 40.

Bosporus and passed to the shores of the Propontis in two thousand ships, made a dreadful slaughter by land and sea, but at length returned after losing the greatest part of their numbers. The emperors Decius, father and son, fell in battle against the barbarians. They laid siege to the cities of Pamphylia, depopulated many islands, traversed Macedonia with fire and sword: the whole multitude sat down before Thessalonica for a long time, as well as before Cyzicus." Here follows an account of several victories. "These foreign enemies wandered at leisure through Epirus and Thessaly and all Greece; but after Claudius, who was a successful general, had been declared emperor and carried off by a premature but glorious death, the barbarians were expelled by the activity and severe revenge of Aurelian, and remained for ages in quiet, except that plundering bodies now and then made incursions on the neighbouring countries, for which they were generally punished."*

It was in the reign of Valens at Byzantium, and in the 110th year of the great Gothic emperor Hermanrich, that the Hunns passing by a ford over the Mæotic morass, overwhelmed the Scythian empire of the Goths. The consequent events in their history; their occupation of Mœsia, where they were converted by Ulphilas, and where their language was fortunately preserved; the establishment of the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, and the Ostrogoths in Italy, are events well known.

The Gepidæ, a people of the same origin as the Goths and a part of the same race, are frequently mentioned as associated with the Ostrogoths; and the Taifali, whom Ammianus terms "gentem turpem ac obscœnæ vitæ flagitiis mersam,"† were in like manner allies and dependants of the Visigoths. The Bastarnæ and Peucini, German tribes‡ who were situated to the southward of the old country of the Gothones, and preceded them in their march southward towards the Euxine, seem to have been swallowed up in the greater mass of the Gothic body.§

Notwithstanding the proverbial expression of Gothic barbarism, it is certain that the Goths were a people susceptible

* Ammian. Marcell. xxxi. 5. Zeuss, 406.
† Ammian. xxxi. 9.
‡ Id. xxxi. 3. Zeuss, 433.
§ Zeuss, 442.

of civilisation, remarkable for the soundness of their understanding, and for intellectual qualities of the highest kind.

### *Paragraph* 4.—Of the Vandals.*

Tacitus mentions the Vandali as a groupe of German nations, classing them with the Suevi. He nowhere specifies what particular tribes belonged to the groupe. Pliny, as we have seen, comprehends under the name of Vindili, probably a modification of the same epithet, the Guttones, Burgundiones, Varini, and Carini.

Except in these instances, where it is applied in a wide sense, the name of the Vandals is unknown in the early history of Germany. It comes forward again in the period of universal movement among the tribes, and now it appears as the designation of one nation or confederacy of warlike emigrants. The Vandals of the middle ages may have belonged to the Vandalic groupe of former times, but they could only be a part of that groupe; and there is reason to believe, as M. Zeuss has shown, that the people termed Vandals in later times were the Lygian tribes of Tacitus.

On the left side of the Vistula, between that river and the mountains which bound Bohemia towards the east, Tacitus places the Lygii. "Dirimit scinditque Sueviam continuum montium jugum, ultrà quod plurimæ gentes agunt, ex quibus latissimè patet Lygiorum nomen, in plures civitates diffusum." The name appears to have comprehended most of the German tribes to the eastward of the Suevi, and reaching thence to the Vistula. Strabo mentions the Louii or Lugii in the same region, whom he terms—*μέγα ἔθνος*.† In the same countries and near the Asciburgian mountain, Ptolemy places several tribes named Lugii or Luni, Buri, Omani, &c.; and a similar name occurs in the Peutingerian tables. It is mentioned for the last time by Probus. In the same country the race of Vandali became afterwards more celebrated; and it seems extremely probable, as M. Zeuss contends, that the Van-

* *Wend* and *wand* mean in Old German 'sea-coast or sea.' Even in the present time the common people in Denmark term the Baltic "Wanded." Vandalimear, therefore, the people inhabiting "die Meeres-wand." (Voigt, 29.)

† Strabo, lib. vii. p. 291.

dals, who are found in all the earliest historical accounts in the same part of Germany, are the Lygian tribes under a new name, or rather under one which had then become better known.* Their frequent wars upon the Danube, in Pannonia and Dacia, are principally related by Jornandes, who drew his account from Dexippus. Under Constantine the Great they were settled as subjects of the empire in Pannonia. From thence they invaded Gaul about the beginning of the fifth century, in conjunction with the Suevi and Alani, and after overrunning Spain, made their way to Africa.

### *Paragraph* 5.—Of the Suevi.

A tribe distinguished by the name of Suevi, celebrated of old among the nations of Germany, appear on the Rhine as companions of the Vandals, and when the latter took their departure for Africa, remained powerful in their possessions in Spain. The real origin and extension of the name of Suevi, and the relations of the Suevi to other tribes, is a problem in German ethnography. M. Zeuss seems to be of opinion that the names of Suevic kings afford a sufficient proof that the people did not belong to the Upper-German family, or to that aggregate of nations who spoke the Ober-deutsch. They have terminations resembling the proper names of the Gothic leaders. Rechila, Maldra, Audica are Suevic names; Catualda and Ostrogotha are Gothic ones. It is uncertain to what body of the Suevic confederacy or class of nations we ought to refer the Suevi who invaded Spain. St. Jerom mentions Quadi, meaning, as it would appear, these same Suevi, among the German tribes who desolated Gaul in the march of the Vandal army; Gregory of Tours, on the other hand, calls the Suevi Alemanni. That the Alemanni of eastern France and Swabia had not long after this time the name of Suevi or Suabi is well known; but M. Zeuss contends that the allies of the Vandals could be none of these; he thinks that they were Semnones, from the north-eastern parts of Germany, who had accompanied the Vandals from the vicinity of

* The Vandals are placed in the Pentingerian table between the Marcomanni and the Danube. They are mentioned by several writers with the Quadi as allies of the Suevi and Marcomanni. (Zeuss, 444.)

their primitive abode.* A question so obscure seems hardly to admit of satisfactory elucidation.

### *Paragraph* 6.—The Burgundians.

The Burgundians are another celebrated race, who in their original seats were, as we have seen, neighbours of the Goths, and separated from them by the Lower Vistula. After the commencement of the migration of these tribes they appear still near each other, since we find from Jornandes that Fastida king of the Gepidæ warred against the Burgundiones, and, as it is said, "pæne usque ad internecionem delevit." Notwithstanding this calamity, we find the Burgundians, together with the Vandals, on the northern bank of the Danube, both tribes being thus to the westward of the Goths. It is said by Zosimus that the emperor Probus overcame the Frangi by the aid of his generals, and fought in person against the Burgundi and Bandili, meaning the Vandals. After this time the Burgundians took a westerly direction, and appear in the neighbourhood of the Alemanni. "Burgundiones Alamannorum agros occupavêre, sed suâ quoque clade quæsitos."† They are mentioned by Ammianus in the neighbourhood of the Rhine and Mayne, and are termed by him "bellicosos et pubis immensæ viribus affluentes ideoque metuendos finitimis universis."‡ Orosius speaks of them as of a new people in this quarter: "Burgundionum quoque, novorum hostium novum nomen, plus quam octoginta millia, ut ferunt, armatorum ripæ Rheni fluminis insederunt."§ This refers to the reign of Valentinian. At the era of the great inroad of the Vandalic nations into Gaul, recorded by St. Jerom, the Burgundians are mentioned as in motion. They then appear to have been in the neighbourhood of Mentz, probably on both sides of the Rhine. Here their king Gundicar perished with a great number of his subjects in war against the Hunns. Here it was that the conversion of the Burgundians to Catholic Christianity took place, of which an account is given by Orosius and Socrates. The latter of these writers mentions the fact, that they still dwelt—*πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ*

* Zeuss, ubi supra, p. 455.
† Mamert. Paneg. ii. 17. Zeuss, 466.
‡ Ammian. Marcell. xxviii. 5.
§ Orosius, vii. 58.

Ῥήνου—beyond the Rhine.* It was soon after their defeat by Aetius and the Hunns that the Burgundians obtained their final settlement, and founded a powerful kingdom between the Alps and the Rhone, and reaching from the Vosges mountains to the Mediterranean.

### *Paragraph* 7.—The Langobards.

The Langobards were another tribe of Northern Germany, allied, as it would appear, to the Vandalic race. Their own writers term them Vinili. Like the Goths they preserved ancient sagas respecting their origin from Scandinavia, of which the Vinili are said to have possessed a third part. "Langobardi ab extremis Germaniæ finibus Oceanique protinus litore, Scandiaque insula magna egressi et novarum sedium cupidi, Ihorea et Ajone ducibus, Vandalos primum vicerunt."† They are placed by the same writer soon afterwards on the banks of the Elbe. Paul the son of Wanefrid, a native Lombard, who collected the traditions of his people, gives a similar account. Led from the over-peopled Scandinavia by Ajo and Ihor, sons of the prophetess Gambara, into the land of Scoringa or Skoningen, they encountered Ambri and Assi, chiefs of the Vandals, who exacted a tribute from the wanderers as a rent for the pastures where they fed their flocks. When Skoningen was no longer able to contain the multitude of their host they crossed to the continent, and afterwards to the borders of Poland and Hungary, where they settled.‡

From their settlements beyond the Danube the Lombards were induced by the emperor Justinian to pass that river and make themselves masters of Noricum and Pannonia. A war of thirty years between them and the Gepidæ terminated in the extirpation of the latter people.§ The Langobards were in this war commanded by Albwin, under whom they marched into the north of Italy and established the kingdom of the Lombards.‖

* Socrat. H. Eccl. vii. 50. Zeuss, 460.

† Prosper. Aquit. Chron. i. 655. Zeuss, s. 472. ‡ Paul. Diac. ii. 7.

§ Paul. Diac. i. 22—27. Procop. Bell. Goth. iii. 33.

‖ See passages from ancient authors cited by Cluver, Germ. Antiq. iii. p. 695 et seqq.; Zeuss, 474; Gibbon, vol. vii.; and the History of Paul the son of Warnefrid, viz. Paulus Diaconus, in Grotius's Excerpts.

## *Paragraph* 8.—The Heruli.

The Heruli were another German people famous for the share they took in raising a new principality on the ruins of the dominion of Rome. Their primitive seats are unknown; but M. Zeuss has conjectured with probability that they were the Suardones, the Φαραδεινοι of Ptolemy, under a new name, since there is no other people on the southern coast of the Baltic with whom they can with probability be identified. That they originated from that quarter we have no positive proof, but the fact seems to be implied in verses of Sidonius Apollinaris:

> "Hic glaucis Herulus genis vagatur
> Imos Oceani colens recessus,
> Algoso prope concolor profundo."

The Heruli are first mentioned by name as accompanying the Goths on the Pontus in their piratical expeditions against Thrace and Greece in the time of Gallienus and Claudius.* They are mentioned by Trebonius Pollio and Zosimus, and more fully by Jornandes, who cites on this occasion the history of Ablavius. They were reduced under the power of the Gothic emperor Hermanrich, who, as Jornandes says, "non passus est nisi ut gentem Herulorum, quibus præerat Alaricus, magna ex parte trucidatam, reliquam suæ subigeret ditioni. Num prædicta gens, Ablavio historico referente, juxta Mæotidas paludes habitans, in locis stagnantibus quas Græci *hele* vocant, Heruli nominati sunt, gens quanto velox eo amplius superbissima; sed quamvis velocitas eorum ab aliis sæpe bellantibus eos tutaretur, Gothorum tamen stabilitati subjacent et tarditati."†

The Heruli were the most wandering people of the whole German race: they fought in almost every country in Europe in the various wars which in the course of three centuries established the German nations in all the provinces of the Western

* Sidonius Apollinaris, Epist. in Burdegal. Zeuss, 479.

† It may be observed that such writers as Jornandes, though they acquired a tolerable degree of aptitude in the construction of Latin sentences and in the use of the vocabulary—in which, however, they often give peculiar meanings to words—could never learn with accuracy the tenses of verbs. This may account for the loss of so many Latin verbal forms in the modern languages.

empire. They were most celebrated by the accidental elevation of their prince Odoacher to be the first German sovereign of Italy.

In the outline which I have thus endeavoured to trace of the Continental German nations, I have not attempted to enumerate all the tribes mentioned by the ancients, but only to describe briefly the principal divisions, and those whose history is most important, with a view to the ethnography of the race. I must now add some brief remarks on the nations of Scandinavia who had not the German language, properly so termed, but the Old Norse or Northern speech.

## Section V.—*History of the Northmen, or of the Scandinavian division of the German Race.*

The earliest inhabitants of the countries beyond the Baltic were, as we have seen, people foreign to the German race. With the aboriginal Iotuns of the north Teutonic invaders waged a long warfare of conquest or extermination, the passages of which became the theme of many a legend in the mythical poems sung by ancient Scalds, and at a somewhat later period were committed to writing in the poetical or prosaic sagas. That the Northmen were a people allied to the German race is sufficiently testified by the affinity of their language; but its comparative remoteness from the dialects of the central German tribes indicates a distinct era as the period of separation. Yet it seems improbable that the great division of the German race took place, as Adelung supposed, while they were yet inhabitants of their primitive abodes in the East. The varieties of the German languages, the old Norse or Northern tongue being comprehended among them, have so entirely a local relation, that they must, as it would appear, have been originally developed since the tribes of the German race took possession of their present abodes. Their history as inhabitants of northern Europe, and as resting on foreign and authentic testimony, comes down from a very early period. It begins with the accounts transmitted by that celebrated northern voyager, who in the days of Aristotle discovered Albion

and Thule, the Baltic Sea and the amber coast. It is indeed a striking proof of the difficulty of communication by land between the European countries in ancient times, that Germany and Scandinavia were discovered at the same era, and by a navigator of the northern seas. There must have been a very ancient intercourse between the maritime people of the two great midland seas of Europe, since amber, a produce of the Baltic coast, was known at the inmost recess of the Mediterranean, by the Greeks, before the time of Homer.* It has been conjectured that Phœnician vessels passed the Straits of Hercules and those of the Cimbric Chersonese, and traded to the coast of Prussia, where the ancient Scargon, or by others Kulm, has been supposed to have been a station of their traffic;† but no evidence can be found in the earliest accounts of the amber trade that they had any settlement in the north, and the fact is rendered at least doubtful, as it has been observed by Gesenius, by the negative evidence.‡ On the other hand, it is probable that the traders from Marseilles in somewhat later times only followed the track of Phœnician or Punic mariners; and we are certain that adventurers from the Phocæan colony reached the mouth of the Vistula. Pytheas is the earliest navigator who is known to have sailed into the Baltic;§ he appears to have landed on the coast of Albion, the name of which he first made known to the civilised world, as he likewise did

* Strabo, p. 201.

† Uphagen. Parerg. Histor. p. 186. Joh. v. Müller, Allgem. Geschichte, i. s. 35. Voigt, Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten, i. s. 17. It has been conjectured by some that the old Scargon or the peninsula of Hela was a Phœnician settlement; by others Kulm was fixed upon as the site of the supposed colony.

‡ See Voigt, "Bernsteinhandel im Alterthum, Geschichte Preuss. s. 80.

Gesenius in his late work calls in question the prevalent opinion that the Phœnicians formed settlements on the coast of Europe beyond the straits of Hercules. The fact that no Phœnician inscription has been discovered in any of the places where the Phœnicians are supposed to have traded in all that region, while they are so frequently found in places known to have been the seats of Phœnician colonies, is very remarkable; but we must observe that it is in the ruins of ancient temples or of the sepulchres of distinguished men that these inscriptions have been found, and that such things might hardly be expected in merely trading settlements or in marts only resorted to by merchants.

§ Geminus Rhodius in Uranologio Petavii. Geijer, Schweden's Urgeschichte, s. 57.

that of Thule, a country distant from Albion by a voyage of six days.

The Thule of Pytheas cannot have been Iceland, since it was to be reached after sailing one day from the Baltic, that is from the entrance of the Baltic.* During a northern summer Pytheas sailed towards the arctic circle, and reached a place where the night is short. "The barbarians of the North pointed out to him," as he says, "a spot where the sun rests, for in these regions the night lasts but two or three hours, and the orb of day, after a short concealment, again rises to view." In Thule Pytheas learnt that the winter's night continues for six months. It appears to have been a country of great extent, and inhabited by people who practised agriculture. The Thule of Eratosthenes was a great island situated to the northward of Britain. Ptolemy in the second century placed Thule to the northward of the Orcades.† By some modern writers it has hence been thought that Iceland was the country thus described, and the accounts of Thule in some respects accord with the supposition; but it is improbable from the much greater distance of that island, and from the fact that Iceland was till the ninth century uninhabited.‡ The Thule of Pytheas, and Eratosthenes, and Ptolemy may be concluded with great probability to have been some part of Scandinavia.

Thule or Scandinavia contained in these early times inhabitants who were tillers of the soil, and we may presume that these were Northmen or of the Germanic race. It is remarkable that we are able in a very early period to recognise in these northern regions many of the modern names. Xenophon Lampsacenus speaks of Baltia, meaning Scandinavia, which he describes as an island of vast extent, distant a three days' voyage from the Scythian coast, that is from the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. Different parts of Scandinavia, as

* Wheaton's History of the Northmen, chap. i.

† Cl. Ptol. p. 34. The notions entertained in the time of Ptolemy of the relative position of the parts of Western Europe with respect to north and south are strangely distorted, as it is apparent on the first view of the maps constructed according to Ptolemy's notions.

‡ Traces of earlier visits to the coast of Iceland by people supposed to have been Christians from Ireland are reported; but there were no permanent inhabitants till the arrival of the Northmen. (See Geijer, Sweden's Urgeschichte, s. 68.)

they became known, were considered to be islands. Pliny distinguishes Scandinavia from Bergen and Norway or Nerigon. He mentions the mountain-chain which divides Sweden and Norway. "Sevo mons immensus nec Riphæis jugis minor, immanem ad Cimbrorum usque promontorium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis; quarum clarissima Scandinavia est, incompertæ magnitudinis; portionem tantùm ejus, quod sit notum, Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis; quæ alterum terrarum orbem eam appellat." "Sunt qui et alias insulas produnt, Scandinaviam, Dumnam, Bergos, maximamque omnium Nerigon; ex quâ in Thulea navigetur."*

Tacitus distinguishes two nations who appear to have inhabited Scandinavia, "Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano" —inhabiting islands, such was Scandinavia supposed to be— "præter viros armaque clas sibus valent."† From the circumstance that these communities are mentioned in the plural, it has been inferred that the name of Suiones comprehends all the Scandinavian nations of the German race.‡ Beyond the Suiones Tacitus places the Sitones, who are said to have been governed by queens, and were perhaps the Finns.

We have some further account of Scandinavia from Ptolemy in the second century. At that time the western part of Scandia was inhabited by the Chædini, the eastern by the Phavonæ and Pheræsi, the southern part by the Gutæ and Dankiones, and the midland by the Levoni.§ Attempts have been made to identify these nations with modern tribes. The Gutæ are probably the Goths of Gothland, and the Dankiones may be the Danes.

A more particular account is given by Procopius in a passage which I have already cited. He says that Thule is of very great extent, that the greater part is desert, but that in the inhabited region there are thirteen populous nations, each governed by a king; among these tribes one is wild and savage, namely, the Skrithiphini. The rest of the Thulitæ, or inhabitants of Thule, resemble other nations: they worship many gods and demons. Among them one populous nation is the

* Plin. H. Nat. † Tacit. Germ. cap. 44. ‡ Zeuss, ubi supra, s. 156.
§ Cl. Ptolem. p. 55.

Gauti.* Here we discover the Finns or Lappes and the Gothlanders.

Jornandes enumerates many nations as inhabiting Scandza, some of which can be recognised. In the northern part he mentions the "gentes Refennæ," probably some Lappish tribes, and the Suethans, who have good horses, and procure the black furs called "*Saphirinas pelles*" for Roman commerce. Then follows a crowd of different nations: Theustes, Vagoth, Bergio, Hallin, Liothidæ, of peaceable habits, inhabiting the plains. Some of these names have been recognised by Zeuss in Olaf's Saga and other memorials of the North.† Warlike tribes are the Helmil, Finnaithæ, Fervir, Gautigoth, Evagræ, Otingi, who live in hollow rocks as in fortresses, "more belluino." "His exteriores," that is to the eastward, are the Ostrogothæ, together with others; and the "Finni mitissimi, Scandzæ cultoribus omnibus mitiores, nec non et pares eorum Vinoviloth, Suethidi, Cogeni, in hac gente reliquis corpore eminentiores, quamvis et Dani ex ipsorum stirpe progressi Herulos propriis sedibus expulerunt, qui inter omnes Scandzæ nationes nomen sibi ob nimiam proceritatem affectant præcipuum."‡ Several names follow in the enumeration of Jornandes which are either lost or obscurely preserved. We find here distinct notices of the Swedes, doubtless the Suethidi, the Ostrogoths, the Finns, and Danes. We may observe, that Jornandes divides the Gothlanders into Ostrogoths and Westergoths. The Dani also, celebrated already for their tall stature, a frequent accompaniment of a fair xanthous complexion, are here likewise deduced from Scandinavia. The geographer of Ravenna, following Jornandes, deduces the Danes as well as the Goths from Scandinavia.§ It has been shown, however, by Zeuss, that the northern sagas, though they bring Dan, the mythical patriarch of the Danish race, originally from Sweden, always mention Zealand, and the three

* Procop. Bell. Gotth. ii. 15.

† Heimskringla, ii. 170. Zeuss, "Deutschen und Nachbarstämme," s. 505.

‡ Jornandes, De Reb. Get. iii. Zeuss, p. 503.

§ "Quam insulam et Jordanes sapientissimus chorographus Scanzam appellat, ex quâ insula pariterque gentes occidentales egressæ sunt. Nam Gotthos et Danos imosimo simul Gepidas ex eâ antiquitus exisse legimus."

adjoining islands of Monen, Falster, and Laland, as the proper country of the Danes, where they are said to have dwelt and exercised piracy for many ages before they attempted the conquest of Jutland and other territories on the continent.* It must therefore be considered that their emigration from Scandinavia rests on a remote and merely mythical tradition.

The Swedes appear to have been early a very powerful people. Their name is used by Tacitus as a comprehensive term for all the Germanic tribes in Scandinavia. They are doubtless the Suethidæ of Jornandes. From Adam of Bremen we have fuller accounts of them. That writer was struck with the magnificence of the temple at Ubsola, that is Upsala, which was situated not far from the cities of Sictona and Birca—Sigtuna and Bierkoe. "At this temple," he says, "which is entirely ornamented with gold, the people worship the statues of three gods, the most powerful of whom, Thor, is seated on a couch in the middle, with Woden on one side and Fricca on the other." We have thus from an eye-witness an account of the paganism once common to all the Germanic tribes, still preserved in Scandinavia to the age of the writer, who visited the North and described it while subsisting in its original splendour, long after it had disappeared from Germany and from Saxon Britain.

The Suiones of the ancients are the Sviar of the middle ages, the inhabitants of Svea, and the Gutæ are the Goths or Gothlanders. "From Svea and Götaland," says the old Swedish law, "arose in heathen times the kingdom of Sweden," but the kingdom of the Goths is the oldest, as it is declared by the earliest historian who wrote at length the annals of

* Peter Olaus (Chron. Reg. Dan. apud Langeb. i. 77. Zeuss, 509.) gives the following summary of the Danish tradition from the old Chronicles: "Ex ipso loco et *multis aliis chronicis Danorum* colligitur, non esse verum, quod Jutia est Dania: sed secundam chronica Sialandia, Lalandia, Falstria et Meonia est Dania, et illas terras primo et principaliter comprehendit hoc nomen Dania. Dan enim, à quo regnum nomen habuit, multis annis dominabatur istis insulis, antequum acquisivit Jutiam." "Fuit in Upsala civitate Suethiæ rex quidam Ypper nomine, tres filios habens, quorum unus Nori, alter Oesten, tertius Dan dicebatur. Quem pater suus misit ad has partes, quæ nunc dicuntur Dania, ad regendum insulas quatuor, scilicet Sialand, Mön. Falster et Laland, quæ omnes uno vocabulo nuncupabantur Withsleeth."

Sweden.* The Swedes were the dominant race, for it became their privilege to give a monarch to the united kingdom. The choice was made at the "*ä ting allra Svia*," or assembly of all the Swedes at the Morasteine, and was confirmed at the "*ting allra Göta*," or assembly of all the Goths;† and when the Westgoths ventured to choose the Danish Magnus Nilsson for their king, the Swedes, as Saxo says, "veterem gentis suæ prerogativam in aliquanto obscurioris populi invidia deponere passi non sunt." This union of the Gothiod and the Sviar goes back beyond the age of authentic history. It has given origin, when compared with the legends of the Ynglinga saga, relating to the conquests of Odin, to an historical theory which was set up long ago by Maillet, and has been supported with great learning and ingenuity by the celebrated modern historian of Sweden, M. Geijer. This writer thinks it cannot be doubted that the account delivered in the Ynglinga saga of the conquests of Odin in the North and the immigration of the Asi, is the narrative of an event that really happened. But if this relation is examined as to the circumstances, it proves, as he thinks, that the arrival of Odin and the Asi which it records, was not the first entrance of a people of German race, and that a previous invasion must have taken place by people of the same stock. Odin's settlement in the country of which he took possession near the Malar lake, is represented as resulting from his union with the former inhabitants: his followers are never described as expelling the conquered people and taking possession of their country. The assertion that Odin introduced a new idiom into the North, can never be understood to mean that the great family of languages, of which the Saxon as well as the Norse are branches, originated from him. We are by these and similar considerations forbidden from regarding the Scandinavians of the time immediately preceding the entrance of Odin as merely Finnish races. An attentive survey of the history of the North indicates that Iotuns or Finn and Lappish tribes were the earliest known inhabitants, that they were subdued or expelled by a

* Ericus Olai Hist. Suecorum Gothorumque lib. i. cited by Geijer, Schwedens Urgeschichte, s. 360.

† Geijer, p. 361.

race of different character, language, and religion. The leaders of this tribe kept possession of power till the rise of a third dynasty, who were the heroes of the Edda and the later Ynglinga saga. Both of these revolutions are alluded to by the Icelandic poets, who report that Odin and his Asi gave themselves out for the older Asi. These older Asi were the leaders of the Gothiod, that is, of a people descended from the gods, who overcame the aboriginal Iotuns, and Gotland thus at first comprehended all Svea-rik or Sweden, as well as the country of the Danes and other Northmen. The people worshipped the celestial Wodan, while Thor, or Thunder, was their chief divinity. A later Odin, represented in the Ynglinga saga as well as in the Edda as a seer, priest, and enchanter, brought in the Asi and the Sviar, who settled at first in the country above the Malar lake.* Suithiod, over which the dynasty of the Ynglinga Saga ruled, appears not to have comprehended the proper Götaland, but only the country to the northward of that lake. In the southern parts of Scandinavia the religion and language of the Goths were established already before Odin. That leader arrived at the head of his warlike Asi, and uniting with the Goths, expelled the remains of the Iotune or Finnish aborigines, or obliged them to take refuge in mountainous tracts, where they remained, as we have seen, on the remote borders of Sweden and Norway.

* The Mälar Sea or Lake Lögur. At old Sigtun on that lake, Odin built a temple and instituted sacrifices according to the custom of the Aesci or Asi. He took possession of the surrounding country, which he named Sigtun. He assigned places where the chief priests were to preside; Njord dwelt in Noatun, Freya in Upsal, Heimdaller in Himinbjörg, Thor in Thrudvang, Balder in Breidablik: to all these he gave pleasant seats.

All this account is given in the Ynglinga saga, in the Heimskringla of Snorro Sturleson. The germ of the tradition embodied in the prose sagas is to be found in the older Edda, but they are dressed out in a garb which evidently belongs to the romantic period of European literature, already opened in the time of Snorro. The zealous admirers of northern antiquity ascribe an ancient date and a mysterious eastern origin to a much greater portion of these compositions than is consistent with truth and candid investigation. What can be a more palpable proof of the adoption of modern ideas and representations than the mention of Tyrkland, Turkey, where it is said that Odin had great possessions? Tyrkland is rendered in the later version in Peringskiold's edition of the Heimskringla *Teucria*; the author of this version had in his mind the Trojan tale, which is mixed up with the sagas of almost all ancient nations. In the very beginning of the Ynglinga saga it is said that one of the three parts of the world, namely, the Western, is termed *Europa*, by some *Enea*.

## Section VI.—*Physical Characters of the German Nations.*

It is well known that the German nations are universally described by the ancients as a people of tall stature, robust form, with fair complexion, red hair, and blue eyes. A great number of passages are cited from the classical writers in which these traits are described. The following are some of the most decisive.

The great stature of the Germans and their fierceness and valour are adverted to by Cæsar.

"Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariæ caussa moratur, ex percunctatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute in armis esse prædicabant, sæpenumero sese cum eis congressos, ne vultum quidem et aciem oculorum ferre potuisse, subito timor exercitum occupavit."* The same writer describing the Suevi says that their habit of life nourishes their strength, and renders them "immani corporum magnitudine homines."† It may be observed, that in these passages he seems to compare the Germans in some degree with the Gauls, as well as with the smaller Italians, and to assure us that the northern Germans especially were taller than the Celts.

Pomponius Mela says, "Qui habitant Germaniam immanes sunt animis atque corporibus."‡

Appian, following Cæsar, terms the soldiers of Ariovistus—*τὰ μεγέθη μείζους τῶν μεγίστων.*§

Josephus represents Agrippa as saying to the Jews, "Who among you has not heard of the multitude of the Germans? You have often observed their prowess and their large stature."‖

Herodian notices—*τῶν Γερμανῶν σώματα ἐπιμήκη,*—the tall bodies of the Germans.¶ Columella says, "Germaniam decoravit Natura altissimorum hominum exercitibus."** Livy describes the eastern Germans, namely, the Bastarnæ, in like manner—"Bastarnarum procera et immania corpora;" and Plutarch mentions them in similar terms.†† Velleius speaks of the "juventus immensa corporibus" of the Chauci, and Tacitus

* Bell. Gall. i. 39. † Bell. Gall. iv. 1. ‡ De Situ Orbis, iii. 3.
§ Appian. de Bell. Gall. c. iii. ‖ Fl. Josephus, Bell. Jud. ii. 16.
¶ Herodian, vi. 7. ** Columella de Re Rust. 38. †† Livii, xli. 15.

of the "procera membra" of the Cherusci and the Batavi.* Eunapius gives a strange description of the Goths. He says their bodies are drawn out to an useless length, and that they are heavy in the feet, and drawn in about the middle, as Aristotle describes insects to be.† Ammianus terms the Alemanni "robusti et celsiores, grandissimis corporibus freti."‡ Lastly, the Arabian traveller Ibn Foszlan, whose itinerary has been published by Frähn, compares the Northmen to palm-trees.§

With respect to their complexion, Tacitus speaks of the "rutilæ comæ" of the Germans;‖ Ammianus of the "comas rutilantes ex more" of the Alemanni;¶ Seneca of the "rufus crinis;"** Herodian of the "*κόμας ξανθὰς τῶν Γερμανῶν.*"††

Juvenal:‡‡

> **Cœrula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam**
> **Cæsariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro.**

Horace:§§

> **Nec fera cœruleâ domuit Germania pube.**

Calpurnius Flaccus says, "rutili sunt Germanorum vultus et flava proceritas;"‖‖ Silius Italicus has, "Auricomus, flavus Batavus."¶¶ Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris mention the "flavi Sicambri,,, and Lucan the "flavi Suevi."*** Ausonius terms a Suevian virgin "oculos cœrula, flava comas."††† Procopius says that the Gothic nations are all of white bodies and yellow hair;"‡‡‡ and St. Jerom terms their armies "red and yellow bands."§§§

More particular observations are made by some writers; Diodorus says that the youth of the Galatæ,—here meaning the Germans, whom he often confounds with the Gauls,—are born with white hair, and as they grow up come to resemble their parents in colour.‖‖‖‖ We have cited Strabo, who declares that the Germans scarcely differ from the Celtic race—*τοῦ Κελτικοῦ*

* Velleius, ii. 106. Tacit. Ann. i. 64. Hist. iv. 14.
† Eunap. in Exc. legat. p. 47. ‡ Amm. Marcell. xvi. 12.
§ Frähn's Ibn Foszlan. Zeuss. ‖ Tacit. Germ. c. 4. ¶ Ammian. xxvii. 2.
** Seneca de Ira, c. 26. †† Herodian, iv. 7. ‡‡ Juvenal, Sat. 13.
§§ Horat. Epod. ‖‖ Calp. Flacc. sect. 2. ¶¶ Sil.Ital. iii. 608.
*** Claud. Bell. Gall. Sidon. Apoll. Carm. vii. 41.
††† Auson. Idyll. vii. ‡‡‡ Procop. Cæs. Bell. Vandal. i. 2.
§§§ Getarum, i.e. Gothorum, rutilus et flavus exercitus ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria. (Epist. ad Heliodor. Zeuss, ubi supra.)
‖‖‖‖ Diodor. Sic. Bibl. v. 32.

φύλου,—in their roughness of manners, their greatness of stature, or their yellowness of hair.* Manilius ascribes greater redness of hair to the Germans, from which we may conclude that the Gauls were rather xanthous.†

> Flava per ingentes surgit Germania partus,
> Gallia vicino minus est infecta robore.

And the same fact is most explicitly declared by Galen in his Commentary on Hippocrates, in a passage which is quite conclusive: *οὕτως γοῦν τινές ὁμομάζουσι τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ξανθοὺς, καί τοί γε οὐκ ὄντας ξανθοὺς, ἐὰν ἀκριβῶς τὶς ἐθέλοι καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ πυῤῥούς.* "In the same manner some term the Germans xanthous, although they are not xanthous in the proper sense of the term, but red-haired."‡

From all these assertions, some more general, some more particular and explicit than others, we must conclude that a lofty stature, yellow or rather red hair and blue eyes, with a fair complexion, were almost universal characters of the Germans at the period of their wars with the Romans. How they lost these characters as distinguishing traits and became assimilated to the other nations of northern Europe, is a question that cannot be speedily answered. One remark occurs to be made on this subject, which is that the climate and physical condition of Germany and the manners of its inhabitants have been assimilated in a nearly equal degree to those of the neighbouring countries. Some further observations on this subject may be found, in connection with my remarks on the physical characters of the Celtic race, in a preceding chapter of this volume.

With regard to the form of the head in the ancient Germans, we have no information from classical writers. This subject might be elucidated from the remains of ancient tombs; but I am not aware that such an attempt has been made in a comprehensive manner. The modern Germans are well known to have large heads, with the anterior part of the cranium elevated and fully developed. They have this peculiarity of form in a greater degree than either the French or English.

* Strabo, vii. p. 290. † Manilius, Astron. iv. 713.

‡ Galen, Comment. in Hippocr. *περὶ διαιτῆς.*

## SECTION VII.—*Of the supposed Origin of Gothic and other Northern Nations of Europe from Eastern Asia.*

I have stated the evidence which appears to bear most conclusively on the origin of the Gothic and other kindred tribes who invaded the Roman empire and finally established themselves in its provinces. It seems that during the second and third centuries after the Christian era Gothic and Vandalic tribes gradually descended from the northern parts of Sarmatia and of Germany towards the countries bordering on the Euxine, where they encroached upon the Scythian and Sarmatian nomades of that region. These were partly subdued, and a great body of northern German nations were spread through the eastern parts of Europe, which they continued to occupy until they were pressed and partly driven out by the Hunns, who invaded them from the East. The Goths in the eastern region of Europe formed sometimes one empire, as in the time of their great Hermanrich; but in general they were divided under two dynasties, those of the Amali and the Baltes; and it is remarkable that these divisions corresponded even in name with those of the Goths in Scandinavia, viz. the Wisigoths of the Ukraine, afterwards masters of France and Spain, with the Westro-Gauts of the Sagas, and the Ostrogoths with the people of Eastern Gautland. The decisive evidence of historical facts leaves no doubt as to the near relationship of the Gothic nations in Eastern Europe with the tribes in the North, though it is extremely improbable that the ancestors of the whole Gothic race ever passed over the Baltic from Scandinavia according to the representation of Jornandes.

A very different opinion has been maintained of late as to the origin and course of the great Gothic migration, and the early history of the Gothic race. Some learned writers have considered them as a people of more recently eastern origin and strangers to Europe, who from the high plains of Great Tartary or Further Scythia came down towards the steppes bordering on the Caspian, whence, and after crossing the great rivers which flow into that sea and the Euxine, they first made

their appearance in the vicinity of the European nations and invaded the Roman empire from the East.

The supposition that the Goths came from remote parts of Asia, which has been entertained by late writers, depends for its main evidence upon accounts, recognised by M. Abel Remusat, in the works of Chinese historians, relative to various tribes in Great Tartary, who are said to have been distinguished from the surrounding nations by their physical characters, viz. by fair or yellow hair and blue eyes. These nations are said to have been once powerful in the plains of Turkestan, whence they were expelled by the descendants of the Hiong-nu, and forced to retire towards the East. The conjecture is an obvious one, that some of the xanthous nations of Europe, and particularly the Goths, who, as we have seen, dwelt in the third century of the Christian era in the neighbourhood of the Euxine, may have been the offspring of the blue-eyed races of Turkestan. The conjecture of Abel Remusat was adopted by Julius von Klaproth, and became a favourite speculation of that learned writer. The names of the eastern tribes, though disfigured by Chinese orthography, were thought by him to countenance the supposition that these were nations of the Gothic family. Among these were the Yueti,* Getæ? the Khouti, Gothi? the Sai, Sacæ? Klaproth enumerates six of these nations, viz. 1. the Usun, 2. the Choule or Sale, 3. the Khouti, 4. the Tingling, 5. the Hakas, 6. the Yanthsai.† The Usan appear to have been the most remarkable. Their history is contained in the annals of the dynasty of the older Han, who reigned over China from 163 B.C. to 196 after the Christian era.‡

* M. Lassen observes that these writers have tampered with the Chinese name of Yueti in order to make it more like Getæ. M. de Guignes writes it, not Yueti, but Yue-chi. (Lassen's Geschichte der Indo-Skythischen Könige.)

† Peuples de Race Blonde. Klaproth's Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie. Paris, 1826, p. 161—186. Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien, v. 611.

‡ It appears that Abel Remusat and Klaproth were only acquainted with the contents of those annals of the Han through the great encyclopædia compiled by Matouanlin about A.D. 1321, or through other works of much later date than the original records. The original annals of the OLDER HAN have, however, been made known in part at least to European readers by means of translations published at St. Petersburg by Father Hyacinth; and the memorials relating to the Usun, transferred from the Russian by Dr. Schott, himself an excellent Chinese scholar, have been extracted

The following is a brief account of the principal nations thus distinguished.

1. The great Kunmo or king of the Usun lived in the city of Tschiku, northwards of Aksu, on the banks of the Temurtu or Issekul-lake, in the present Ili and Guldscha. The Usun reckoned 110,000 kibitkas and 188,800 warriors. They were nomades, ignorant of tillage, and in manners and customs resembled the Hiong-nu. The Usun people are rough, greedy, treacherous, and given to robbery : formerly they were subject to the Hiong-nu, but have become stronger, and have even attempted to get the better of that nation. To the eastward they border on the Hiong-nu ; to the south-west on Samarkand and Ferghana and Tashkend.

This country originally belonged to the Se or Sai (Sacæ?). The Yueti (as Klaproth writes the name—Yuedschi, according to P. Hyacinth) conquered them. The Usun drove the Yueti out towards the south-west into Tahia, i.e. Transoxiana. The Yueti are, according to Klaproth, Abel Remusat, and some learned writers who have adopted their opinions, the Getæ, the ancestors of the Thracian race, who in the time of Herodotus occupied the banks of the Lower Danube.*

These nomadic nations, the Usun and the Yueti, originally

by Professor Ritter in his 'Erdkunde von Asien.' (Die Geschichte der Usun von Kaiser Wuti und Tschangkian, 122 j. vor Chr. Geburt, bis in das erste Jahrhundert nach Ch. Geb. Aus dem Chinesischen Original der Annalen der Han-Dynastie, des Pat. Hyacinth, übersetzt von Dr. Schott. Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien, v. s. 613.)

* In a review by Klaproth of Father Hyacinth Bitchourinski's works on the history of the Mongoles which appeared in the Nouveau Journal Asiatique for 1830, it is asserted by Klaproth as a matter quite clear and indubitable that the Yueti were the ancestors of the Yuts or Juts, the present Indian inhabitants of the Panjáb. It is difficult even on the very confident declaration of so learned and dogmatical a writer as Klaproth to identify the ancient Getæ with the modern Juts. Father Hyacinth, who during a long abode at Pekin had gained an extensive acquaintance with Chinese literature, and has written several works on the Mongolian history from Chinese sources, identified the Yueti with the Mongolians, and spoke of them as a particular Mongolian khanate. Klaproth says that he was misled by his Chinese authorities. It seems that in the reign of Khianloung, several commissions of learned men in China were appointed for investigating the history of the nations subject to that empire ; in these commissions were included Mongolian and Tibetan priests. The works compiled by them obtained the approbation of the Chinese emperor. Klaproth says that the men appointed were not sufficiently learned to make due distinctions, and that they con-

fed their flocks together on the plains of Tun-hoang. In order to conciliate the Usun, now grown powerful, and bring them back to their primitive abodes in the East, the Chinese emperor Wuti sent costly gifts to the Kunmo, offering him a Chinese princess in marriage on consideration of homage. The offering was accepted; the marriage was accomplished, and the Chinese princess lived in a palace built in the deserts of the Usun; once in three months the Kunmo visited his royal consort: he was aged, and understood not the Chinese language. In her solitude the princess composed a song of lamentation, which is nearly the same as that said by Ma-tuanlin and De Guignes to have been written by a Chinese princess married to a chieftain of the Hiong-nu. The sense is as follows:

My kinsfolk have given me away,
Into a foreign land,
To the chieftain of the Usun.
He dwells in a miserable hut,
Covered with skins.
His food is flesh, and milk is his drink.
When I think of my home,
Then I long to be a wild goose
That I might fly away into my Fatherland.

The Chinese history of the Han contains very long and minute details of the political and sometimes hostile transactions between the Hiong-nu, the Chinese, and the Usun, none of which are interesting in an ethnographical point of view.

2. The Houti or Khouti are another people said to have been of xanthous complexion, to whom partly on this account, and partly on that of their name, Klaproth and Abel Remusat thought themselves justified in identifying with the Goths. "Their country was to the westward of that of Usun, in the present Taskkend, Otrar, Turkestan, where Gothic tribes *may heretofore have dwelt* before they passed to the north side of

founded nations of separate origin, as for instance the Yueti with the Hiong-nu. Which party really had the most correct knowledge of Chinese records, Klaproth or the imperial commission appointed by Khian-loung, few persons in this country are able positively to determine, though the probable decision is obvious. However, the question at issue, whether the Yue-chi—who, by a bold conjecture, are identified both with the old Getæ and the modern Juts—were a different people from the Hiong-nu, is too remote and indefinite an inquiry to be a matter of great interest in European ethnography.

the Caspian and towards the Wolga, on the western banks of which we find them up to the era when their great migration begins." This is Klaproth's conjecture: it evidently represents the Goths to have advanced straight from the interior of northern Asia towards the south of Europe, without any movement to or from the north, and without any relations with the Germano-Gothic nations of the north of Europe. Ritter, who for the rest, treats M. Klaproth's statement with great consideration, observes that this is conjecture, and that if the Khouti were Goths, there is still no proof that they were really anything else than an offset of the same stock, and by no means that they were the original source of the whole Gothic nation. I own that the whole theory seems to be in the highest degree chimerical.

3. The Kiun-kuen or the Hakas are another nation belonging to this groupe of xanthous races mentioned in Chinese history. They had blue eyes and yellow-red complexions—"gelbrothen Gesichter." At first they were related to the Tingling, a people who dwell near the western end of Lake Baikal. At a later era, mixing with the Hoei-he, they became the Kilikis, i.e. the Kirghis, and having lost their German speech, adopted the Turkish language. On this notion of the origin of the Kirghis, Erman some time since quaintly remarked, that if the Kirghis, in *higher* ethnography, are to be reckoned an Indo-German race, it must be in the same sense of identity as that attributed to the old knife, which had a tenth new handle and a twelfth new blade,* since they have not a trace of anything but a Turkish language and a Turkish physiognomy, and moreover suppose themselves to be a genuine Turkish race.

4. The Yanthsai—An-thsai of Abel Remusat. Klaproth calls them Alan. They lived, according to Ssēmātsien, in the marshy countries, near the north of Aral and the Caspian. Their history is traced in the first century B.C., in the annals of the Han and in Ma-tuanlin's Cyclopædia. They seem to have borne a great many names, and to have dwelt in many different countries; and the most singular fact connected with their his—

* Erman's Reise um die Erde, Th. ii.

tory is the confident manner in which Klaproth conducts them to their place of destination, and assumes that they really were the people known to Europeans under the title of Alani.*

It has been well observed by Ritter, that the identity of these xanthous races of Turkestan with the Gothic or Germanic nations is only a matter of conjecture, and is as yet supported by no proof. Not a single trait has been pointed out in the manners or general character of the eastern races that brings them into a comparison with the nations of Europe; in fact, they appear in the Chinese accounts as distinguished in no respect from the Hiong-nu and other Tartar nations, except in the peculiarity, so vaguely or generally stated, of their complexion. We have before observed that there are other red-haired nations whose abodes are much nearer to those of the Usun than the country of the Goths: such, among others, were the Ostiaks. We shall find that the Slavonian nations had red hair and a red complexion, and these characters are now very common among the Russians. The physical character of the xanthous races is ever apt to display itself in high regions. On the whole, the attempt to identify the Goths with these nations of Eastern Siberia requires better evidence than what has yet been adduced.

It can hardly be imagined for a moment by one who considers the very intimate relation between the German and the Mœso-Gothic languages, that the people who spoke the last-mentioned dialect were a race separated in remote ages from the great body of the German race. The only way of rendering this hypothesis of the descent of the Gothic nation from the nomadic races, mentioned in Chinese history, in any degree probable, would be to understand the record of this migration of xanthous tribes, as comprehending the whole Teutonic family of nations, who on this occasion made their way from the East towards the north of Europe. But such an hypothesis is completely at variance with chronology. The Germanic nations occupied the North of Europe, as we well know, some cen-

* Tabl. Hist. de l'Asie par Klaproth, Mémoire dans laquel on prouve l'identité des Ossètes, peuplade du Caucase, avec les Alains du moyen âge. Paris, 1822. (Ritter, Erdk. v. ar. v. 625.)

turies before the era of the Han, when the Usun and the other tribes of that class are represented as yet abiding in the eastern region of Asia.

A different modification of this hypothesis, which derives the Gothic nations in part from the northern region of Asia, has found credit among some learned men both on the continent and in Britain. It connects itself with the theory, to which we have already adverted, adopted by Maillet and Geijer, who maintain that there have been two different migrations of people belonging to the same race from Eastern Asia to Northern Europe. The first great movement brought the Germanic nations to the shores of the Baltic and the Goths into Scandinavia. Long after this era Odin with the Asi arrived in Sweden. His followers became a ruling caste, and introduced, not an entirely new language and religion, but a change in the state of society, and, together with the use of runes, many new rites of worship. The first migration had subdued the Iotuns or old Finnish aborigines, and had driven them to the mountains and deserts and fastnesses of Norrland, Lapland, and Finnmark, where the exiled people continued for ages to adhere to the religion and customs of their forefathers. At this time Thor and not Odin was the principal god of the Scandinavian Goths.* In him the people of Norway and Gothland worshipped the powers of visible nature, the firmament and thunder: he corresponded with the Indra of the Hindoos, the Jupiter of the Latins, and the Taranis of Celtic nations. At a later period, according to this hypothesis, came Odin and the Asi from Asgard; they obtained an ascendancy over the Gothic nations not by arms but by magic and by persuasion: they supplanted the adoration of the earlier gods, and even of a more ancient Odin, and introduced the worship of Balder, the Apollo of the Gothic race, and the romantic fictions of the poetical Edda. This was the last and most complete state which the mythology of the Scandinavians attained. The rites and religion of Odin and the Asi are supposed to have been introduced from the remote East. The conjoint adoration of Odin, Thor, and Friga, bore, as it is pre-

* Geijer, Schweden's Urgeschichte, loc supra citatis.

tended, a strong likeness to the three principles of Buddhism, or the faith professed by the votaries of the Dalai Lama in Tibet. "This correspondence, as it has been said, points significantly to its origin, and the filiation of religious creeds and forms of worship thus combines with that of language in tracing the present people of the North to the remote regions of the East."*

On this ingenious hypothesis, which represents Odin as a lama or Buddhistic hierarch, who came immediately from the East and introduced a new worship, together with magical arts, and runes, and scaldic poetry, and all the embellishments of the Eddaic mythology, into Scandinavia, I shall only offer a few short remarks. It is a doctrine which has of late found supporters among learned writers in Germany, Sweden, and England, in counterpoise to whose opinions I would not venture to set my own judgment.†

1. It may be observed, in the first place, that the Eddaic mythology, in all its essential and tangible points, had existed among all the Germanic nations from very early times, and therefore required not to be introduced anew from Asia, in the comparatively late era to which the life of Odin is uniformly referred. It has been fully proved by Professor Jacob Grimm, that the mythology now termed Scandinavian was once common to the nations of that country and those of Germany.‡ Among the ancient German nations the worship of Odin is discovered in the adoration of Wuotan, and Thor has been recognised under the name of Donar. All the other leading features of the northern mythology have been distinguished by adequate proofs among the Teutonic races generally so considered. If this ancient system of mythology belonged, of old to the Germanic nations, how can it be supposed to have been

* Specimens of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, by the Rev. J. Conybeare, A.M.

† It was espoused long ago by Maillet; lately by MM. Geijer, Conybeare, Wheaton, and others.

‡ Mythologie der alten Deutschen, von Jacob Grimm. Götting. 1835.

On the comparison of the German and Scandinavian mythology, M. Grimm says, "Grösser als die Abweichung ist die Uebereinkunft, und das früher bekehrte, früher gelehrte Deutschland, kann die umschätzbaren aufschlüsse über den zusammenhang seiner mythentrümmer dadurch den reicheren Norden vergelten, dass es ihm ältere historische zeugen für die jüngere niederschreibung an handliefert." (s. w.)

introduced among them by an adventurer from the East, who established his throne and priesthood at Upsala shortly before or soon after the Christian era?

It may be added, as connected with this same remark, that the relation of Gothic language to the idioms of the East, and particularly to the Sanskrit, can by no means be accounted for or explained by this hypothesis, or referred to the times of Odin or the Asi.

2. The supposition that the religion of Odin was the doctrine of Buddha, is certainly liable to the remark that no two systems of religion were ever more unlike. The one is the quiet, devout contemplation of ascetics, who live as recluses and deny themselves the common gratifications of life, who observe the most rigid monasticism, avoid all strong drinks as defiling and impure, abstain from killing even noxious insects through a superstitious dread of destroying life: the other peoples heaven with beings similar to its votaries on earth, with wild fierce warriors whose delight was either in war and strife or in wassail and revelry in the halls of Odin, while their worshippers offered bloody sacrifices abominated by the followers of Buddha, and even sacrificed on some occasions human victims.

3. It may be further remarked, that wherever Buddhism was introduced, even in northern countries, its missionaries brought with them their peculiar literature, their Palian or Tangutian alphabets, their sacred books containing fables of a peculiar sort, everywhere quite characteristic and different from those of all other sects, but in particular most unlike the sagas of the North. The religion of Buddha is ever connected with its peculiar literature. In Mongolia, Timkouski found the sacred books and the letters and language of the Buddhists. They are discovered in Ceylon, Siam, and Japan. As well might we expect to find a Roman Catholic priesthood without the Latin language and the Roman ritual, as the worshippers of Buddha without their scriptures and art of writing. The Runic letters bear no resemblance whatever to the Indian or Tangutian characters. The Scandinavians had no books, nor any trace indicative of the rites of Buddhism.

4. It may further be observed, that all the fictions of the

northern mythology are in strict geographical relation to the North: there are no representations which recall a southern region or an Indian clime: the wars of the Asi and the Jotnen, Iotunheim and Niflheim, the wintry world whence sprang the Hrim-thursi or Hoar-frost giants, belong to the North, to Scandinavia and the countries bordering on the Baltic and the frozen climate, as the stories of Jupiter are related to Olympus and Mount Ida. The poems and sagas of the Scalds deliver the fictions of an European, not of an Asiatic mythology; and if we had an opportunity of comparing with it the fables of the ancient Celts, Lithuanians, and Slavonians, it can hardly be doubted that we should discover nearer relations between all of these than any that can be traced between the mythology of Odin and that of Buddha.

There are, indeed, some principles common to the religion of Odin and that of Buddha, but these are principles common to the mythological systems of all the Indo-European nations, who retained some dogmas from their common ancestors. Such was the system of notions connected with the doctrine of emanation and refusion, which may be traced among the Brahmans, the Magians, the Greeks, and the Celtic Druids. These considerations are too extensive for my present engagement, and belong not strictly to the subject, since the points of resemblance between the religions of all these nations have no bearing upon the hypothesis to which the preceding observations refer.

All these considerations present so many objections against the opinion of M. Geijer and his predecessors and followers, that they appear to me, as I confess, very difficult to reconcile with it. My readers, however, will form their own opinion. It must be observed that the whole of this discussion is quite distinct from that which relates to the eastern origin of the German languages. That the original speech of the first German tribes who entered Europe, and of all the branches of the same stock, is allied to the Zend and Sanskrit, nobody can for the future doubt. But this language was brought by the Germans with them from their primitive abodes in Asia, in their original migration into Europe, an event very distinct from the movements to which we have lately adverted among the nations of Great Tartary.

# CHAPTER VII.

## OF THE SLAVONIAN RACE.

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### SECTION I.—*General Survey.*

ALTHOUGH nations of Slavonian origin occupy the greater part of Europe to the eastward of the Vistula, and may be said to divide almost equally with the German race the northern region of this quarter of the world, their history is comparatively of recent date. Our acquaintance with the German nations commences three centuries before the Christian era. We do not distinctly recognise the Slavonians till nearly nine hundred years afterwards. We find them first described by name in the works of two celebrated writers. Procopius, the historian of Justinian's reign, terms them Σκλαβῆνοι, or Sclaveni; and his contemporary Jornandes gives to the same people, or rather to a subdivision of them, the designation of Sclavini.* There were, however, nations known long before this period

* The name of Slavi or Slavonians, evidently identical with Σκλαβῆνοι and Sclavini, is supposed to be of Slavonian origin, but it is differently explained and derived by Slavonian writers. By some it is said to mean "*the illustrious*," or "*the glorious*," and is derived from "Slava," *glory*. Such is Karamsin's opinion. A more probable account of this name is given by Dobrowsky, who observes that the Slavonian language has three terms equivalent to the Greek βάρβαρος, these are Czud, Wlach, Niem. Czud or Tschud are foreign people, but particularly those supposed to be of Finnish extraction; Wlach, which is the Slavonian way of writing the word Welsh, means, as does that term among the Germans, "Gauls, or Italians;" Niem applies especially to the Teutonic nations. In antithesis with *Niem*, which is interpreted "Dumb or unintelligible people," is Slowane, "People of the word"—*(slowo,)* or "the speakers," a meaning which is still preserved in the name of the Slovaks and some other tribes of the same race. Slavi and Slavini or Slavonian were perhaps thence derived by a slight change of pronunciation.

in the eastern part of Europe, or in Sarmatia, from some of whom the Slavonian tribes have been supposed, perhaps with good reason, to be descended. The Venedæ, in the northern tracts near the coast of the Baltic, are by many writers regarded as the ancestors of the Slavonian race; others deduce that people from the ancient Sarmatæ. We shall take some notice of the arguments by which these opinions are defended after surveying the history of this family of nations from the period when they become clearly known and identified.

Jornandes distinguishes the whole Slavonian race by the collective term of Winidæ, a slight modification of the name of Wends, which is applied to all the nations of this family by their German neighbours. After describing Dacia, now Hungary, surrounded by lofty Alps, namely, the Carpathian chain, he adds, that on the left side of these mountains towards the north, and from the source of the river Vistula, an immense region lies, which is inhabited by the populous nation of the Winidæ. Different tribes of this race had, he says, particular epithets, but the names by which they were generally distinguished were those of Slavini and Antes. They were all subject to the Goths in the time of their great emperor Hermanrich, who was a contemporary of Julian. The Slavini were the western division: they occupied all the country between the Danube and the river Dniester or Tyras, and extended towards the north as far as the Vistula, termed by Jornandes the Viscla. To the eastward of the Sclavini and of the Dniester were the Antes, who reached down as far as the coast of the Euxine, and from the Tyras to the Dnieper or Borysthenes.*

In another passage of his work, containing a brief account of the war in which king Hermanrich subdued the Wends, Jornandes makes three divisions of that people, which he terms Veneti, Antes, and Sclavi. Veneti is probably only a more latinised form of Winidæ. He says expressly that all these three races were of one origin: "Post Herulorum cædem idem Hermanricus in Venetos arma commovit, qui, quamvis armis dispertiti, sed numerositate pollentes, primo resistere conabantur. Hi, ut ab initio expositionis, vel catalogo gentis dicere

* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, apud Grotium.

cœpimus, ab una stirpe exorti, tria nunc nomina reddidere: id est Veneti, Antes, Sclavi: qui, quamvis nunc ita facientibus peccatis nostris ubique desæviant, tamen tunc omnes Hermanrici imperio serviere."

Procopius describes the same race under a parallel division: he terms the principal tribes Antæ and Sclaveni—Σκλαβῆναι—but calls them collectively by a name not elsewhere found, namely, Spori.* "These nations," he says, "the Sclaveni and the Antæ, are not ruled by one chief, but live as of old, under a popular government, and therefore their proceedings, both in prosperity and adversity, are referred to public consultations. All common affairs, from ancient usage, are conducted in a similar manner among these barbarous tribes....They dwell in miserable cabins erected at considerable distances from each other, and not unfrequently change the places of their abode. When they go to war, most of them march against their enemies with little bucklers and darts in their hands, and without breastplates. Some of them have not even a coat or cloak, and wear no covering but greaves about their thighs, and in this state come to battle with their adversaries. Both tribes have the same language, which is extremely barbarous. Nor do they differ in any respect from each other in person: they are all of remarkably good stature and powerful. Their complexions and hair are neither white nor yellow, nor entirely inclined to black, but all of them are somewhat red-haired. They also live, like the Massagetæ, in a hardy manner, neglectful of comfort, and like them are always covered with a squalid filthiness. They are by no means cruel or malicious, but resemble the Hunns in their simple habits. In ancient times one name was given both to the Antæ and the Sclaveni: they were formerly called in common *Spori*, as I suppose, because they were scattered over the country in cabins separated from each other; owing to this circumstance they extend themselves over a wide tract of land: most of the territories on the Danube are in their possession."†

* Spori is probably an erroneous orthograpy of *Sorbi*, a name common to several tribes of the Slavonian family.

† It is worth while to advert to the description given by Gibbon, chiefly from this passage of Procopius: "Four thousand six hundred villages," he says,

Procopius describes the Sclaveni and the Antæ as inhabiting the northern side of the Danube, whence they made frequent incursions into the provinces on the right bank of that river, frequently plundering in their expeditions some of the most populous and fertile countries of the Byzantine empire.

It appears from this account that the Slavi possessed in the time of Jornandes, that is, after the complete emigration of the Goths from their settlements on the Danube and to the northward of the Euxine, a great part of the countries which had been subdued by that people, and afterwards by the Hunns. From the Danube they reached northward across the Krapak or Carpathian chain into Poland and Russia. In the age of Jornandes there were no Slavic tribes on the Adriatic, or in the countries situated to the southward of the Danube, which they occupied, as we shall find, at a somewhat later period.

Modern writers recognise the division of the whole Slavic race into two great branches, corresponding with those which are denominated in the above extracts Antes and Slavini. The former is the eastern branch, the latter comprehends the western tribes of this family. The correctness of this division was perceived and exemplified by the learned Bohemian abbot Dobrowsky, one of the most profound investigators of the Slavic history and literature and antiquities, whose views have been adopted with little variation by succeeding writers.*

" were scattered over the provinces of Russia and Poland; and the huts of the barbarians were hastily built of rough timber, in a country deficient both in stone and iron. Erected, or rather concealed, in the depths of forests, on the banks of rivers, on the edge of morasses, we may not perhaps without flattery compare them to the architecture of the beaver, which they resembled in a double issue, to the land and water, for the escape of the savage inhabitants, an animal less cleanly, less diligent, and less social than that marvellous quadruped. The fertility of the soil, rather than the labour of the natives, supplied the rustic plenty of the Sclavonians." The document whence Gibbon obtained the supposed number of Slavonian villages is a particular list in a curious MS. of the year 550, found in the library of Milan, which exercised the patience of the Count de Buet. Karamsin has examined this list, and he avers that it contains many names which are not Slavonian. He deems it unworthy of credit.

* Dobrowsky is followed by Adelung in the account of the Slavonic nations given in the second volume of the Mithridates, as likewise by Schaffarik, author of a learned work entitled " Geschichte der Slavischen Sprache und Literatur," published at Buda in 1826, and by the anonymous writer of an excellent memoir on

Dobrowsky enumerates the dialects spoken by all the various nations of the Slavonian race, as follows. To the eastern division, as he says, belong, first, the Russian and its dialects; second, the old Slavonian, the ecclesiastical or literary dialect of this language; third, the modern Slavonic or Illyrian dialect, spoken in Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia; fourth, the Croatian; fifth, the Windish, spoken by the people termed Winds, in Carinthia, Carniola, Stiria or Steyermark, together with the variety of the Windish spoken in the county of Eisenberg. To the western branch of Slavonian dialects belong, first, the Slovakian; second, the Bohemian language; third and fourth, the Wendish, in Upper and Lower Lusatia; fifth, the Polish, with the Silesian variety of that language.

Dobrowsky distinguishes the dialects belonging to these two classes of Slavonic idioms by certain particles, the use of which is common to a whole class, and unknown to the forms of speech which belong to the other class. I need not specify these, but shall merely remark that the dialects of the Slavonian language, though numerous and clearly marked, and even constituting groupes severally distinguishable, are yet by no means so remote from each other as are many idioms which are universally regarded as dialects of one language.

## Section II.—*Of the Eastern Slavic Nations or Antes.*

### First branch.—*Paragraph* 1.—Of the Russians.

The Russians or Moscovites are one of the nations descended from that branch of the Slavonic race which is termed by Jornandes Antes, and by Dobrowsky, the eastern division of the Slavi. The Russians, as it is well known, are by far the most numerous and extensively spread, and they occupy the regions furthest to the East of all the nations belonging to this stock.* The first notices discovered of the Antes are in the

the same subject in the American Biblical Repository, published at Andover, U. S., 1834.

* The Wjætitsches or Vyætitsches, a Slavonian branch on the upper territory of the Oka, were, according to Nestor, the most eastern tribe of the whole Slavic race in the ninth century. (Nestor, Aelteste Jahrbücher, &c. Scherer. Müller's Ugr. Volkst. ii. 247.)

Gothic history of Jornandes, who mentions the conquest of that division of the Slaves by Vinitar, the successor of Hermanrich, king of the Goths. Vinitar was at that time tributary to the Hunns. He subdued the Antes, who then inhabited the country lying to the northward of the Euxine. This tribe was afterwards liberated from the Gothic yoke by the assistance of the Hunns. The following is a brief sketch of the subsequent history of the Russians as deduced by Adelung, chiefly from Von Schloezer's edition of Nestor's annals.

The Russian people consisted in ancient times of many independent tribes, who were spread over the regions extending northward from the mouths of the Danube. At an early period two principal states arose among the Russians, the northern one near lake Ilmen, and the southern on the Dnieper, of which Kiew was the capital. The former consisted of the principal and most numerous tribes, and the latter of the Little Russians, or the western tribes, who, from the level plains which they inhabited, were named Poljænen. The northern Russians founded the state of Nowgorod, on which occasion they became intermixed with people of Finnish race. Internal quarrels brought the Slavi of Nowgorod, the Tschudes, and the Krivitsches near Polocz, about 862, under the dominion of Rurik and his Warjæga Rossi, a Scandinavian tribe to whom this denomination was given by the Finns. Rurik gave to his new subjects the first laws, and the principles of civilisation as far as they were capable of receiving them at that time, and from this period the inhabitants of the state of Nowgorod were termed Russians. Hence we are enabled to explain the fact, that some Greek writers, and even Nestor, distinguished the Russians from the Slavi, and the Russian from the Slavonian language. The real Russians were Swedes, and their idiom the Swedish language, which, however, as belonging to the least numerous party, soon gave way to the Slavonian, and was swallowed up in it.* Rurik's first successor Oleg conquered Kiew in 884, and united both states: thence the name of Russians was extended over the Southern Slavi, in the country afterwards called the Ukraine. Vladimir,

* Even Rurik's grandsons had Slavonian names, as Sviatoslav, Jaroslav, &c. (See Andover Bibl. Repository, ubi supra, p. 362.)

between 980 and 1015, introduced the Christian religion, according to the doctrines of the Greek church, founded monasteries, and laid thus the earliest foundations of literary and ecclesiastical culture. Kiew remained the metropolis of the empire; and although the seat of government was removed to Susdal, and afterwards, in 457, to Vladimir, yet Kiew continued to be the centre of whatever learning existed in the country. About 1236 the southern part of the Russian state fell under the dominion of the Mongolian Tartars, and the Poles gained possession of nearly the whole empire, which they held till Ivan Vasilievitsch restored its independence in the last half of the fifteenth century, and laid the foundation of its subsequent greatness.

### *Paragraph* 2.—Russian dialects.*

There are three dialects of the Russian language, which may serve to distinguish three subdivisions of the race.

1. The pure or proper Russian, the cultivated language of the whole Russian nation, spoken in Moscow and all the central parts of the European empire of Russia. Vulgar and corrupted branches of this dialect are those of Susdal and Olonetz, the last of which is intermixed with Finnish words.

2. The Malo-Russian, the language of the south-eastern parts of European Russia, approaching to the old Slavic in many forms of expression and in the enumeration of some consonants. This dialect is perhaps richer than any other in national songs, many of which have a peculiar beauty.

The Malo-Russian is essentially the same idiom as that of the Russniaks or Ruthenians, inhabitants of the eastern part of Galicia and the north-eastern districts of Hungary and Poland, who are about three millions of people. They belong to the Greek church, although beyond the limits of the Russian empire.

3. The White Russian is the dialect spoken in Lithuania and in part of White Russia, especially in Volhynia. The historical documents of Lithuania were written in this dialect, which was in use as a written language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

* Schaffarik.—Bibl. Repos. ubi supra.

*Paragraph* 3.—Of the southern branches of the Eastern Slavic stem: Servians, Croats, and Winds.

Besides the Russians and the various tribes of the Western Slavonian race spread through the north of Europe, who will be mentioned in the sequel, there are several nations belonging to the same family who inhabit the south-eastern part of the continent, or the countries between the Adriatic and the Euxine. The latter are partly subject to the Austrian and partly to the Ottoman empire. They may be divided into three classes, which are termed severally the Servians, the Croats, and the Winds, or Southern Wends. The tribes included in each of these classes are distinguished from those which belong to the other departments by their peculiar dialects, and by other characteristic differences. To the Servian branch, according to the evidence afforded by their idioms, belong the Servians properly so termed, inhabiting the province of Servia, the Bosnians, the Bulgarians, the Uskoks, the Morlachians, the Slavonian people of Wallachia, the people of Eastern or Servian Dalmatia, including the republic of Ragusa, and the Servians scattered through Hungary and Siebenburg. The second, or Croat branch, includes not only the people of Croatia proper, but some Croat tribes inhabiting districts in Hungary, Dalmatia, and Carniola. The Winds, or Southern Wends, who constitute a third branch belonging to this southern division of the Slavonian race, are distinguished likewise by peculiarities of dialects, and by the inveterate hatred which these people and the Croats everywhere bear to each other. The Winds are inhabitants of several provinces in the Austrian dominions, further to the north-west than the former tribes, as Carniola, Carinthia, and Stiria.

These tribes are allied by their dialects to the Russians, much more nearly than to the Poles, or the western Slavonian nations. They are on this ground referred by Dobrowsky and Schaffarik to the great eastern division of the Slavic race, anciently termed Antes. The proximity of idiom is such between the Servians and the Russians, that the former people, having embraced Christianity about a century before the latter, and having in use the Slavonian alphabet and liturgy framed

for them by Cyril and Methodius, these were adopted by the Russians on their conversion, and even continue to be used at the present day in the churches of Russia, having undergone but slight alterations. By Nestor, the old ecclesiastical Russian dialect is termed Servian; and both the Russians and the Servians long made use of the same Bible and other religious books, and they understand each other in conversation better than the individuals of any other two Slavonian tribes.

Respecting the history of the southern Slavonic tribes different opinions have been maintained; but this has not arisen from the want of data on which a tolerably certain conclusion might be established. Some writers have imagined that the Slavonian nations in the countries between the Adriatic and the Euxine, were the primitive inhabitants of that region. "Dolci, a native of Dalmatia, identified the Slavonians with the old Illyrians; and Katansich supposed the dialect of the Croats to be the old Pannonian language, on no other grounds than some forced etymologies of ancient Illyrian names from the Slavonic." The Veneti, on the Adriatic gulf, have been imagined from their name to have been Wends or Slavonians; and the Ragusan Count Sorgo even attempted to trace the names of the Greek and Roman gods from the same language. All these conjectures are founded, according to Dobrowsky, on ignorance of the historical fact, that the Slavonian tribes now inhabiting the country near the Danube and the Adriatic, first came into this region in the sixth century of our era.*

The emigration of the Servians is recorded in an obscure passage of the Emperor Constantine, in his work "De Administrando Imperio," which has been cited and illustrated by Adelung. It is nearly as follows:

"It must be understood that the Servians (meaning the Servians of Dalmatia and Illyricum) are descended from the Pagan Servii, also called White Servians, who inhabit the further parts of Turcia, that is, Hungary, on which Francia (viz. the empire of the Franks, at that time including Bohemia,) borders, as likewise does Great Chrobatia or Croatia,

* Dobrowsky, Geschichte der Böhmischer Sprache und ältern Literatur. Prag. 1808.

still pagan, which is also called White Chrobatia. In that country therefore was the original abode of these Servians."

The White Servia, or rather the Great Servia, whence the Servians to the southward of the Danube are here said to have migrated, is shown by Adelung to have been Little or Red Russia, on the Upper Vistula, and the modern East Gallicia. The Magna Chrobatia, whence the Croats proceeded, was also to the northward of Hungary, near the Carpathian chain. The movements of the Slavonian tribes towards the south appear to have been gradual, and as circumstances opened to them a way. Pannonia or Hungary was left vacant in the sixth century, in consequence of the migration of the Langobards into Italy. It fell into the possession of the Avars; and on this occasion, Slavonic tribes, who were their allies or vassals, were settled in Carinthia and Carniola in the year 668.* Already, in the age of Procopius, the northern bank of the Danube was in the possession of Slavonians of the race of Antes. These barbarians, in their annual expeditions into the provinces subject to Justinian, wasted the country of its former inhabitants, and the wilderness was peopled by hordes of their own kindred. In the first half of the seventh century, under the Emperor Heraclius, Slavonian tribes gained possession of Servia and Dalmatia. About the same time, several clans arrived in Bulgaria, to whom the Bulgarians, as conquerors of the country, assigned lands in 679. The colonies of this people extended from the Euxine to the Adriatic. The Croats became a powerful nation, and were ruled by sovereigns of their own: they had possession of nearly all the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and exercised piracy for many years in that sea and in the Mediterranean.

I shall add some few particulars respecting these branches individually.

### A. *Of the Servian branch.*

The Servian language is spoken by about five millions of people. It extends, with some variation of dialect, over the Turkish and Austrian provinces of Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Monte Negro, and Dalmatia, over Slavonia and the eastern part of Croatia. Of these provinces, Dalmatia belongs to

* Dobrowsky, ubi supra, p. 7.

the Roman Catholic church, and the literature of its particular dialect has been modified by the Catholic priests, and is termed the Glagolitic. The Servians and Slavonians of the Greek church continue to use the Cyrillic alphabet unchanged.*

### B. *Of the Croats.*

The Croats are chiefly the inhabitants of the Austrian kingdom of Croatia. The Croat language is intermediate between the Servian and the Windish.

### C. *The Winds or Slovenzi.*

The Slavic inhabitants of Carinthia, Carniola, Stiria, and of Eisenburg and Saala in Hungary, about 300,000 in number, call themselves Slovenzi. By foreigners they are generally called Vindes or Windes. The Slavic settlements in Carniola took place very early, certainly not later than the fifth century. It has been lately proved that this part of the Slavic race was first acquainted with the use of letters, probably even before the time of Cyril. Several very old MSS. have been discovered in it in the library at Munich. According to Kopitar, a writer of great celebrity on the Slavic antiquities, the true home of the old Slavonic church language is to be found among the Pannonian Slavi, the Slovenzi or Winds, and it was for them that the old Slavonic Bible was translated.† But the liturgy of Methodius was soon supplanted in this country by the Roman Catholic ritual.‡

## SECTION III.—*Of the Western Slavic Nations.*

To the western division of the Slavic race belong the Bohemians, the Slovaks, the Poles, the Sorabians and the Northern Wends.

We have observed that all or nearly all the Eastern Slavi,

* Schaffarik,—Bibl. Repos. ubi supra.

† Kopitar, the author of a learned paper in the "Wiener Jahrbücher" on Slavic literature, Ann. 1822. He maintains that the Slovenzi or Wends were the diocesans of Methodius, for whose use he and Cyril translated the Bible, and that these two brethren, at a later period, carried it to the Servians, who understood it and used it. Dobrowsky thought it was originally made for the Servians. See the opinions of these writers discussed in the Andover Bibl. Repos. 1834, p. 347.

‡ A new version of the whole Bible in this language was published in 1800 at Laibach in five volumes.

including the Russians and those tribes who passed the Danube and settled in Servia, Croatia, and the Austrian provinces, obtained the rudiments of civilisation, and the first instruction in the Christian faith, from missionaries of the Greek Church. In the latter provinces the Church of Rome afterwards modified the ecclesiastical discipline first introduced, and changed the literature of Cyril and Methodius into what is called the Glagolitic. But the Western Slavi owe their earliest instruction to missionaries from Rome, who introduced the light of Christianity and the blessings of civilisation among the Bohemians and the Poles. The northern Wends, as well as their neighbours in Prussia of a different race, were subdued by the arms of the Saxons and the Teutonic knights.

### 1. *The Tschechi or Bohemians.*

The language of the Bohemians has been the most cultivated among all these dialects. Christianity was introduced among the Bohemians during the latter part of the ninth century, and doubtless with it the knowledge of letters. The oldest specimen, however, that is extant of the Bohemian language is a short hymn of Bishop Adalbert, which, somewhat modified, is still sung in some of the churches of Bohemia: it is given by Dobrowsky in the work already cited. The earliest Bohemian chronicler was Dalemil, who wrote his chronicle in rhyme, about 1310. In the same century the first Bohemian version was made, of which a copy in a parchment manuscript is preserved in the royal library of Dresden. From that time the culture of the Bohemian language and manners improved after German models, and attained its highest refinement under Rudolph.

The interval between 1577 and 1610 was the Augustan age of Bohemia. The literature, together with the national spirit of the people, fell into decay at the close of that period, and became almost extinct during the thirty years' war. The Bohemians were termed by other Slaves, Tschechi or Chechi, which, according to Dobrowsky, means *the foremost;* describing, apparently, the local position of this tribe in relation to the great body of the nation. Bohemia, as it is well known, is the name, not of the people but of the country, which ob-

tained this term when inhabited by the Celtic Boii, who were succeeded by the German Marcomanni, as were the latter by the Moravians. The Slavonians occupied Bohemia about the middle of the sixth century, after the destruction of the Thuringian kingdom, in which Bohemia was probably included.

The Moravians are nearly akin to the Tschechi or Bohemians. Their dialects are said to be merely varieties of the Bohemian language. The Moravians take their name from the river Morava: they give to their idiom the term of Morawsky gazyk, and decline that of Czechy gazyk, or the Bohemian speech.

The Slavonian inhabitants of Moravia are in several divisions, and have various dialects. The first, or Hannaks, taking their name from the river Hanna, are the agricultural peasantry of the province. The Slovaks or Slavaks are the Slavonian people who inhabit the eastern frontier of Moravia and some of the upper districts of Hungary.*

## 2. *The Slovaks.*†

The Slovaks are a Slavic people who inhabit the north-western parts of Hungary. Colonists of the same race are also scattered over all the other parts of that country. Before the arrival of the Magyars or of the Hungarian nation, the principal inhabitants of Hungary or Pannonia were of the Slavic race. At what exact period they entered it is uncertain. In early times the Sarmatæ Limigantes or Jazyges Metanastæ, between the Danube and the Theiss, invested the Byzantine empire on that side, but their name soon disappears; and in the ninth century, already converted to Christianity, we hear of the Slovaks, whose designation has the same import and who may be the same people, in the region adjacent to the Waag and Gran, within the short-lived Slavonian kingdom of Great Moravia.

* The idiom of the Moravians and Slavonians of Upper Hungary are so near to, or rather identical with the Bohemian, that one grammar is applicable to all of them. The grammar of Franz Trnka, published at Vienna in 1832, is thus entitled: "Theoretisch-Practisches Lehrbuch der Slawischen Sprache in Böhmen, Mähren und Ober-Ungarn, &c."

† The Slovaks must not be confounded with the Slovenzi, a branch of the Eastern Slavi before described.

The rest of Pannonia was inhabited by more warlike Turkish tribes, the Bulgarians and the Khazars. In 894 the Magyars conquered Pannonia and drove the Slovaks into the mountainous parts, while they settled themselves in the plains. The Slovaks continue to inhabit that part of Hungary within the Theiss: they are about 1,300,000 Catholics and 500,000 Protestants.

The Slovakian dialect is nearly related to the old Slavonic; the region about the Carpathian mountains, the seat of the ancient as well as modern Slovaks, having been the centre whence the Slavic nations, now spread through Eastern Europe, issued. The Slovakian dialect, according to Dobrowsky, approaches likewise to the oldest forms of the Bohemian, and is the link which unites it with the Croat and Windish, and it thus forms a bond of connexion between the eastern and western stems of the great Slavic race.

### 3. *The Lechs or Poles.*

The Lechs or Lechi were a Slavic people who occupied the country on the Vistula and Warta in the sixth or seventh century. Their name, Lekh or Ljakh, signified "free or noble men," a meaning which it still retained in the Bohemian in the fourteenth century. The Lechs were divided into several tribes, of which, according to Nestor, those only who dwelt on the vast plains—*polie*—of the Ukraine were at first called *Polyane*, Poles; that is, inhabitants of the plains. The tribes who occupied Massovia were called *Masowshane*, the Lekhs who went to Pomerania, *Pomeriane*; the name of Poles became general about the tenth century. In 840, the chiefs of the different Lechish tribes united themselves under one head and chose a peasant named Pjast for their duke, whose posterity reigned six hundred and thirty years. From Germany and Bohemia Christianity was conveyed to Poland in the ninth century. According to Dobrowsky the forms of the Latin church were adopted generally in 965. The Polish language was despised as the dialect of the illiterate.

Adelung distinguishes as dialects of the Polish, the Masovian and the Kassubian; the latter is spoken in Pomerania, Lunenburg, and West Prussia.

The Polish language is spoken by a population of about ten millions.* In many parts of Poland other races and languages prevail, as the Russniak in White and Black Russia, the Lithuanian in Lithuania. These countries were subjected by the Poles, to whom at one period even the ancient Smolensk, and Kiew, the royal seat of Vladimir, belonged.

### 4. *Of the Sorabians and Northern Wends.*

When the Burgundians, Suevi, Heruli, and other Northern German tribes moved towards the south to inundate the Roman empire, they left an extensive region on the Baltic coast either wholly destitute of inhabitants, or so thinly peopled as to afford a ready entrance to numerous bands of the Slavic stem, who passed over the Vistula and occupied the vacant space. Tribes of the new race spread themselves along the sea border from the mouth of the Vistula to that of the Elbe. They established independent communities through Northern Germany, which maintained their freedom for centuries. They built on the coast of the Baltic at the mouths of rivers many flourishing towns, carried on commerce, improved in the arts, and appear to have learnt from their German neighbours the use of Runic letters, but rejected Christianity and true civilisation. In some of these towns they erected temples adorned with barbaric magnificence to their pagan gods. Rhetra contained the shrine of their idol Rhadagast, whose image was not long since discovered at Prilwitz. Hamburg was a town of the Slavic tribe of the Obotrites; Weneta, at the mouth of the Oder, was a city of great extent and wealth, and the principal emporium of the Baltic trade. Remains of marble and alabaster mark the spot where Weneta sunk into the sea. Julin, which succeeded to its splendour, rejected Christianity. "Suddenly," says Von Müller, "lightning set fire to its wooden streets, and the whole city was consumed." Mecklenburg still bears the name derived from the "Mikli" or Slavic priests. Charlemagne prevailed upon the Obotrites to embrace Christianity, and defended them against the Saxon Wittikind, who was provoked by their compliance; but when the influence of the Carlovingian princes was withdrawn, the ancient supe-

* Schaffarik's Geschichte. Andover Bibl. Repos.

stition resumed its sway, and three centuries elapsed before the darkness of paganism was entirely dispelled from the whole northern region of Germany. Except in Lusatia even the language of these Slavic tribes has disappeared.

The Slavic tribe who occupied Lusatia, and still preserve their idiom, are termed Sorabians, or by themselves *Srbie*. The Sorabians possessed districts from which the Hermundurians or Thuringians had partly retired on the destruction of the Thuringian kingdom by the Franks in 528. They had kings of their own, possessed the present Osterland, both the Lusatias, the territory of Anhalt, the Electoral circle, and the southern part of the mark of Brandenburg. After their conquest the more industrious Germans established villages within the borders of the indolent Slavic inhabitants, and the German language and population gradually encroached on the Sorabian. In the fourteenth century, the use of this language was forbidden in courts of justice, and it gradually disappeared, except in Lusatia, where it still subsists. Many books, and especially religious formularies, have been translated into it. Lusitze, whence the native appellation was derived, means in their language, 'swampy land.'

The other tribes of Northern Wends are comprehended under the following names:—1. The Obotrites, people in Mecklenburg. 2. The Wagrians, in Holstein. 3. The Luititsians or Wiltzes, in Pomerania, called also Weletabes; they were conquered A.D. 781 by the Obotrites, and the whole country from the Oder to the Vistula formed for more than one hundred and fifty years a great Wendish kingdom. 4. Polabes, or people on the Elbe, from Labe, the Slavic name for that river.* 5. Linones, from the river Leyne, who long preserved their language: the last person who spoke it died in 1404.

## SECTION IV.—*Further Observations on the Languages and Literature of the Slavonic Nations.*

It is universally known that the Slavonic dialects belong to the Indo-European system of languages. As it has happened

* Polabe means 'on the Elbe;' so Pomerania, from Po-mer, 'on the sea.'

in other instances, the Slavonic idioms, before comparative philology had been much cultivated, have been supposed to bear a particular affinity to some individual member of that groupe. L'Evesque, a well-known writer on the history of the Russians, struck with the resemblance which he detected between the Russian and Latin languages, concluded that the inhabitants of Latium must have been a Slavonian colony.* Others have thought the Slavonic nearly related to the Greek, and Dunkousky, in a work entitled "Die Griechen als Sprachverwandte der Slaven," published at Presburg in 1828, contended that a knowledge of the Slavic dialects is indispensable for the elucidation of doubtful words in the Greek language. This analogy has struck the modern Greeks; and a Greek priest, Constantine, published a work containing eight hundred pages of words corresponding in the Greek and Russian.† Some students of the Celtic language have fancied a near relation between the Celtic and the Slavonian; and it was observed by Schloezer that a great proportion of the Slavonic roots are common to that language and the Gothic, and some have gone so far as to class the Slavic among Gothic or old German dialects. The affinity of the Slavonic and the Sanskrit is very obvious: a comparison of the numerals and of many common vocables will convince the reader that in the forms of words and in the prevailing elements of articulation, the Slavic is nearer to the ancient language of Hindústan than any of the idioms already mentioned. As philological researches are not my principal object I shall satisfy myself with having stated these facts, and must refer my readers who wish to examine the relations of the Slavic language to some writers who have expressly treated on it.‡

The Slavi were late in obtaining letters and a domestic lite-

* L'Evesque, Essai sur les Rapports de la Langue des Slaves avec celle des anciens habitans de Latium.

† It must be observed that the correspondence is not of modern date, or such as can have originated from later intercourse between the Russians and the Greeks.

‡ Dobrowsky, Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache und ältern Literatur; Prag- 1818. And Schaffarik, Geschichte der Slavischen Sprache und Literatur; Buda, 1826. Also an historical view of the Slavic language and its various dialects, published in the fourth volume of the Biblical Repository of Andover, Massachusetts.

rature. Their solitary and unsocial life was unfavourable to mental improvement. Yet poetry appears to have been cultivated by the Servians and by the Russians even in pagan times.* From the age of Rurik, and even at an earlier period, the Russians inhabited towns and villages; and Vladimir the Great, the first Christian monarch, established schools, and employed Greek artists to embellish the churches founded at Kiew, into which the Slavonic liturgy, some time before composed by Cyril for the Slavonians in the south, was soon introduced. Vladimir and his knights were at the same time the patrons and heroes of the Russian poems, as were Charlemagne and his peers of the romances of the Franks. The literature of the Slavi is, from its very commencement, monastic. Nestor and Dalemil are the earliest authentic historians of great celebrity among these nations. The former of these was a Russian, the latter a Bohemian. Nestor is universally considered as the father of Russian history. The Russians have indeed, like other nations, fabulous legends, which reach up to a period of higher antiquity. According to Bishop Joachim, Slaven, a grandson of Japhet, built in Russia the city of Slavensk, where a long line of princes reigned before the time of Rurik, the real founder of the Russian monarchy. But these stories are as unworthy of credit as the tales of our Geoffrey. Nestor was a writer of a different class, and almost deserves a place by the side of the Venerable Bede. He was an ecclesiastic of the monastery of Petschersky, and died in the year 1056. He was a person of great mental activity, and collected information from all sources on which it was attainable. He consulted the oldest men of Kiew, and the best-informed persons of various towns in Russia. He collected the oral traditions of earlier times, examined the monuments and tombs of ancient princes, and the registers of the churches. His annals were edited not long ago by the learned Von Schloezer, the author of several well-known works on the history of the northern nations. The chronicles of Nestor are accounted authentic, but they do not carry back the history of the Russians into periods of remote antiquity.†

* See Dr. Bowring's prefaces to his Specimens of Russian and Servian Poetry.

† Dobrowsky, Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache und ältern Literatur.

Dalemil, the Bohemian chronicler, was much later than Nestor, and a writer of quite different character. His whole chronicle is in Bohemian rhymes, and was long a very popular work among his countrymen. It was composed at the monastery of Buntzlaw, and brings down the Bohemian history to the coronation of King John in 1311, soon after which it was composed. The writer was an ardent patriot, full of hatred towards the Germans, whom he regarded as the oppressors of his country; and he magnifies the achievements of every warrior of the genuine Slavic race. The prevalence of Teutonic manners and the German language was a common matter of complaint among the Bohemians of this time.*

## Section V.—*Of the Moral Character of the ancient Slavic Race. Comparison of the Germans, Sarmatæ, and Slavonians.*

The ancient writers not yet acquainted with the Slavic nations, at least by their common name, contrast the German and Sarmatic races. The Sarmatæ, according to Tacitus, differed from the Germans in living on horseback and among horses: they were not accustomed like the Germans to travel far, or with speed on foot: they built no houses or fixed habitations, but had their dwelling upon wheels or in movable waggons: in warfare they used no shields. In all these particulars, Tacitus informs us, they differed from the Germans, as likewise from the Venedi, another race dwelling beyond the Vistula. The Sarmatæ and Venedi resembled each other in the squalid filthiness of their habits and the indolence of their lives. The Sarmatæ of a later age roved about the steppes of Scythia, according to the description of Ammianus,† with numerous herds, directed by the choice of pasturage or the pursuits of war. Their movable towns or camps consisted of

* Two miserable hexameters by Abbot Peter Von Königral are cited by Dobrowsky, in which this ascendancy is notified:

"Turba Bohemorum canit hoc, quod scivit eorum
Lingua, sed ipsorum pars maxima Teutonicorum
Cantat Teutonicum."

† Ammian. Marcel. lib. xvii. c. 12.

wagons drawn by oxen, and covered in the form of tents, the ordinary abode of their wives and children. In this they resembled the more ancient Scythians, according to the earliest description of that people.* The strength of their armies was in bands of fleet horsemen. Their arms were strong bows, with quivers of arrows, headed by fish-bones in the want of iron, and dipped in poison. Though of a different race from the modern Kalmuks, they resembled that nomadic people in all the particulars of their roving and predatory life.

All these habits were unknown to the German tribes, who had fixed or permanent houses and villages or towns, whose armies consisted of foot-soldiers, and who among barbarous nations were equally distinguished for the cleanliness of their habits, and for the comparative purity of their morals. In two remarkable traits the Germans differed from the Sarmatic, as well as from the Slavic nations, and indeed from all those other races to whom the Greeks and Romans give the designation of barbarians. I allude to their personal freedom, and regard for the rights of men; secondly, to the respect paid by them to the female sex, and the chastity for which the latter were celebrated among the people of the north. These were the foundations of that probity of character and self-respect and purity of manners, which may be traced among the Germans and Goths even during pagan times, and which when their sentiments were enlightened by Christianity, brought out those splendid traits of character which distinguish the age of chivalry and romance. The Sarmatæ had all the vices of orientals: their polygamy, their sensuality, and their abject servility. Nor were the nations whose name furnished the modern languages with a term for *slave*, in any of these instances superior to the Sarmatæ. The Venedi, as Tacitus informs us, agreed with the Germans in dwelling in fixed houses, in travelling on foot, and in using in battle the defence of shields: unlike them, they inhabited not open steppes, but woody and mountainous tracts. The Sclaveni described by Procopius lived in miserable cabins, solitary, and scattered at remote distances from each other among the woods, not collected into villages: they

* Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξει νομάδας οἳ πλεκτὰς στέγας
Πεδάρσιοι ναίουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις.—Prom. Vinct.

were neglectful of ordinary personal comforts, and covered with squalid filthiness. They were almost naked savages. Some of them had not even a coat or cloak to cover them, and wore no clothing but hose up to their waists, which they put on when they went to battle.* For the rest, they had no defensive armour about their bodies. Most of them went to battle carrying short bucklers and javelins in their hands. At other times they were accustomed to lie in solitary ambush behind a bush or a rock, and to wait with patience for an opportunity of seizing suddenly upon their enemy.†

## Section VI.—*Of the Mythology of the Slavic Nations.*

As the Slavic nations have preserved no relics of ancient literature or even of traditional poetry from periods of remote antiquity, nearly all that we know of their mythology must be collected from incidental notices given by foreign writers. Procopius has left a few general remarks; but it is evident that he possessed very little information on this subject. Some brief accounts of the destruction of idolatry in Russia are to be found in the narratives of Christian missionaries who planted the true religion in that country. The superstitions of the Western Slaves or Obotrites and their kindred tribes have furnished the subject of many works of research published by German writers, who have treated it rather in the manner of antiquarians than in that of philosophical investigation. The principal sources of knowledge are passages in the works of some old historians who have described the Obotrites and other Wendish tribes in the north of Germany, while they were still subsisting in their independent states, and maintaining a protracted struggle in defence of their liberty and pagan superstition against the Saxon princes and the Teutonic knights.‡

* *Ἀναξυρίδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς τὰ αἰδοῖα.* Procop. Bell. Gotth. iii. 14. Corpus Byzant. tom. ii. p. 132.

† The fifth volume of Karamsin's history contains a good picture of the manners and civil condition of the Russians; but this refers to a later date than the period in which I have endeavoured to trace the ethnographical characters of the Slavic race.

‡ The worship of the heathen gods among the Obotrites or Wends of Mecklenburg reaches down within the historical age of Germany, to a period at which we

Though the ancient Slavi were, as we have seen, a very rude and barbarous people, they appear to have been elevated in their religious ideas and their conceptions of the nature of the Deity far above the Turanian nations and the Siberians, who worshipped the material and visible universe, and were addicted to the superstition of the Schamanists, or the Fetisism of the North. They held, as we shall observe, the oriental dogma of two principles, which gives evidence that their belief was connected with the ancient religion of Iran. They were polytheists in the sense in which most nations may be so termed; that is, they believed the existence of many invisible agents, but they supposed all of them to be under the command of a supreme ruler. "The Sclaveni—Σκλαβῆνοι—says Procopius, worship one God, the maker of lightning—*τὸν τῆς Ἀστραπῆς δημιουργόν*. They regard him as the sole governor of the universe, and sacrifice to him oxen and victims of all descriptions. They likewise pay veneration to rivers and nymphs and some other inferior divinities: to all these they perform offerings and sacrifices, in the midst of which they make divinations."*

might look for authentic and correct accounts. There are three German historians of the middle ages who are regarded as principal sources of information on the mythology and worship of the Slavi. The first of these is Dithmar, a Count of Waldeck and bishop of Merseburg. This writer lived at the beginning of the eleventh century, at a period when the idolatrous worship of the Obotrites at Rhetra, which was its principal centre, had been restored, after a temporary abolition, effected through the zeal of Christian missionaries and princes. He wrote a chronicle of the history of Henry I. and the three Othos, and died before the year 1030. His work was published at Helmstadt in 1667, and was included by Leibnitz in his collection of the Brunswick historians. The second writer is Adam of Bremen, who lived in the same century, had much intercourse with the Wends, particularly the Wagrians or Wends of Holstein, and wrote an ecclesiastical history, extending from the year 778 to 1072. A third writer is Helmoldus, whose history of the Slavi or "Chronica Slavorum" was published by Henry Bangert, at Lubeck, in 1702. These three historians treat almost exclusively of the western branches of the Wends in Mecklenburg and Holstein. There are a few scattered notices to be collected from other writers respecting the superstitions of the more eastern tribes of the same stock, as the Sorabians, the Moravians, Bohemians, Poles, and Russians. Lastly, considerable light has been thrown on the same subject, by the remains of statues and figures of the Slavonic gods, and the implements of superstitious rites, which have been found in different parts of the Wendish country, and particularly, as we shall have occasion to observe, by some curious and unexpected discoveries of inscriptions in Mecklenburg.

* Procop. Cæsariens. Bell. Gotth. ubi supra.

The assertion that the Slavonic nations, notwithstanding their polytheism and the worship paid by them to inferior divinities, believed in the existence of one supreme God, under whom all the rest acted as subordinate agents, is confirmed by Helmoldus, who was well acquainted by personal intercourse with the Obotrites and the northern Wends. He says,* "Among the various deities whom they suppose to preside over fields and forests, pain and pleasure, they nevertheless confess the more powerful God in heaven who rules the rest, and employs himself merely in heavenly affairs. The other gods they believe to follow separate duties, and to be his offspring; and the nearer each is to that God of gods, the better they consider him." Karamsin, the learned historian of the Russian empire, is of opinion that the "Slavi, in the midst of their foolish superstitions, believed in the existence of one all-powerful Divinity, to whom the immensity of the skies, embellished with the sparkling light of the stars, formed a temple worthy of his supreme greatness; who while his attention was occupied with higher matters, confided to his offspring the government of the earth. To him," as Karamsin supposes, "the Slavi erected no temple, being persuaded that mortals can hold no communication with him; and that in their necessities they must have recourse to gods of a second order, whose office it is to give timely aid to brave and virtuous men."†

The religion of the Slavi contained the dualism of the Iranian nations, and the opposition of the good and evil principles, the

* Chronica Slavorum Helmoldi Presbyteri Bosoniensis, et Arnoldi, Abbatis Lubecensis, à quibus Res Slavicæ et Saxonicæ fere à tempore Caroli Magni usque ad Ottonem IV. exponuntur, Henr. Bangertus è MSS. codicibus recensuit et notis illustravit. Lubecæ, 1559. 4to.

"Helmoldus," says Bangert, lived "eâ ætate quâ hæc nostra Lubeca condita est, i.e. circa A.D. 1140." He was a missionary among the Wagrians, and had a temple and domuncula in Bosow, near the Lacus Plönensis, and was thence called Presbyter Bosoniensis. The coast of the Baltic was then subject to the pagan Slavi, and Hamburg was in their possession. How they came into the country previously possessed by the Vandili is explained by Helmoldus in lib. i. c. 2. He used the help and authority of Geroldus, the last bishop of Aldenburg in Wagria, and the first of Lubeck. Nobody before Helmoldus wrote so fully on the history of the Slavi. He died 1170. Arnoldus continued his Chronica down to 1198.

† Karamsin, Hist. of the Russian Empire, tom. 1.

former identified with light, the latter with darkness. The former was termed, as we learn from Helmoldus and others, Veli-bogc,* or the White god; the latter Czerne-bogc, or the Black divinity. Czerne-bogc, or Tschernebog, was represented even in the temples of the Wends on the Baltic, a circumstance which points to their Asiatic origin, under the figure of a lion. To him appeasing sacrifices are supposed to have been offered. Sviatovid, or the god of light, was worshipped in the isle of Rugen. Peroun, or the god of thunder, was the principal divinity of the Russians, whose image was publicly destroyed on the introduction of Christianity. The Obotrites and other Wendish nations in Germany worshipped many different gods, adopted in part, as it would appear, from the Teutonic tribes whom they succeeded. The following is an enumeration of some of the most remarkable.† The Sorabians or Wends of Lausitz or Lusatia assigned the first place to Swantewit and Radagast.‡ The Moravians worshipped Peron or Pierun, Radgost or Radegast, Witislaw and the Krasopani;§ the Bohemians, Peron, together with Swantewit:‖ the Poles had nearly the same gods. According to the opinion of Alexander Guanini,¶ they worshipped the sun, which was Swantewit, or the sacred light of other Wendish nations; the moon; and tempest, which they termed Pogwist. Jupiter was termed by them Jessa; Pluto, Lacton; Ceres, Nia; Venus, Marzana; Diana, Zievonia; Castor and Pollux, Lelus and Potetus. John Duglossus further adds, that Mars was called Liadu; Venus, Djedijielia; and tempests, Pogoda.**

A very remarkable collection of Slavic remains was dis-

* *Bog* or *Boga* means God in the Slavic language. This was also a Bulgarian word. It is observed in the "Panoplia Dogmatica" of Nicetas Choniates Acominatus, Βόγ, ἡ τῶν Βουλγάρων γλῶσσα καλεῖ τὸν Θεόν. (Montfaucon, Palæogr. Græc. p. 333.)

† Masch mentions the gods of the Prussians, of whom Hartknoch has given an account among the objects of worship among the Wends. But the Prussians were, as we shall see, not Wends, but a different race. Hartknoch says that Percunus and Picollo or Potrimpi were their principal deities.

‡ Abr. Frenzel de Diis Soraborum in G. Hoffmann's Scriptorum Lusat. Collect. 1719.

§ T. G. Stredowski, Sacra Moraviæ Historiæ, Solislar. 1710.

‖ Paul Stransky, Resp. Bohem. Lugd. Bat. 1634.

¶ Descriptio Sarmat. Europ. 1581. ** Hist. Polon. lib. i. ed. 1711.

covered at Prilwitz on the supposed site of the ancient Rhetra,* where the Obotrites made their longest resistance to the Saxons, and where, as we learn from Adam of Bremen, Dithmar and Helmoldus, there was a celebrated temple of Radagast, surrounded by the pantheon of Slavonian deities. Their images were found each bearing its proper designation, as well as the more general one of Velibog or Czernebog; the statues were constructed with rude art, in pieces separate, but afterwards molten together. Their names are in Runic characters, borrowed doubtless by the Wends from their German neighbours, or left by the Vandals, who had possessed the country before their arrival.

Every trait that can be discovered of the ancient Slavish rites and superstitions tends to confirm the opinion of their Asiatic origin.† It is to be regretted that no monuments remain to elucidate the interior dogmas or metaphysical notions connected with their worship.

## SECTION VII.—*Inquiry into the early History of the Nations inhabiting the Eastern Parts of Europe.*

We have in the preceding sections traced the ethnological divisions of the Slavic race, and the history of the different ramifications of that stock which have constituted from the sixth century the great mass of European population in the countries to the eastward of Germany and of the Vistula. We commenced this investigation from the age of Jornandes and Procopius, by whom the Antes and Sclaveni are first mentioned by name, and described in a manner that leaves no room for doubt as to the identification of the races so termed with the Slavonian nations of modern times. We must now attempt some elucidation of the earlier ethnography of the same region, and endeavour to determine with what division of its more an-

* In the curious work of Hofprediger Masch on the gods of the Obotrites, a particular account is to be found of these remains. An analysis of that work may be seen in the West of England Journal, with copies of Masch's engravings, representing the rude figures of Radegast, Podaga, Sieba, Pya, Czernebog, and other idols.

† The gods Sieba and Vodha occurring among the idols of Prilwitz are perhaps imitations of Siva and Buddha.

cient inhabitants the Slavic race was connected in origin and descent.

We have seen that the Antes and Sclaveni, the eastern and western branches of the Slavic race, were spread, about the middle of the sixth century, over a vast space in the eastern parts of Europe, extending from the Danube and the Euxine to a great but undefined distance towards the north; and that from west to east they reached from the Theiss or Tibiscus to the Dniester, and even as far as the Borysthenes. Of these countries, after their abandonment by the Goths and the retreat or destruction of the Hunns, the Slavic nations appear to have been the principal inhabitants. The repeated revolutions which had taken place in this part of Europe had changed in many instances the relative positions of the different nations, and it is not easy to connect the Slavi with any one of the races whose names are well known to us in the earlier history of the same countries. In order to obtain as much light as possible on this subject it will be necessary to take a general survey of the ancient population of Sarmatia.

The eastern parts of Europe to the northward of the Danube were little known to the Greeks and Romans. The Vistula was generally considered as the eastern boundary of Germany, and the country beyond that river was termed by the Romans, and by late Greek writers, Sarmatia. Thus Ptolemy describes it: "Sarmatia in Europe is bounded towards the west by the river Vistula, and by a line drawn midway between the source of that river and the Sarmatic mountains, and by those mountains themselves."* Pomponius Mela mentions the Sarmatic nations as bounded by Germany towards the west, and he makes them reach from the Baltic Sea to the Danube. Towards the north and the east Sarmatia had no limits, and may be considered as reaching to the extremity of Europe, or of the known world.

The following boundaries are laid down by Mannert,† after

* Ἡ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Σαρματία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῷ τε Οὐιστούλα ποταμῷ, καὶ τῇ μεταξὺ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτᾶ καὶ τῶν Σαρματικῶν ὀρέων γραμμῇ, καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄρεσιν.—Cl. Ptolem. Geog. Tab. 3. See Pomp. Mela de Situ Orbis, lib. iii. c. 3.

† Mannert's Geographie der Griechen und Römer, th. iv. s. 250. Leipzig, 1820.

a diligent comparison of the passages of ancient geographers, as the limits of Sarmatia in the times of the Roman empire:

1. On the western side Sarmatia was bounded by the river Vistula; 2. to the northward by the ocean and a region of unknown extent; 3. to the southward by the Carpathian mountains, and beyond these by the river Tyras or Danaster or Dniester; thence by an imaginary line drawn straight to the mouth of the Borysthenes and the coast of the Euxine as far as the Tauric peninsula; 4. on the eastern side by the Palus Mæotis, which was supposed to be of much greater extent than it really is; afterwards by the river Tanais, and an imaginary line drawn from the source of that stream towards the north.

The Sarmatic nations was a term used by the Roman writers to designate, in general, various races little known, who inhabited the country beyond the Vistula. It is therefore not synonymous with Sauromatæ: that name is used by Herodotus to describe a particular nation who had a language and character of their own. Nearly the same remark applies to the name of Scythian. The Scythæ of Herodotus were a particular nation. Scythia in later times had an indefinite extent.

There is some difficulty in distributing the nations of Sarmatia among the different races known to have been spread through that country. Tacitus says that he was in doubt whether to reckon the Peucini and Bastarnæ, the Venedi and Fenni, among the German or Sarmatic races. He assures us that the Peucini, who were by some called Bastarnæ, were Germans in language and dress, though by their squalid habits they resembled the Sarmatic nations. The Fenni are doubtless the Finnish nations. The Venedi were a northern people who bordered on them. By some these last are supposed to have been the ancestors of the Slavic nations, who by the Germans are termed Wends. The Venedi are always distinguished from the Sarmatæ, as they differed in manners from that people and lived much further towards the north.

Ptolemy has given the following account of the inhabitants of European Sarmatia. "Sarmatia," he says, "is inhabited by the following great nations: the Venedæ, along all the Venedic gulf, that is the Baltic; and above Dacia, the Peucini and the Bastarnæ: along the coast of the Mæotis, the Jazyges

and Rhoxolani; further inland, the Amaxobii and the Alauni, who are Scythians."*

It seems from this account that the northern coast of Sarmatia along the Baltic, from the mouth of the Vistula eastward, was inhabited by the Venedæ. To the southward of these, and between them and the Carpathian mountains, in the modern Podolia and Red Russia, lived the Peucini and Bastarnæ, who were, as we have seen, German nations. To the southward and eastward of these last were the Jazyges and Rhoxolani, who were the principal Sarmatian tribes.

With this account we may compare a passage of Strabo describing the same countries. He says: "All the region lying above that already described, between the Danube and the Borysthenes, is, first, the desert of the Getæ; next, the Tyrigetæ." This tribe is mentioned by Pliny, and by Ptolemy,† who calls them Tyrangitæ Sarmatæ.‡ "After these," says Strabo, "are the Jazyges Sarmatæ, and the Royal Sarmatæ, and the Ourgi, who are chiefly nomades; some of these people cultivate the earth, and dwell near the Danube on both banks. In the interior are the Bastarnæ, bordering on the Tyrigetæ and the Germans, who are themselves mostly of German origin and are divided into many tribes."§

To the southward of the Carpathian mountains the plains of Pannonia or Hungary were inhabited in the time of Ammianus by other Sarmatian tribes, the Metanastæ and Lemigantes.

When the Bastarnæ had removed from these countries, which they appear to have done in company with the Goths, Burgundians, and other tribes of their own race, the whole of Sarmatia was apparently occupied by Venedæ in the north, and Sarmatic tribes further towards the south and east.

It is no easy matter to determine the relations between these ancient tribes in eastern Europe and the modern inhabitants. Accordingly the most learned writers have differed greatly in

* Cl. Ptolem. lib. iii. c. 5.

† M. Zeuss conjectures that the name of the Tyrangetæ means "borderers on the river Tyras." Compare Tyrang-etæ with Massag-etæ.

‡ Cl. Ptolem. lib. iii. c. 10. p. 79. § Strabo, Geog. lib. vii. p. 306.

their opinions. Klaproth was very positive in maintaining an entire difference of race between the Sarmatæ and the later Slavonians. Niebuhr without hesitation identified them.* A similar difference of opinion may be observed between MM. Schaffarik, F. Müller, and Zeuss, the latest and most distinguished writers on European ethnography.

There is only one consideration which seems likely to lead us to any very satisfactory conclusion on this subject. It turns on the obvious improbability that great and widely spread nations, especially on the borders of civilised countries, would vanish and altogether disappear to make room for other races of people, and this without leaving any memorial or trace on the page of history attesting such an event. If this consideration be allowed to have its full weight, it will lead us with certainty to a conclusion, otherwise very probable, as to the affiliation of the modern nations of Eastern Europe with the ancient inhabitants. We have seen that in the second century the countries on the Venedic or Baltic coast, which we may consider as coextensive with East Prussia and Lithuania, and part of Livonia, were inhabited by the Venedæ. This is precisely the region over which we find in the middle ages the Lettish or Lithuanian race to have been spread. Although in some degree distinct from the Slavic nations, and speaking a different language, these tribes are so nearly related to that people as to render it probable that they were included by their German neighbours under the same designation of Wends, the term by which the Slavonic people are generally known among tribes of the Teutonic race. It is, indeed, probable that the Letts may have been the original Wends,† since they had bordered on the north-eastern nations of Germany from immemorial times, and that the name was extended from them to the Slavic Wends in a later period, when the Slavonians came into the borders of Germany. We have also traced the

* M. Klaproth says, in his characteristic style, that he hopes none of his readers are so ignorant as to confound or identify the Slavi with the older Sarmatians. M. Niebuhr maintains this identity as a fact established by convincing proofs. See Klaproth's travels in Caucasus. Niebuhr's Kleinere Schriften.

† Wends, in the opinion of Adelung, is of German origin, and means "people of the sea-coast."

history of the Sarmatic nations to the second, third, and fourth centuries, when, in the time of Ammianus, Sarmatic tribes were still in Pannonia, while the remoter branches of the same race occupied all the southern region of Russia. We have found all these extensive regions, a century and a half later, quietly occupied, as if from of old, by Slavic nations. The Slovaks enter into the places of the Jazyges and Metanastæ. The Slavini occupy the banks of the Tyras, where dwelt the Sarmatian Tyrigetæ, and further eastward and northward are spread the Antes or Russians, in the place of the Roxolani. It is scarcely possible to doubt that these are the old races under new names.*

If these arguments carry sufficient weight, we establish by means of them a conclusion, that the Slavonians of the middle ages were the same people who had been long known under the name of Sarmatæ. Of these we have seen that there were several divisions: the eastern branch were the Roxolani, whose name resembles that of Rossolainen, the Finnish term for the Russians; the western branch were the Tyrigetæ, the Metanastæ, and Jazyges. We thus carry back the history of the Slavic race to the age of Strabo, and nearly to the Christian era, and as the Sarmatæ were known to Herodotus, we may hope by pursuing the investigation to connect the present inhabitants of the eastern parts of Europe with the nations of remote antiquity.

## Section VIII.—*Of the History of the ancient Scythians, and of their relation to the Sarmatian Tribes.*

The names of Scythia and Scythians were used by the ancients in a vague sense. Strabo has observed that by many of the Greeks all the nations of the extreme North were termed indefinitely Scythians or Nomades, just as those of the South

* Niebuhr has drawn from the name of the Jazyges an argument tending to prove them to have been of the same race with the Slavonians. That people termed themselves Slovane, or 'the speakers,' 'possessors of language,' in contradistinction to German foreigners, who were called Niemtschi, or 'the dumb.' In the same sense the Jazyges may have been named from Jazyk, 'speech or language' in the Slavonian idiom. Jazyges is synonymous with Slovane, Slovaki. The Slovaks, or Slavic people of Hungary, anterior to the Magyars, inhabited the country (and their entrance into it is not recorded) where earlier writers place, two centuries before, the Sarmatæ Jazyges.

were called Ethiopians. Pliny made a similar remark. He says that the northern nations in general were called Scythians, but that as particular tribes became better known they were distinguished as Germans and Sarmatians, and the ancient appellation of Scythians was applied to the inhabitants of unexplored regions. Strabo had some more definite meaning when he discriminated certain nations as Scythian from others who were of a German or Sarmatic stock; and if we go back to the times of Herodotus, we shall find the venerable father of history, the only writer of the ancient world who had any personal knowledge of Scythia, designating the people so called not less accurately and distinctly than the Greeks or Persians, and applying the name of Scythians to a particular nation distinguished by the use of a peculiar language.

But the Scythians known to Herodotus were, according to his own account, but a branch or remote offset of a widely spread nation, from whose original country they had emigrated. They called themselves Scoloti. They inhabited a country to the westward of the Tanais, therefore comprehended within the limits of Europe, from which they had expelled the Cimmerii: they had come into this country, escaping from the Massagetæ, by crossing the Araxes out of the Greater Scythia.*

The original country of the Scythians was to the eastward of the Caspian, as it appears from several other passages of Herodotus.†

* Modern writers have differed on the question what river is designated by Herodotus under the name of Araxes. It has been generally supposed to have been the Aras, which flows into the Caspian from the westward near the southern angle of that lake. But if so, the Scythian emigrants must, after escaping from their enemies, have crossed over the formidable barrier of the Caucasus. Some writers have supposed the Araxes of Herodotus to have been the Wolga, but there is no evidence in support of this notion. Niebuhr has proved that no existing river agrees with the idea which Herodotus had formed of the Araxes. It was nearly in the line of the Oxus or the Jaxartes, but supposed to flow in an opposite direction, namely, from west to east. See Niebuhr's Kleinere Schriften. Fr. Kruse, Analyse der Chart von der Kirgisensteppe, nebst historischen Andeutungen, &c., in Goebel's Reise in den Steppen des Südlichen Russlands. Z. Th. s. 348. Kephalid. de Mari Caspio Wesseling, Not. ad Herod. l. 202.

† See lib. vii. c. 64., lib. i. c. 201., lib. iv. c. 6. In the catalogue of the forces of the great king, Herodotus mentions a tribe named Scythæ Amyrgii. These were from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes. They were called, he says, Sacæ, a name given by the Persians to the Scythians in general. Herodotus also declares that the Massagetæ themselves were Scythians.

The Scythians in Europe became known to the Greeks after the foundation of Grecian colonies in the Tauric peninsula and on the Bosphorus. The earliest colonies on the Euxine were not established till after the fall of the Assyrian empire. Istrus, near the mouth of the Danube, was founded by the Milesians about the time when the Scythians invaded Media, in pursuit, as it was reported, of the Cimmerians; and Odessus, according to the author of the Periplus of the Euxine, in the time of Astyages.* In earlier times Scythia was, as Apollodorus remarked, little known to the Greeks. The Argonauts, Colchis, and the Mæotis, and the Symplegadæ, and the stormy Pontus were the region of romance. Strabo confirms the remark of Apollodorus, and adds that Homer has not mentioned the Scythians, or the Bosphorus, or the Mæotis, or even the river Ister. The great poet had some vague notion of the nomadic tribes beyond the Pontus, whom he describes by the epithets of

....ἀγανῶν Ἱππημόλγων
Γλακτοφάγων Ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων·

"the noble milkers of mares, and the Abii, the most righteous of men," on whom Jupiter cast his eyes in looking from Mount Ida towards Thrace. As a proof that Homer meant to describe the Scythians by these expressions, Strabo cites from Eratosthenes a verse attributed to Hesiod, in which they are named with the addition of the same epithets; but it has been observed by Niebuhr, that the age of Homer and Hesiod was anterior to the time when the Scoloti are said by Herodotus to have crossed the Araxes, and to have invaded Cimmeria, afterwards called Scythia. It is therefore probable, that Homer alluded to some more ancient nomades of the same country, namely, to the Cimmerians, of whom a similar description has been given.†

Herodotus travelled in the country belonging to the Greek colonies in Scythia. He has given us the results of his per-

* Peripl. Pont. Eux. Hudson. i. p. 12. B.

† Callimachus, Hymn. ad Dian. 252. "Λύγδαμις ἐπὶ στράτον ἱππημόλγων ἤγαγε Κιμμερίων." Niebuhr says, "It cannot be supposed that Callimachus transferred this from the Scythians to the Cimmerians: he had read the description of these destructive hordes in the contemporary poets, such as Callinus.

sonal observations and inquiries in their country. Niebuhr remarks, that he speaks as an eye-witness of the fountain Exampæus near the Hypanis; nor could he have conversed with a steward of Ariapithes elsewhere than in Scythia. His whole narrative, says this greatest critic of history, is partly that of an eye-witness, partly of a traveller who collected the oral accounts of the natives. From internal evidence it may be inferred that he had not seen the Greek cities in the Taurian peninsula and on the Bosphorus, but that Olbia was the furthest point of his travels. If Herodotus never passed to the eastward of the Borysthenes or Dnieper, we may well understand how he may have made mistakes about the form of the Crimea; but this hardly accounts for his having been so far in error respecting the Cimmerians as Adelung, Mannert, Niebuhr, and others suppose him to have been. These writers are of opinion that the Cimmerii remained ever in possession of the Tauric peninsula, and that the princes of the Bosphorus, who reigned over that region to the time of Mithridates, were sovereigns of the Cimmerian race. Herodotus declares that the whole nation emigrated, and passed into Asia Minor. This also, as Niebuhr has shown, was probably a mistake. A fugitive people could scarcely pass the Caucasian boundary, nor would the Scythian invaders of the country from the east drive them in that direction. Niebuhr supposes, and there is a great probability in his conjecture, that the Cimmerians retired towards the west, and emigrated from Scythia into the countries on the Danube. He has derived a strong confirmation of this opinion from the fact that the tombs of the Cimmerian kings who fell in the last decisive battle against the Scoloti were near the river Tyras in the western extremity of the Cimmerian country.

The Scythian nation, properly so termed, is described by Herodotus* as consisting of three divisions. The Agricultural Scythians, or the Scythians of the Borysthenes, inhabited the country to the eastward of that river, extending the length of a voyage of eleven days up the stream. Niebuhr concludes that these agricultural Scythians were a vanquished people,

* Herod. lib. iv.

who could only be considered as Scythians from the circumstance that their conquerors dwelt among them as a privileged order: but this is not intimated by Herodotus.*

To the eastward of these agricultural Scythians and beyond the river Panticapes were the pastoral or nomadic Scythians, whose country was a steppe reaching eastward a journey of fourteen days. Beyond the Gerrhus were the Royal Scythians, the most numerous and noble of the race, who considered all the rest as their slaves. Their country, as Niebuhr understands the geography of Herodotus, was the eastern steppe about the river Donnetz to the lake Mæotis and in the Crimea. Herodotus says that they reached as far as the Tanais.

Herodotus attempted great accuracy in laying down the boundaries and extent of Scythia, and if he did not fully succeed, it was owing, as Niebuhr has shown, to his erroneous notions respecting the direction of the great rivers which fall into the Pontus. The Scythia of Herodotus, the land of the Scoloti, lay between the Danube on one side and the Tanais or Don and the Palus Mæotis on the other. Its form was nearly square, its breadth from the coast inland being equal to its length measured along the sea-coast. The northern boundary is supposed by Major Rennell to have passed from the southern confines of Polish Russia eastward, and in a line along the river Sem from the Borysthenes to the Tanais. A part of the Tauric peninsula belonged to the Tauri, a different nation from the Scythæ, who were cut off in a corner of land on every side by the sea and by Scythia, and almost entirely extirpated; circumstances not very favourable to the supposition adopted by writers already cited, that the later Taurians were remains of the old Cimmerians.

Hippocrates has left a most accurate account of the Scythian people and the country which they inhabited. He says, "The wilderness of the Scythians, as their land is termed, is for the most part a plain covered with grass and destitute of trees, and moderately watered by streams. There the Scythians dwell who are called Nomades, because they have no houses but live in wagons. The women spend most of their time in

* Herod. iv. 110—117.

their wagons, but the men are accustomed to ride on horseback, followed by their flocks of sheep and oxen and horses: they live upon boiled flesh and drink the milk of mares."*

Herodotus mentions several nations bordering on the Scythians. Some of them were of the same race, since they spoke the Scythian language: others were of different races. It is important to observe what he says respecting them.

1. To the eastward of the Tanais the country was no longer Scythia, but the first tract belonged to the Sauromatæ.† Most of the modern writers who have touched on the history of these nations overlook a very positive declaration of Herodotus, which lays the foundation for conclusions of great ethnological interest. He says: *Φωνῇ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ, σολοικίζοντες ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου*· "the Sauromatæ speak the Scythian language with an incorrect expression, which they always had from the beginning." Although this remark is connected with a reference to the partly fabulous story of the Amazons, yet the assertion is directly to the fact that the languages of the two nations were not diverse, but that one was a dialect of the other. The story of the Amazons, from whom the Sauromatæ are said to have been partly descended, is satisfactorily explained by a passage of Hippocrates.‡ "There is in Europe," says that venerable writer, "a Scythian nation, dwelling near the Mæotic lake, different from other nations: they are called Sauromatæ; their women are accustomed to ride on horseback, and to use the bow and throw javelins while riding, and to fight against the enemies of their country as long as they remain virgins, and they do not cease to be such till they have killed each of them three enemies in battle."

2. A comparison of passages indicates plainly that the Budini were another nation who spoke a Scythian dialect. The Budini were a great and numerous people who lived to the eastward of the Tanais and above the Sauromatæ; they were feeders of cattle: their country abounded in thick, marshy forests; their complexion was peculiar: they were blue-eyed

* Hippocr. de Aere locis et aquis. Fœs. p. 297.

† Hippocr. Opera, ed. Fœsii, p. 291.

‡ Adelung, Mithridat. Th. i. Mannert, Geographie der Griech. und Römer. Th. iv. Kap. 8. Niebuhr, ubi supra.

and red-haired. Among the Budini lived the Geloni, who were originally Greeks, but having been expelled from the sea-ports had established themselves in the country of the Budini; "their language was partly Scythian," which they had acquired from the Budini, "and partly Greek."*

3. The tribes of people who bordered on the country of the Scoloti, towards the north and west, are thus specified: "On the side of the Danube and the region above it, towards the interior, the Scythian territory is bounded, first by the Agathyrsi, next by the Neuri, then by the Androphagi, lastly by the Melanchlæni."† The Androphagi are expressly said to have had a distinct language: the Melanchlæni resembled in manners the Scythians, but were a different race. The Neuri were a people of Scythian manners; nothing is said expressly respecting the origin and language, either of the Neuri or Agathyrsi. But M. Zeuss has observed that the name of Agathyrsi compared with the proper name of the Scythian Idanthyrsus,‡ and that of the Agathyrsian king Spargapithes,§ which is also the name of a Scythian, and moreover contains the same elements as other Scythian names, Ariapithes, Aripithes,‖ and Spargapises,¶ a name occurring among the Massagetæ, whom writers before Herodotus represent as a Scythian people, though he himself distinguishes them**—are striking analogies in words, and afford strong reason for believing the Agathyrsi to have been a tribe of the Scythian race. To the same race he refers, with great probability, the Sigynnæ, a nomadic tribe to the northward of the Danube, who reached westward almost to the country of the Heneti or Veneti.†† Niebuhr supposed the Agathyrsi to have been of the Thracian race, which was distinct from the Scythian. It seems that his only ground for this opinion was their local position.

It results from this examination that the Scoloti, though they considered themselves as a particular nation, were surrounded by tribes connected with them in origin and language: the most remarkable of these were the Sauromatæ.

* Herod. iv. c. 108. † Ibid. iv. c. 100. ‡ Ibid. iv. 76. § Ibid. c. 78.
‖ Ibid. c. 78. ¶ Ibid. i. c. 211. ** Ibid. i. 216.
†† Zeuss, ubi supra, p. 278.

We know little of the history of the Scythians during the four centuries after Herodotus. In the time of Strabo we find the Pontic countries inhabited either by new tribes, or by the old ones under different names. The Basilii, or the Royal Tribe, still occur, but they are termed Sarmatians and not Scythians: the Ourgi of Strabo are perhaps the Georgi of Herodotus. The Scythæ are mentioned in descriptions of these times as if they were now one particular tribe. As a general appellation the name of Sarmatæ prevailed, and took the place of Scythæ or Scoloti. Diodorus says that the Sarmatæ had conquered the Scoloti, and this seems not unlikely from the many changes of position which occur. Thracian tribes had now passed to the northward of the Danube: the Sigynni had vanished: the Agathyrsi are placed by Pliny far towards the North. The country between the Danube and the Borysthenes was occupied by Getæ and Tyrigetæ, and above them by the Jazyges Sarmatæ: the Roxolani were the most northerly: they fed their flocks on the plains between the Borysthenes and Tanais, for all these countries consist of plains as far as Germany. Beyond the Roxolani the country was unknown to Strabo. The Tyrigetæ by Ptolemy are termed Sarmatæ Tyrangetæ: they appear to have had their name from the Tyras. This last writer describes the country along all the sides of the Mæotic gulf as inhabited by Jazyges, Roxolani, and further inland by the Amazobii and Alaunian Scythians. Ptolemy places the tribe of Bodeni further towards the north-west, near the Bastarnæ and the Carpathian mountains; and M. Zeuss conjectures that these were the Budini of Herodotus, and probably the ancestors of the Scythian or Sarmatian Alani, who, like the Budini, were famed for xanthous complexions.

The Scythæ or Scoloti were the predecessors and kinsmen of the Sauromatæ or Sarmatæ. The Sarmatæ were in later times called principally Roxolani and Jazyges. In order to finish the history of the Scythian race as far as we shall attempt to do so at present, and in the method of inquiry on which we have now commenced, it only remains to collect the latest notices of these nations.

The Roxolani are placed by Strabo, as we have seen, furthest

towards the North, in the countries lying between the Don and the Dnieper.* Ptolemy places them, together with the Jazyges, above the whole coast of the Mæotis.† It appears that the principal body of the Roxolani remained on the eastern border of Europe. Roxolani Sarmatæ are placed in the Peutingerian tables on the rivers to the westward of the Tanais.‡ It is probable, as M. Zeuss observes, that on the departure of the Jazyges towards the west, the Roxolani spread themselves towards the Danube.§ They are mentioned as taking part in the wars of the Bastarnæ, who lived towards the Carpathian hills, and from whom, according to another passage of Ptolemy, they were separated by one small tribe called Chuni.‖ Seventy years after Christ they invaded Mœsia, when Adrian made peace with their kings.¶

The Jazyges advanced towards the west, passed the Carpathian hills, and settled on the Danube to the westward of the river Theiss or Tibiscus. They occupied the plains between that river and the borders of the German Quadi: here they are termed by Ptolemy Jazyges Metanastæ. Pliny says, "Superiora inter Danubium et Hercynium saltum usque ad Pannonia hiberna Carnunti, Germanorumque ibi confinium campos et plana Jazyges Sarmatæ, montes vero et saltus prope ab his Daci tenent."**

I shall conclude this inquiry with the observation, not unimportant in the ethnology of Europe, that the Scythians and Sauromatæ of Herodotus, who were by that writer himself identified in language, appear clearly to have been the ancestors of the Sarmatian tribes of the later Roman times, the eastern race being the Roxolani, and the western the Jazyges, Limigantes, and Metanastæ. From these last, as we have already shown, were descended the Slavonic nations of modern times.

* Ῥωξολανοὶ δὲ ἀρκτικώτατα τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τανάϊδος καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένους νεμόμενοι πεδία. Str. vii. p. 306.

† Cl. Ptol. lib. iii. cap. 5.

‡ Tab. Peutinger. segment. v. à Sarmatis Hamaxobiis usque ad Roxulanos.

§ Zeuss, ubi supra, p. 283.

‖ Ptol. iii. cap. 7.

¶ Spartian in Adrian. c. 6.

** Plin. iv. 12.

## Section IX.—*Of the Physical Characters of the Slavonian Nations.*

The Slavonian race has the common type of the Indo-Atlantic nations in general, and of the Indo-European family to which it belongs. No very accurate observations have been made by which it can be determined whether the Slavonians have any peculiar characters distinguishing them from the other European nations, but if such peculiarities exist, they are of a kind not striking or easily discernible. The various tribes of this race differ among themselves, the variety being apparently in relation to climate and local circumstances, and this variety is much greater than any that can be traced between the Slavic nations in general and other Europeans. In the south-eastern parts of their abode the Slavonians are of dark complexion, with black eyes and hair: this is the fact with respect to the Croats, Servians, and proper Slavonians. The Poles vary in complexion: many of them are of dark eyes and hair, of tall and well-made figures. The northern Russians are very fair. Mr. Tooke observes, that the Russian peasantry have often light brown or flaxen or red hair. Nor is this owing to intermixture with the Finnish race, as some have conjectured. It is too generally spread a character to be ascribed to any such partial and accidental cause. That the xanthous complexion of the northern Russians is not the result of intermixture with foreigners, or particularly with Finns, may be inferred from the fact that other Slavonian nations who have never lived in the neighbourhood of any Finnish tribe have, perhaps in a still more marked degree, the same peculiarity. This may be exemplified in the Slovaks.

The Slovaks are, as we have seen, the old Slavonian inhabitants of Pannonia or Hungary. They held that country at an early period, and are probably the descendants of the Sarmatæ Jazyges, to whom it belonged in the time of Ammianus. However this may be, they had possession of Pannonia at the period of its invasion by the Magyars or Ungrian or Hungarian people, who gave it its modern appellation, and who expelled the Slovaks from the central and more fertile

plains into the barren and mountainous tracts bordering on the Carpathian chain, which their descendants still continue to inhabit. The Slovaks form altogether a considerable part of the population of Hungary. A recent English traveller has given us a very accurate account of the persons and habits of this race. He says, "The Slovaks in general are about the middle height, strongly formed, of a light complexion, with broad and coarse features half-shaded by their long, flaxen hair. In some particular districts there are found among them singularly fine and handsome men. The peasant women, when young, are sometimes pretty, but hard labour and exposure to the sun soon deprives them of all pretensions to comeliness."* In their dispositions the Slovaks are described by the same writer as lazy and indolent, and they are said to be very inferior to the Magyars in energy and activity.

We have a brief account of the persons of the old Antes and Sclaveni from Procopius, which coincides remarkably with this description of the modern Slovaks.†

Speaking of the Antæ and Sclaveni he says,—"*ἔστι δὲ καὶ μία ἑκατέροις φωνὴ ἀτεχνῶς βάρβαρος· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἐς ἀλλήλους τι διαλλάσσουσιν· εὐμήκεις τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλκιμοι διαφερόντως εἰσὶν ἅπαντες· τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας οὔτε λευκοὶ ἐσάγαν, ἢ ξανθοί εἰσιν, οὔτε πη ἐς τὸ μέλαν αὐτοῖς παντελῶς τέτραπται, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθροί εἰσιν ἅπαντες.*‡ "One language belongs to both nations, which is very barbarous; nor do they differ at all in personal appearance, for they are all of good stature and remarkably robust: as to the complexion of their bodies and their hair, they have it neither very light nor flaxen, nor is it altogether inclined to black, but they are all somewhat red"—that is, red-haired.§

As we have observed that there are strong grounds for the

* Hungary and Transylvania, by G. Paget, Esq. 8vo. vol. i. p. 87.

† Procop. Cæsariens. Bell. Gotth. iii. p. 132.

‡ The expression *ὑπέρυθροι* might be supposed to refer to a ruddiness of complexion rather than the colour of the hair, but the words *ξανθοὶ* and *μέλαν* just preceding seem to limit the meaning and give it a reference solely to the hair. For the Sclavonians could not be termed either *ξανθοὶ* or *μέλανες* except with reference to their hair.

§ The Slavi in the time of Procopius were inhabitants of the countries northward of the Danube, into which they had returned after this emigration of the Goths, from more northern tracts beyond the Krapak, near the sources of the Vistula.

conclusion, that the Slavic nations are descended from the ancient Sarmatæ, and that the Sarmatæ were a tribe of the Scythian race, since they not only had similar manners but spoke the language of the Scoloti with a merely dialectic variety, it becomes interesting on this occasion to advert to the physical characters of the Scythians.

Niebuhr has cited a passage from Hippocrates which he considered as proving that the ancient Scythians were a Mongolian race. He says, "That the Scythians were a Mongolian tribe, is placed beyond a doubt by the descriptions of the two great contemporaries. Hippocrates describes their gross and bloated bodies, their joints buried in fat, their swollen bellies, and their scanty growth of hair. I have already spoken of their universal resemblance in countenance and figure, which applies as little to the Tartars as to the Slavonians or Germans. This is a picture of the native tribes of Northern Asia, for whom there is no more generally suitable name than that of *Mongols*. The Chinese Mongolian remedy of burning, which the Scythians universally employed; the state of their bodies; as well as their mode of life and customs, all point to this race of mankind. The adoration of the god of war under the figure of a holy scimitar, which took place in the time of Attila, and again at the elevation of Genghis Khan, is a Mongolian custom: the milking of mares, the huts made of skins, the swinish filthiness, the paste with which the women plastered themselves, in order from time to time to remove the filth which closely adhered to their bodies, their sluggish listlessness,—all these are Siberian features, and neither Slavonian nor Germanic. Again, intoxication from the vapour of hempseeds placed on red-hot stones and confined under close coverlets, is Siberian: only Herodotus confounds this with the vapour baths which the barbarians in those parts enjoyed, and perhaps carried to a luxurious excess."

It must be observed that the entire history of ancient nations in Asia contradicts the supposition that a Mongolian horde penetrated into Europe, or even to the western parts of Great Turkestan, at the early period here supposed. According to the united testimony of Tartar and Chinese historians, that race was confined to the mountains near the Onon, to the

north-west of China, until the age of their celebrated leader, Tchinggis. This will appear from a survey of the Mongolian history in a following chapter.

The traits which Niebuhr considered as characteristic of the Mongolian nations are, however, equally displayed by the nomadic Turkish races, who had similar physical characters and similar habits, and a remarkable fondness for the milk of mares. But even the Turks were, in the age of the ancient Scythians, a people of the remote East: the great empire of the Hiong-nu was not yet divided. The Hunns, according to all the information that can be collected, were the earliest of the nations of Turan who approached the borders of Europe.

It is probable that all other nomades in Siberia or Great Tartary had nearly the same moral characteristics, as we have seen that the Cimmerians had before the arrival of the Scythians. Some races within the limits of Iran are nomadic, and the ancestry of the Slavonian people may have partaken of this character, with many Persian tribes who are akin to them. As for the difference in physical characters between the Slavonian race in present times and those recorded of the ancient Scythians, they are not greater, as we shall find, than the deviations which have occurred in the Turkish race itself.

We must here observe that Herodotus has himself described the physical characters of one tribe which belonged to the Scythian race. That the Budini, who lived to the north-west of the country of the Scoloti, were Scythians, we collect from the fact that they spoke the Scythian language, which appears clearly to result from two passages of the fourth book of Herodotus. The Budini are in all probability the Bodeni of Ptolemy, placed by that writer to the north-west of Scythia, and in the country afterwards that of the Sarmatic Alani, who were themselves of fair complexion. The Budini were remarkably distinguished by red hair and blue eyes, which were universal among them. They were a great and numerous people, and, though Scythians by language, were regarded as "autochthones" or indigenous inhabitants: they were phthirophagi and nomadic.

We thus find that although the ancient Scythians may have resembled the nations of Central Asia in their physical cha-

racters, some tribes of the race had the complexion, and probably also the form of the European nations, and of the modern Slovaks.

On the whole, it does not appear that any conclusive argument can be drawn from the physical and moral characters of the ancient Scythians, disproving the opinion that the Scoloti and the Sauromatæ were the ancestors of the Slavic race. And as for the difference of habits between a nomadic or equestrian people and solitary occupants of woods and marshes, such as the Slavi are described to have been, it is a change, as we have observed, that must needs have taken place when the Jazyges transferred their abode from the plains of the Tanais and the Borysthenes to the banks of the Tibiscus and the Hercynian forest.

It has been well observed, that the earliest names given by the ancients to the inhabitants of countries to the northward of the Euxine, the fabulous northern region of the Greeks, are descriptive of their physical characters or external aspect; and these names, though they belonged to races who have long since disappeared from the Pontic countries, yet indicate physical characters similar to those of the present inhabitants. In the Orphic verses and other relics of ancient mythical poetry, we hear of the Bathychaitones, or thickly-haired; the Sauromatæ, or lizard-eyed; Gymni, or naked; Kekryphoi, the concealed; Arnopes, sheep-faced, Arismaspi, or people said to be one-eyed. "Nature," says M. Kruse, "is always like herself, and produces similar offspring under similar external conditions. It would appear that certain climates are favourable to the developement of such physical characters, which take place wherever these are found,* and disappear in races which are removed from under their influence.

* Kruse über die Menschenstämme der Steppen, in Goebel's Reise in der Steppen des südlichen Russlands. (Th. ii. neunter Abschnitt.)

# CHAPTER VIII.

## OF THE OLD PRUSSIAN, LITHUANIAN, AND LETTITH RACE.

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### Section I.—*General Survey.*

Before the victories of the Teutonic knights had introduced the manners and the language of the Germans into the countries on the Lower Vistula, the inhabitants of East and West Prussia had a peculiar speech, as well as national superstitions, rites and ceremonies, and objects of religious worship, of their own. They formed a particular race of people, distinct from all their western and southern neighbours, and only allied to those of the north-east, who inhabited Lithuania and Lettland. Great efforts were made by warriors of the Teutonic order and their followers to efface all vestiges of the old Prussians as a separate people, and of their dialect as a distinct language; but this object had not been wholly accomplished at the era of the Reformation, and the Prussian dialect continued at that time to be spoken extensively in Samland and Natangen, and in a part of the Prussian Oberland. Since that period it has given way very gradually to the German. In the time of Hartknoch, who wrote several learned works on the history, mythology, and language of the old Prussians, near the end of the seventeenth century, there were only a few aged persons who understood the ancient speech. It has now been long extinct as a language of conversation, but dialects known to be allied to it are spoken among the peasantry of Lithuania, Kurland, and Lettland, as far to the north-

ward as the river Memel. Of the Old Prussian itself considerable specimens have been preserved in the Lutheran catechism, published in 1545, and in some other religious books, which afford a sufficient groundwork for a comparison of this language with its kindred dialects.*

A difference of opinion has existed among writers on the history of the northern nations, whether the people who speak these dialects constitute a distinct branch in the stock of the Indo-European races, or sprang originally from a mixture of the Germans and Slavonians. The comparatively small extent of the country which they have occupied, and their local position between or adjoining to the countries inhabited of old by the two greater races above mentioned, have been thought to confirm the argument founded on the nature of their language in favour of this last conclusion. A large proportion of words belonging to the Lettish and Old Prussian dialects are, as it seems, common to them and the Slavonian language,† and of the remainder a considerable number are found in the Gothic and other German dialects. Thunmann, a celebrated writer on the history of the eastern nations, discovered that the Lettish contains also many Finnish words, and he thence concluded that the Lettish race are a mixed people, descended from an assemblage of Finns, Germans, and Slavonians. It has been observed, however, by Adelung, that the Finnish words exist only in the Lettish, which is spoken by the people of this race who live near to the Finnish Liefi or Livonians, and that they are wanting in the Lithuanian and Old Prussian. Hence it has been inferred that the German and Slavi are the ancestral races of the great body of the people who for some centuries, at least, have inhabited the country between the Vistula and the Memel. This conclu-

* A Lettish dialect is spoken in parts of Livonia called Lettland: but the proper Livonian, or the native speech of the Lievi, is allied to the Esthonian, which is a Finnish language, though often by mistake supposed to be of the Lettish family. The Crivingo-Livonic in Pallas's Vocabularies, No. 44, is a specimen of a Lettish dialect, as Adelung has observed, spoken in the Kurische Nehrung. (Mithridates, Th. ii. p. 766.)

† Adelung estimates the roots of the Lettish which are common to the Slavonic as two-thirds of the whole number of roots belonging to the former language. See Mithridates, Th. ii. s. 697.

sion is doubtless the true one, unless it should appear, as many writers now maintain, that the Lithuanians and Old Prussians constitute a distinct branch of the Indo-European stock.

In favour of this last opinion is the fact, admitted by Schloezer and Dobrowsky, that the Lettish language has, besides what is common to it and the dialects of neighbouring nations, much that is peculiar to itself, and that this is the fundamental and original part.

It is evident that the solution of this problem turns chiefly upon philological considerations, but some historical details will assist in elucidating it.

## SECTION II.—*Of the Notices to be collected from early Writers concerning the History of the Old Prussian and Lettish Race, and of their Mythology.*

The country between the Vistula and the Memel, especially the sea-coast, appears, as we have before observed, to have been inhabited from the earliest times by the Guttones or Gothones, and by a people who lived to the eastward of these, termed by Tacitus the Aestii. These, or other names nearly resembling them and differing but slightly in orthography, are traced on the coast of the Baltic from the time of Pytheas to that of Jornandes. The same tribes of people appear to have continued in possession of the Prussian coast from the third century B.C. to the era of the Gothic migration. Beyond these the old writers enable us to fix the position of another nation, termed Venedi, in the easternmost part of the Baltic. On the advance of the Gothic tribes towards the south, it is probable that the Venedi occupied the territory which they had abandoned: we know that there was a general movement of the north-eastern nations in the same direction. On this occasion Voigt and other writers on the history of Prussia suppose that the Goths and Wends became intermixed. Jornandes appears to afford some countenance to this conjecture. He says that the country near the estuary of the Vistula was inhabited by a people descended

from several mixed nations and called Vidivarii.* This was in the sixth century, and in the ninth the same coast was visited by Wulfstan, who gave an account of his voyage to king Alfred. He termed the coast Witland, and included it in Esthland. The people were termed Wites by their Polish neighbours. According to Thunmann and Voigt this is synonymous with Goths. It is said that an ancient tradition among the Letts preserves the memory of a king Vidovuth, who first reduced the people on the Vistula under one government. His subjects were the Lettish race who furnished the population of Kurland, Lettland, and Prussia. All these historical or legendary accounts tend to support the opinion that the later inhabitants of Prussia were a mixed people descended from an amalgamation of the earlier bordering tribes, who were partly German and partly Wendish, or what is supposed to have the same meaning, Slavonian races.

On the other hand there are some considerations which afford strong evidence that the people of this region were a race immemorially distinct.

1. In the first place the Venedi were known, as we have seen, in very ancient times on the coast of the eastern part of the Baltic. Unless we could suppose that the whole body of the Slavish nations, reaching as they did down to the Euxine and the mouth of the Tanais, were descendants of this tribe of the sea-coast, which cannot be with probability maintained, the Venedi of the ancients must be considered as a different people from the Slavi. The proper Slavic dialects are too similar to admit the supposition that there was any immemorial division of the race, and that the Venedi of the north were one branch, while the nations to the southward of the Carpathian mountains, who were the Antes and Sclaveni of Procopius and Jornandes, constituted the great body of the same race. The most probable conclusion is, that the Old Prussians were the Venedi of the Romans, and the people originally called Wends by the Germans, who may have extended that name in after times to the Slavi, when they came into contact with the latter people.

* "Littus contra Oceani ubi tribus faucibus fluenta Vistulæ fluminis ebibuntur, Vidivarii resident, ex diversis nationibus aggregati." (De Reb. Get. p. 85.)

2. The Old Prussians, the Prutheni or Pruzii, had a peculiar system of religion, and a hierarchy, the history of which contains some remarkable traits, and serves to distinguish this people as a particular race, distinct both from the Slavic and the Germanic nations.

Of all European nations the Prussians seem to have made the longest and most obstinate resistance to the propagation of Christianity. This was partly owing, as it would appear, to the influence of their priests, who had more power and importance among the people than those of most other northern nations. The priesthood were governed by a supreme pontiff, called the Griwe, that is Graue, senator, Graf, who was at the same time legislator, supreme judge, and high priest. His station has been compared with that of the great lama of Tibet. Monkish writers called him the Pope of the northern pagans, and as his residence was at a consecrated spot named Romowe, they make a quaint reference to the head of their own church. It is said that the Griwe wisely consulted for the preservation of his influence, and enhanced the reverence of the people, by mystery and concealment. He lived retired and unseen in the secrecy of a dark forest. He was approached by priests and priestesses, who interpreted his will to the profane laity.*

* These accounts of the northern Pope or Griwe have been treated for the first time with sceptical doubts by the learned M. Lehrberg, a bold critic of ancient opinions in questions of northern antiquity. He thinks the whole story of the Griwe arose from a mistake made by credulous writers. But M. Voigt has vindicated the old annalists. The following are the passages in which the account of the Griwe is most distinctly given. Dusburg in the Chronicle of the Teutonic Order says: "Fuit in medio nationis hujus perversæ, scilicet in Nadrovia, locus quidam dictus Romow, trahens nomen suum a Româ, in quo habitabat quidam dictus Criwe, quem colebant pro Papa, quia sicut Dominus Papa regit universalem ecclesiam fidelium, ita ad istius nutum seu mandatum non solum gentes prædictæ, sed et Letthowini et aliæ nationes Livoniæ terræ regebantur. Tantæ fuit auctoritatis, quod non solum ipse vel aliquis de sanguine suo verum et nuncius cum baculo suo vel alio signo noto transiens terminos infidelium prædictorum, a regibus et nobilibus et communi populo in magna reverentiâ haberetur." Another copy of the Chronicle of Dusburg, preserved in MS. in the archives at Königsberg, has the passage somewhat differently. It mentions a city called Romowe, named from Rome. This, as Voigt observes, is only a monkish comment, and foolish as it is, does not impugn the evidence of the writers as to facts. In this place the Criwe lived, who

The ancient Prussians are said to have worshipped, besides other objects, a triad, or three principal deities. These were termed Perkunos, Potrimpos, and Picollos. The first was the god of the firmament and of thunder, corresponding with the Thor of the Northmen, the Taranis of the Celts, and the Peroun of the Russians, to which last he was probably related, as the resemblance of name indicates: before his sacred oak a perpetual fire was kept. The second had the form of a young man crowned with spikes of corn: he was the god of fecundity, the generator or Mahadeva of the Prussians. Young children were sacrificed to him, and a sacred serpent was kept in honour of him. Pikollos was the god of death and of all evil: his figure was that of a pale and grey-bearded old man; his

was Pope among the Pruteni, Litwani, and Livonienses. An old translator, Jeroschin, gives the following:

"Wann da was wonende irkant
Der obirste Ewarte
Nach heidenischer Arte
Criwe was genant sin Nam."

The title "obirste Ewarte" meant, as Voigt observes, "supreme guardian of the laws." It seems that the later Prussian chronicles, composed by Lucas David and Simon Grunau, confirm this story of the Griwe, which they profess to derive from the chronicle of the first Prussian bishop Christian.[1]

The original authorities for the history of the ancient Prussians are the following: 1. The chronicle already mentioned of the monk Christian, who laboured sixteen years for the conversion of the pagan Prussians, and wrote an historical account of the people, under the title of "Liber Filiorum Belial," the Book of the Sons of Belial. This work is unfortunately lost, but extracts from it are extant, in the writings of Simon Grunau, 1521, (which have never been printed,) and in those of Lucas David, who died in 1583. 2. After the work of Christian, the most ancient document on the history of the Prussians is the "Chronicon Prussiæ" of Peter Dusburg (1326), which contains, moreover, a complete history of the proceedings of the Teutonic order in that country. The most eminent writers, who in later times have availed themselves of these resources for illustrating the national history of the Prussians, have been Hartknoch, already cited, author of several works, entitled "Altes und neues Preussen, 1684," and "De Originibus Relig. Christ. in Prussia;" likewise "Dissertatio de Lingua veterum Prussorum, acced. Frid. Zandii Carmen de Galindis et Sudinis," appended to the edition of Dusburg's Chronicle, printed at Frankfort in 1679; and lastly Voigt, author of the celebrated work entitled "Geschichte Preussens von den ältesten Zeiten," Königsberg, 1827. See a note in M. Blumhardt's Hist. Générale de l'Etablissement du Christianisme, Geneva, 1838, tom. iii. p. 437; and Adelung, Mithridat. ii. s. 701.

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[1] See Voigt, Beilage über den Oberrichter und Oberpriester Griwe, appended to his Geschichte Preussens.

symbol was three skulls, his delight the misfortunes of men. Besides these there were many gods of a secondary order, demons, or genii.

## Section III.—*Of the Old Prussian, Lithuanian, and Lettish Languages.*

Of late years, and since the history of the Indo-European languages has engaged so much attention, the dialects of the Lithuanians and Letts have been diligently studied and elucidated. The result has been a now prevailing and perhaps fully established opinion, that this idiom may justly claim a particular place of its own among the languages of that class. It appears, indeed, that the Lithuanian, of all the idioms of Europe, has the nearest affinity with the Sanskrit. It is a fact, though a very surprising one, that the language of the ancient Prussians and Letts was strongly allied to the sacred and classical dialect of Hindústan. How this can have happened would be a puzzling question, which fortunately it is needless to discuss, since our concern is merely to ascertain facts. An analysis of the Old Prussian language by Professor Von Bohlen fully establishes the assertion, which the grammatical researches of MM. Bopp, Grimm, Lassen, and others had made sufficiently probable, if not quite certain. The following account of these dialects is abstracted from M. Von Bohlen's memoir.

The yet extant and nearly connected sister-dialects of the Old Prussian are well known to be the Lettish of Kurland and Lettland, and the Lithuanian, to which belongs the more corrupt Polish Lithuanian or Schamaitic. Both the sister dialects of the Old Prussian, namely, the Lithuanian and the Lettish, are nearly on a level in respect to their comprehensiveness and richness in words, except that the Lettish has adopted, at a late period, a greater proportion of German vocables. But they differ widely in grammatical relations. For while the Lithuanian, protected by its insulated situation from that source of corruption, has with wonderful fidelity maintained its perfection of native forms without having them fixed by writing, and has even acquired a more full developement by

consulting euphony rather than logical accuracy, and by adopting a freer and bolder construction of periods, the Lettish on the contrary has become as deficient in inflections and as abstract as the Persian, English, or modern German; it has softened down the endings of cases, it has entirely lost the instrumental, has suffered the locative to become obsolete, has no longer any trace of the dual, inflects the verb by means of pronouns prefixed, and has amalgamated foreign words with its native elements.

The Old Prussian stands in a middle place between these two languages. Its ancient richness in words cannot be estimated from the scanty remains of its vocabulary, but from the number of synonyms which it preserves it may be inferred that the *copia verborum* in this idiom was very considerable. Its grammatical structure displays a peculiar mixture of new and old forms; of old forms becoming obsolete, and of new ones becoming naturalised; and of an indefinite and fluctuating structure and pronunciation of unwritten words, very favourable to approximation to other languages, and perhaps giving a sometimes deceptive resemblance to the Gothic and Slavonic. Thus *runkans*, instead of *rankans*, passes into *rukans*, nearly as *düdu* occurs instead of *düdami* in Lithuanian, (*do, dadámi*, Sansk. διδωμι); and *suwu*, for *suwumi*, (Sansk. *suwámi*, *suo*, Eng. *sow*). Yet these three dialects display proofs that they are distinct though allied stems from the same stock with other European languages, not derived from any of them, but having a completeness which is wanting to all the idioms of Europe and only discovers itself in the Sanskrit.*

The Sanskrit *Devăs* (*Deus*) is found pure only in the Lithuanian *Dievas*, Lettish *Dêws*, Prussian *Deiws*. Hence Pruss. *dievuts* (*pius, devotus*), in Sansk. *deivat*. This may tend to convince us that the northern nations derived the name for the Deity from the same source whence the Greeks and Romans obtained it, and certainly not from them.† A derivation of the same word through the Persian is equally im-

* Ueber die Sprache der alten Preussen, vom Professor von Bohlen.

† This remark will include the Celtic languages. God is in Welsh, Duw; in Erse, Dia.

probable, for the Persians designate by the word *Dew* an evil demon. But the Germans may have obtained from the Persians their word *Gott*, (Gothic *Guths*,) God ; in Persian *Choda*. The Slavish term *Bog* is an insulated word.*

In the analytical comparison of languages, with a view to discover their relations, it is necessary to mark the transitions or permutations of vowels not less accurately than those of consonants. In the Sanskrit there are certain laws for the alteration of vowels from the state in which they are found in primitive words to that which they display in derivatives. This is termed by European grammarians, after Grimm, the strengthening of vowels. In Sanskrit these changes follow two prescribed forms, which are termed Guna and Vriddhi,† and by reference to these principles, which are regular and well-ascertained in Sanskrit, a derivative word is distinguishable from a primitive one. As the same changes are prevalent through all the Indo-European idioms, a similar observation will generally determine which is the oldest and least altered form of a word, and what are the latest acquired or newest forms. Thus in Sanskrit, *yauvana* (*juventus*) is later than *yuvan* (*juvenis*). So in the cognate languages we have *caupo* and *copa*, from *cupa:* the Prussian *viddai* (*vidit*, in Sanskrit *vid*,) gives origin to the causal form *vaidinna* (*ostendit*, Sanskrit *vaid*), in which the vowel is strengthened, and this entitles us to consider the strengthened Gothic *wair* (*vir*) as later than the Prussian *vyrs*, in Sanskrit *víras*.

The consonants are, however, more constant or less varia-

* One of the most striking instances of an immediate derivation of words into the Prussian and Lithuanian family of languages from the Sanskrit, is the following: *Visampatis* in Sanskrit means properly "ruler of the third class," or *Visas*; its secondary meaning is "ruler," absolutely. The Lithuanian *viezpats* (*dominus*), Prussian *vaispattis* (*domina*), displays its near relation to the Sanskrit. It cannot be supposed to be derived from the more corrupt Slavish synonym *gospodin*, *hospes*, δεσποτης, which would hardly return so nearly to its original form. The simple Sanskrit word *patis* (*dominus*) is even found in the Lithuanian *pats*. The root is the Sanskrit *dhaṭoo*, *pá*, (*regnare*,) whence with a formative *na*, the Lithuanian *ponas* (*dominus*). (Von Bohlen, s. 716.)

† *Guna* and *Vriddhi* are very important forms in the construction and etymology of words in Sanskrit, and their influence may be traced in all the Indo-European languages. *Guna* changes ɤ́ to *ē*, ŭ́ to *ō*, *rɤ́* to *ăr*, and *lrɤ́* to *ăl*. *Vriddhi* changes or augments *ă* to *ā*, *ī* to *ai*, *ŭ* to *āu*, *rɤ́* to *ār*, *lrɤ́* to *āl*, *ē* to *aī*, and *o* to *āu*.

ble in the cognate languages; but here it may be observed, as a general rule, that where a mute tenuis belongs to a word in its original form, it becomes in the derived dialects or sister languages an aspirate, and by degrees passes into the middle or soft mute, corresponding to its class. Compare, for example, the Gothic pronoun interrogative *hwas*, with the Sanskrit *kas*, *ká*, *kim*, which is recognised in the purest state in our Prussian dialects; Prussian and Lithuanian *kas* (*quis*), *quei* (*ubi*), Sanskrit *kwa*; *senku* (*quocum*), which primitive form is wanting even in Sanskrit. Thus also the Sanskrit *anyas* (*alius*), comparative *anyatarăs*, *anyatará*, *am*; Prussian *antars*, *antra*, becomes in Gothic *anthars*, with the aspirate, and softens its dental consonant finally into *d*. The transition of the palatal consonants peculiar to Sanskrit is uncertain, but yet not so arbitrary that words can no longer be recognised. For example, S. *chaturt'has* (pronounced *tshaturt'has*) is in Prussian *ketwirts*, Lithuanian *ketwirthas*. S. *jáná* (*mulier*) is in Prussian *ganna*, in Gothic *quino*, whence *queen*, *quean*, *cwen*; also *jíva* and *jívata* (*vita*), Prussian *givei*, Lettish *dsihwe*, Lithuanian *gywatá*. Compare the Gothic *qwiws* (*vivus*). *Tejas* (*honor*) survives only in the Prussian *teisis*. The most variable consonants are *h*, *r*, and *s*, through their relation to each other, and the liability of the last to be hardened into *k*. And here we may remark, that the relation of the Old Indian language with the Prussian and Lithuanian stem is not only established by these and similar phenomena, but that the nature of this relation is such as to preclude altogether the supposition that it has taken place through the medium of the Gothic, as that idiom is displayed in the version of Ulphilas. The northern languages often preserve the primitive forms equally pure, as Sanskrit *sûnas* (*filius*), Gothic and Lithuanian *sunas*, Prussian *souns*, German *sohn*, English *son*. Often a word otherwise lost is recognised in these idioms, as Sanskrit *wisva* (*omne*), Prussian *vissa*, Lettish *viss*, Lithuanian *vissas*. In many instances the idioms of the Prussian stem preserve perfect words, which in Sanskrit are found truncated. The proper names contain in the Prussian, as in other dead languages, many lost words. Thus the names of places in *wangen*, as

*Turwangen*, *Kinwangen* and others, situated in forests, are probably related to the Sanskrit *wana* (*sylva*, *lucus*), in Old High Dutch *wane*; and *lauks* (*ager*), in *Mehlauken*, *Taurlauken*, *Taplaken*, to the Sanskrit *loka* (*locus*, *mansio*, *mundus*).

With respect to the preservation of grammatical forms, the Prussian is much poorer than its sister-dialect, the Lithuanian; nor is this to be wondered at, since the Grandmaster Siegfried of Feuchtwangen endeavoured, as early as 1309, to banish it by a decree from the popular use; a proceeding which certainly rendered more difficult the instruction of the Prussians in Christianity, whilst it deprived the nation of their dearest possession —their thoughts! But amidst all the uncertainty between the peculiar and the acquired, the Old Prussian dialect shows many original traits of a perfect language, and these may, without going through the whole grammar, be shortly described.

The declension of nouns has now few peculiarities; the cases are defective, inasmuch as the instrumental and locative are entirely wanting, or mutilated, and in many cases, owing to the uncertain government of the prepositions, not to be determined. There is no appearance of a dual even in the pronouns, which usually retain their forms longer than any other parts of language; and even the traces of a neuter are doubtful, for *emnen* (*nomen*), and other words which might be taken for neuters, are never so marked by the article: thus in *stas*, *stai*, *sta*, in Vater's arrangement, in Lithuanian *tas*, *ta*, *tai*, the neuter is too uncertain to be fully demonstrated. The first declension is clearly marked. The characteristic of the nouns in Prussian is in the masculine, *s*, (*deivs*, *deus*,) with the connecting vowel thrown out, (comp. Lithuanian *deivas*, Sanskrit *devas*,) which appears again in the genitive *deivas* (Sanskrit *devasya*). The dative, as in the Gothic, terminates in *n*, and thus becomes like the accusative (*deivan*, Sanskrit *devam*); the vocative loses merely the *s* of the nominative (*deiva*, Sanskrit *deva*), with only a few corrupted exceptions. The nominative plural is *deivai* (Sanskrit *devâs*), the genitive *deivans* (Sanskrit *devânâm*); the dative plural shows again some approach to the old form, in which a little softening of the letters is not to be taken into the account, (*vy-*

*rimans*, *viris*, Sanskrit *vîrebhyâs*); the accusative in Prussian retains the *s*, which euphony in Sanskrit requires to be thrown out, (*wyrans*, Sanskrit *vîrân*). The feminine of the first declension is in *a*, as in Sanskrit, *ganna* (*mulier*), *ḍaia* (*donum*), and is declined otherwise like the masculine. The second declension may be detected: masculine *rikys* (*dominus*), feminine *teisi*, (*honor*,) which in the rest follow the usual variations.

The Prussian pronouns present a remarkable archaism; in their near approach to the Sanskrit they exceed even the Lithuanian. The pronoun demonstrative, which occupies the place of the article, is *stas*, and is probably composed of two pronouns *sas* and *tas*, which are both found again in the Sanskrit, of which the Prussian preserves the accusative singular *stan* (Sansk. *tam*), while the Lithuanian adopts the *a* circumflexed, therefore not written fully, and approaching the Lettish *to*. The genitive *steisai*, feminine *steises*, approaches more nearly to the Sanskrit *tasya*, feminine *tasyâs*, than the shortened Lithuanian *to*, feminine *tos*; but the dative comes nearer to the Sanskrit than in any other language, as it uses the syllable *smu* as the characteristic ending, (compare *kasmu* (*cui*), Sanskrit *kasmai*; *stesmu*, Sanskrit *tasmai*,) which appears nowhere else so pure, (compare Lithuanian *támui*, Gothic *thamma*, with the *s* thrown out). The feminine in Prussian has in the dative *stessiei*, like the Sanskrit *tasyai*; besides, *kas* and *stas* in Prussian become relative through the syllable *vyds*, as in Sanskrit through *vad*, as *kayds* (*qualis*), *stavyds* (*talis*). The personal pronoun *as* (*ego*) seems to be the original form; the Sanskrit *ah-am* is already softened, for here the absolute state is *as-mat*, and, as is shown in numberless examples, *s* passes into *h*, but seldom the contrary happens, (compare Sanskrit *ashta*, *octo*, Gothic *ahtan*, &c.). The other oblique cases take, as in Sanskrit, a different auxiliary; for example, dative Prussian *maim* (nearer to the Sanskrit *mayam* than the Lithuanian *m'an*). On the other hand, the second person, *tu*, (in Sanskrit already with the suffix *am*, *twam*,) receives no adjunct: dative *tebbei* (*tibi*), Sanskrit *tubhyam*. In the plural, Prussian *jous* (*vos*), Sanskrit *yûyam*, contain, in both alike, a new root, *yu*.

In the verbs no regular conjugation is carried out; but that here also the language once approached the perfection of the Sanskrit is proved by the verb substantive, which, excepting that the dual is wanting, is, by retaining the root-vowel, more regularly conjugated than even the Indian. This is the form:

Asmai (*sum*), Sanskrit *asmi*.
Assei ..... ... *asi*, instead of *assi*.
Ast ..... *asti*.
Asmai ..... ..... *smas*, instead of *asmas*.
Astei ..... *stha*, instead of *astha*.
Ast ..... *santi*, instead of *asanti*.

The infinitive in Prussian ends in *t*: *bout* (*esse*,) *enimt* (*sumere*), *madlit* (*precari*), *pout* (*bibere*), but though this is the common ending, it must be considered a contraction. When complete it has a nasal: *bouton*, *enimton*, *madliton*, *pouton*, in which it resembles the Sanskrit infinitive, or more properly the gerund: *pâtum* (*potum*). A peculiar form of the infinitive is that in *wei*: *biatwei* (*timere*,) *bilitwei* (*dicere*).

The participles which Vater adduces require a more careful examination, in which only the Sanskrit can help us: many belong to the infinitive, as those in *ton*; many in *us* are in the form of participles passive, which in Sanskrit are formed in *nas* and *tas*; ex. *aulauns* (*mortuus*). Some, called by Vater verbal substantives, are accusative participles of the present tense active; as *dilants* (*operans*), *waitiantin* (*loquentem*). Compare Sanskrit *pachan*, accusative *pachantam* (*coquentem*).

Amongst the ancient excellencies of the Prussian dialect must also be reckoned those inseparable particles, which few in number, yet give to the verb the capability of a rich variety of modifications, and are, a few mutilations excepted, the same as in Sanskrit, although, as is natural, their meaning is sometimes different: the most common are *per* (Sanskrit *para*), *pa* and *po* (Sanskrit *upa*), *prei* (Sanskrit *prati*), *ên* (Sanskrit *â*, or in an older form *an*), *is* and *esse* (Sanskrit *ut*), *na* (Sanskrit *anu*), *sen* (Sanskrit *sam*). Afterwards these particles became true nominal prepositions, and this change is visible in the Prussian, although its laws are so uncertain. Not less essential than this formation of the verbs to the Indo-Germanic languages, is the mode of increasing the nouns and

adjectives by derivative syllables or so-called suffixes, in which these languages develope the greatest richness in the formation of words. The richest in this respect are the Sanskrit, the Greek, and the German languages, and it is seldom that the termination agrees with the similar ones of another dialect, as some examples may show: from the root *ag* and *ak* (*videre*), the Sanskrit makes *ak-sha* (*oculus*), the Prussian *ackis*, the Greek οκκος, the Latin *oc-ulus*; from *dak* the Sanskrit makes *dakshana* (*dextra*), the Greek δεξια, the Old Prussian *tickra*.

The Prussian displays many of these endings, which resemble most nearly the Lithuanian and Lettish, and sometimes the German. It would occupy too much room to enumerate them all, and to compare them with similar suffixes in the Sanskrit. Lastly, the Prussian and Lithuanian language has in common with the cognates the power of forming compounds, and gives indeed examples of true Indian composition; for example, when the first member in the absolute state must be considered in the relation of a case, as *but-sargs* (*paterfamilias*); where, however, the true genitive appears, *buttas-taws*: in like manner from the particle *sa* (Sanskrit *sa*), and *lub* (*amare*, Sanskrit *lubh*, *lubere*), the compound *saluban* (*matrimonium*) is formed, and others, which sometimes appear to be formed after the German, as *kaimalucke* (*heim-suchen*). The construction has already accommodated itself to the genius of the German tongue, for the language early lost its determinate character; but how rich it even then was in sound, and how easily it accommodated itself to metre, the translation of the well-known verse will show: "Ein jeder lern' sein Lection," &c., which is thus given by Abel Will:

"Erains mukinsusin swaian mukinsnan
Tît wîsst labhai stalliuns enstan buttan."

## Section IV.—*Conclusion.*

The only conclusion that can be formed from a consideration of the facts surveyed in the two preceding sections is, that the Old Pruthenians or Prussians, the Lithuanians and

the Lettish people form a groupe of nations, distinct from the German or Gothic race on one side, and from the Slavi on the other, though more nearly related to these nations, and particularly to the latter, than to other branches of the Indo-European family. They appear to have been subject to an order of priests, more powerful than those of the other nations in the east of Europe, and only comparable to the Druidical hierarchy among the Celts. Their language differed considerably from the other eastern European dialects, and preserved the forms of the Sanskrit in a much purer and less altered state. It must be considered as a branch springing more immediately from the original stock. The inference is, that the people of the narrow extent of country included between the Finns and Goths were a distinct tribe, who preceded the Slavic race in their northern progress, and it is probable that they had occupied the coast of the Eastern Baltic many ages before the arrival of that people in the northern parts of Sarmatia. It is not improbable that they were the Venedi or Venedæ of the classical writers from the age of Pliny to that of Ptolemy.

# CHAPTER IX.

## OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRIES SITUATED BETWEEN THE DANUBE AND MOUNT TAURUS.

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### SECTION I.—*General Survey.*

THE countries bordering on both sides of the Hellespont and Bosphorus have been connected from the earliest periods of history by social and political relations. On these opposite shores, to which the names of Europe and Asia perhaps first belonged, the same tribes of people appear to have been spread in every age. The intervening straits have been often passed, from either side, in warlike expeditions, undertaken on a smaller scale for objects of plunder, or on a greater for conquest and colonisation; and while the Asiatics were more civilised and powerful than the people of Europe, no formidable barrier seems to have opposed the progress of invaders till they reached the chain of Mount Hæmus, defended by precipitous heights and by warlike and barbarous hordes. Even this boundary, as well as that of the Danube, is said to have been passed by various conquerors, either African or Asiatic, but no permanent impression was made on the countries further northward until a comparatively late period. Beyond the Danube were the vast plains of Scythia, called in later times Sarmatia, which were so little known in the days of Herodotus that the whole region was said by the Thracians to be inhabited by bees. The historian obtained information

that it belonged to the Sigynnæ, a nomadic people who were drawn over their plains by small horses in cars or wagons, and extended their journeys as far as the country of the Heneti, at the bottom of the Adriatic gulf. The ethnography of the region to the southward of the Danube is tolerably well known from the time of Herodotus. That writer has given us a general survey of the inhabitants, which has been illustrated by notices scattered through the works of other historians, and filled up with tolerable accuracy by Strabo, whose account of the tribes of Greeks and Thracians, and Epirots and Illyrians, is one of the most carefully written parts of his great work. From these sources we collect that four distinct races or groupes of nations, between whom it does not appear to have been supposed by the ancients that any affinity however remote existed, divided between them all the countries in Europe lately belonging to the Ottoman empire. Of these the Thracians were the most numerous and extensive. They occupied all the eastern parts of the European region above described, as well as the central plains to the southward of the Danube, and in Asia Minor a still more extensive tract. To the westward of the Thracians, and reaching from thence to the Adriatic, were Illyrian tribes, a nation of barbarous mountaineers. To the southward of the Illyrians were the Epirotic tribes, who possessed a tract of hill-country reaching from the Ionian Sea to Macedonia, and cutting off the western parts of Greece from the Illyrian territory. The fourth nation are the Greeks, who were hemmed in towards the north by the Epirots on the western, and by the Thracians on the eastern side. Of these four nations the Greeks alone can be said to have left undoubted posterity, preserving still the language and perpetuating the stock of their forefathers. There are, however, other races in the same countries who in all probability have succeeded in like manner to the Thracians and Illyrians, though the evidence of their descent is not so unequivocal, since they are not without some research distinguishable from the various colonies who have passed the Danube and settled themselves to the southward of that river in later times, after partially dispossessing the earlier inhabitants. The earliest of these invading nations came from the

westward. They were the Celtic Scordisci, who, as we have seen, occupied an extensive country to the southward of the Danube. They are placed by Strabo between the Margus or the Morawa, and the Noarus,* supposed to be the Save, namely, in the modern Servia and Bosnia. They are said to have destroyed the Triballi, who had been one of the most powerful Thracian tribes in the time of Herodotus, and they maintained their independence till they were conquered by the Romans. In the accounts given of the wars of the Roman armies the Scordisci are reckoned among the principal nations of Thrace.† From this time no important accession was made to the population of the countries beyond the Danube till the age of Valens, when Mœsia was given by the emperor to the Goths, who passed the river in a body, which Gibbon computes to have amounted to a million of people.‡ But the Goths abandoned Mœsia, which became afterwards the seat of the Bulgarian kingdom, while many extensive districts in the northern part of the Byzantine empire were colonised, as we have seen, by various Slavonian hordes. The Bulgarians were, in the ninth century, the dominant people in these countries.§ They were, as we shall hereafter observe, a Turkish race,‖ and took their name from the Wolga, termed by them Bolga, on which was situated their ancient kingdom of Bolgari; but they appear to have been outnumbered by the Slavic hordes under their sway, and to have adopted the language of that people, with whom they were intermixed.¶ Nations of the Slavic language were the last people who obtained settlements for numerous hordes beyond the Danube, until the invasion of the Byzantine empire by the Turks; and those tribes in the Ottoman provinces who speak neither the Slavonian nor the Turkish language, may be considered as most

* Strabo, lib. vii. p. 318.

† T. Liv. Epit. lib. lxv.

‡ Gibbon, ch. xxvi.

§ Mithridat. ii. s. 641.

‖ Von Engel, cited by Adelung. See also Müller's Ugrische Volkstamm, Theil ii.

¶ Boscovich, who was a native of Ragusa in Dalmatia found himself able to understand the Bulgarians during his travels through their country, without great difficulty. See Boscovich's Travels, Lausanne, 1772, p. 59. The speech of the Bulgarians is intelligible to the Russians, and their church books are in the Servian or Russian language. See Adelung, Mithridates, ii. 642.

probably descended from the aboriginal inhabitants. They are the Greeks, the Albanians, and the Wallachs.

I shall now proceed to trace the history of the four nations before enumerated.

## Section II.—*Of the Thracian Race.*

Herodotus declares that the Thracians were the most numerous race of people in the world next to the Indians.* In this passage he used the name in its widest sense, as comprehending all the nations allied to the Thracians in language and descent. It has also a more restricted meaning, in which it includes certain tribes more properly termed Thracians, and chiefly, as it appears, those clans who were subject to the Thracian kingdom of the Odrysæ, or their immediate neighbours.†

The Thracians in the time of Herodotus reached northward as far as the Danube.‡ The coast of the Adriatic was occupied by the Illyrian race, distinct, as we shall find, from the Thracian; but to the eastward of the Illyrians the whole country was occupied by Thracian tribes as far as the Euxine. The heart of Thrace was the broad valley of the Hebrus lying between the chains of Rhodope and Hæmus, the latter of which is now called the Balkan. Strabo makes it reach westward to the Strymon,—*τὰ δὲ πέραν Στρύμονος ἤδη, μέχρι τοῦ Αἵμου, πάντα Θρακῶν ἔστι.*§ He says in another passage that all Greece was hemmed in towards the north by Thracian, Epirotic, and Illyrian nations. The Thracians, he adds, possess Macedonia and a part of Thessaly: above Acarnania and Ætolia are the Thesproti, the Cassopæi, the Amphilochi, the Molossi, and the Athamanes, which are Epirotic nations. We shall have occasion to advert again to these last tribes and the race to which they belong. The principal nations between Mount Hæmus and the Danube were the Krobizii, near the Pontus, and the Triballi, a Thracian people, as Strabo declares,‖ who inhabited the extensive Triballian plains in the central parts

* Herod. lib. v. c. 3. † Adelung, Mithridat. b. ii. s. 354.
‡ Herod. lib. v. c. 3. et seqq. § Strabo, vii. 323. ‖ Strabo, vii. 320.

of the inland country, of which they kept possession till they were expelled by the Celtic Scordisci, shortly before the time of Alexander the Great. Within the same boundary were several other tribes, well known to be of the Thracian stock; as the Bessi, who inhabited the greater part of Mount Hæmus, where they maintained their independence even against the army of Xerxes; the Bryges, near Macedonia, who were the ancestral stock of the Phrygians, according to Herodotus and Strabo; the Satræ, in the south on the mountains of Rhodope, equally wild and independent; the Trausi, on the Travus, known to Herodotus; and the Thyni near Salmydessus, who were said to have passed with the Mysians into Asia Minor, and to have been the ancestors of the Bithynians.

Besides these tribes, who are all termed Thracians in a more restricted sense, there were several nations who are known by sufficient evidence to have belonged to that race.

1. The Getæ and Dacians are declared by all the ancient writers to have been of the Thracian race.

The Getæ are first mentioned by Herodotus, who terms them the most valiant and honest of the Thracians.* They were subdued by the army of Darius before he arrived at the Danube; therefore they dwelt at that time to the southward of the Danube, and it does not appear that they differed in manners or language from other Thracian tribes. In the time of Thucydides they are found in the same region, namely, between the Danube, Mount Hæmus, and the Euxine; and, as Mannert has observed, they must have been among those Thracian tribes who combined with the Scythians in resisting the arms of Philip of Macedon.† Perhaps at this time they crossed the Danube, since they appear on the northern side when the country on the Euxine was invaded by Lysimachus. Niebuhr thinks they had disappeared from their former country in the age of Alexander, who found a city of the Getæ within the Scythia of Herodotus.‡

In the time of Strabo the country of the Getæ certainly was to the northward of the Danube. It was a part of Dacia,

* Herod. iv. c. 93. † Mannert, Geogr. der Griecher und Römer.
‡ Niebuhr, Geogr. of Scythia, translated from his "Kleinere Schriften."

and Strabo declares* that the people of the eastern Dacia, near the sea and the mouth of the Danube, were called Getæ, and those of the western part Daci.† It seems then that the Getæ, who were recognised by Herodotus and Thucydides as Thracians, were of the same race with the Dacians.‡

2. The Macedonians appear to have been a Thracian people. The Argive Temenidæ founded a Grecian state in Macedonia at an early period, and Philip brought the skin-clad Macedonians from their mountains, and taught them to till the soil and live in towns, and by military discipline trained them to become conquerors of the world. But the language of the Macedonians was unintelligible to the Greeks. The Greek soldiers in Alexander's army understood not, as we learn from Quintius Curtius,§ a speech addressed to the Macedonians. Niebuhr thought the Macedonians a Pelasgic people. But the Pelasgic name had become extinguished in Greece long before the age of the Macedonian conquests. We may infer from a well-known passage of Herodotus, that the only relics of the Pelasgi existing in his time, as distinguished from the Greeks, were the bands of Tyrsenian Pelasgi who were settled near Placia and Crestona. Had the language of the Macedonians been that of these same Pelasgi, the fact could hardly have escaped his knowledge, and it would assuredly have been mentioned by him in the passage in which he discussed the question with what nations the Pelasgi were allied, and what idiom was their speech. If we give credit to Strabo, we must consider the Macedonians as a Thracian people. That geographer mentions several parts of the Macedonian country, and Pieria, on the borders of Thessaly,

* Strabo, p. 314. ed. Casaub.

† Strabo adds his testimony to the Thracian origin and language of the Getæ, and he cites in another passage a verse of Menander, in which the Getæ are mentioned as Thracians:

*πάντες μὲν οἱ Θρᾷκες μάλιστα δ' οἱ Γέται*
*ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες—οὐ σφόδρ' ἐγκρατεῖς*
*ἐσμέν.*

"All the Thracians, but especially the Getæ, are not very temperate." See Strabo, lib. vii. p. 295.

‡ Strabo says expressly, p. 305, that the Daci and the Getæ speak one language.

§ Q. Curtius, vi. 9. Mithridat. ii. p. 361.

which he expressly says had been peopled by the Thracians.* In another passage he declares that in his time the Thracians still had possession of many countries considered as belonging to Greece, namely, Macedonia, and some parts of Thessaly.† By this we can only understand that the Thracian language and Thracian manners still prevailed among the inhabitants of these countries, and that though ruled by Grecian princes, the people had not become assimilated to the Greeks.

3. The Abantes, the native inhabitants of Eubœa, called after them Abantis, were likewise, according to Strabo, a Thracian tribe.‡

4. Besides all the above-mentioned tribes of the Thracian race who inhabited Europe, there were several nations in Asia Minor who were supposed by the ancient writers to belong to the same stock. As they form a separate department of nations, I shall advert to their history in a particular section which will be devoted to the inhabitants of Lesser Asia.

The manners of the Thracians are described by Herodotus and by Posidonius, whose account has been preserved by Strabo. They display some traces of eastern culture, mixed with the barbarism of the northern European nations. The funerals of chiefs were celebrated among them with great festivity, and at the same time with loud lamentations. They sacrificed on these occasions many animals, and sometimes burned, at others interred the body, over which they raised a mound of earth. The favourite wife of the deceased, splendidly dressed, was immolated by her nearest relatives on the tomb of her husband. This was coveted as a great distinction. The Getæ believed in the immortality of souls,

* Niebuhr's principal reason for supposing the Macedonians Pelasgi is the celebrated passage of Æschylus, which will be cited in a succeeding section of this chapter, in which king Pelasgus makes his domain extend as far as the river Strymon. It must be observed that a Greek kingdom had been established in Macedonia before the time of Æschylus. Then there was a Macednus mentioned among the posterity of the mythical Lycaon; but the myth may have referred to the Argive colony.

† Probably the Thracian race reached southward as far as the Peneus, and that river, rather than the Strymon, may have been the ancient boundary between the Thracian and Pelasgian races.

‡ Strabo, lib. x. s. 445. Mith. ii. 364.

and that after death they went to the abode of their god Zamolxis, called also Gebeleizes, where they were for ever in happiness. The Thracians in general were addicted to excessive drinking; they esteemed agriculture a disgraceful employment; their delight was in war and plunder. They punctured or tattooed their skins; they were accustomed to sell their children into slavery.

## Section III.—*Of the Illyrian Race.*

The most accurate among the ancient writers have always distinguished between the Illyrians and the Thracians. Strabo in particular, who is our best guide in this part of ancient ethnology, carefully separates the Illyrians from all other races. The Illyrians were the borderers on the eastern side of the Adriatic, and occupied the coast from the junction of that gulf with the Ionic Sea, to the estuaries of the river Po.* Of this wide extension of the Illyrian name, Herodotus is the first evidence. He likewise places Illyrians on the western tributary rivers of the Morava. He says, "The river Angros, flowing from the Illyrians towards the north, pours into the Triballian plains and the river Brongos, and the Brongos into the Danube.† He was aware that the Heneti, in the inmost recess of the gulf, were Illyrians.‡ That the Veneti or Heneti were a tribe distinct from all the Celtic nations in the neighbourhood, we have, with many others, the testimony of Polybius, who declares that although the Veneti resembled the Celtæ of the Cisalpine in manners and habits, they were quite separate in language.§ The Heneti or Veneti appear then to have been the last Illyrian tribe towards the north-west. The southern limits of this race, where they bordered on the Epirots, are accurately described by Strabo. He marks out the transit of the road called *Via Ignatia*, from the neighbourhood of Epidamnus and Apollonia into Macedonia; it seems to have proceeded directly eastward from Epidamnus towards Edessa and Pella, and to Thessalonica, separating the nations of

* Zeuss, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, s. 251.
† iv. c. 49. ‡ i. 196. § Polyb. ii 17.

Epirus on the right hand, from the Illyrian mountains and their inhabitants on the left.*

The different tribes of this Illyrian nation who occupied all the mountainous tracts behind the coast of the Adriatic, as well as many parts of the sea-coast itself, reaching northward from the neighbourhood of Epidamnus to the extreme corner of the Adriatic, where the Veneti, themselves included in the number, have still left their name, are mentioned by several writers, who are, for the most part, agreed in their enumeration.

The earliest writer who has left any detailed account of the nations inhabiting the coasts of the Adriatic is Scylax. "Next to the Heneti," says this writer, "in whose country is the river Eridanus, are the Istri or Istriani, and the river Istros, which flows into the Pontus by seven mouths." It does not appear why Scylax connected the Istri, who occupied the peninsula of Istria below Trieste, with the river Danube, from which they were far remote. The Istri are mentioned by Scymnus Chius, who terms them Thracians.† It is possible that they may have been a Thracian colony from the Danube, but we have no further information respecting them. "Next to the Istri," continues Scylax, "succeeds a nation termed the Liburni, to whom the following cities of the coast belong: Lias, Idassa, Attienates, Diyrta, Alapsi, Olsi, Petetæ, Hemioni. The Liburni are subject to the government of women. Opposite to the coast of the Liburni are several islands, and the river Catarbates here falls into the sea. The Liburni, a people famous for their shipping and light craft, are mentioned, as we have seen, by Pliny, as inhabiting likewise the opposite coast of Italy, where, in conjunction with the Siculi, they held possession of many tracts below Ancona.‡

Next to the Liburnians Scylax places the Illyrians properly so termed. That the nations already enumerated were of the Illyrian race has been inferred from the declaration of Herodotus regarding the Heneti, and from the testimony

* Strab. lib. vii. p. 323.

† Scymnus Chius, v. 390. Ἐνετῶν ἔχονται Θρᾷκες Ἴστριοι λεγόμενοι.

‡ Plin. H. N. iii. 14.

of Strabo, that the Iapodes who afterwards were masters of the Liburnian coast were a mixed race, descended from Celtic people intermingled with the Illyrian, that is, with the Liburnian inhabitants of the district. Scylax then enumerates several nations of the Illyrian race, as he expressly declares, giving to some of them the additional epithet of barbarians. He says that all the sea-coast from the Liburnian to the Chaonian territory, which last reaches towards Corcyra or the island of Alcinous, belonged to Illyrian nations: such were the Lotophagi, so termed, the Hierastamnæ, Palini, Hyllini, the Nesti, the Manii, the Autariatæ, the Enchelei, and the Illyrians properly so termed, in whose territory was the Greek city of Epidamnus."* The name of this tribe, as we learn from Thucydides, was Taulantii. The Oricii and Amantini succeed, and here we come to the Keraunian mountains, opposite the Iapygian promontory: this is the entrance of the Adriatic, here separated from the outer Ionian Sea. The next nation are the Chaones, distinct, according to Scylax, from the Illyrian nations.

We find a still more limited meaning given to the name of Illyrians by Pomponius Mela, who seems, as M. Zeuss observes, to have derived his account from old documents. He says, describing the Illyrian tribes from the southward, "Partheni et Dassaretæ prima tenent; sequentia Taulantii et Phæaces. Deinde sunt *quos proprie Illyrios* vocant: tum Pyræi et Liburni et Istrii."† And Pliny, probably from the same authority, "Proprieque dicti Illyrii et Taulantii et Pyræi."‡ These southern Illyrians, who were Illyrians in a stricter sense, are likewise termed Illyrians by Livy, to the exclusion of all other tribes of the same class; and their king Gentius, whose capital was Scodra, is styled "rex Illyriorum."§

Strabo in a decisive manner distinguishes the most powerful tribes of the three races who had occupied territories in the space between the Danube and the Adriatic. Among the Celtic nations who had introduced themselves in a compara-

* Scylax Caryandens. Periplus, apud Hudson, p. vi. et seqq.
† Mela, lib. ii. 3. ‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. c. 23. § Tit. Liv. xliv.

tively late period into that region, he specifies the Boii and the Scordisci; among the Thracians, the Triballi; among the Illyrian nations, the Autariatæ, and the Ardiæi, and the Dardanii.* He places the Ardiæi on the river Naron, opposite the island of Pharos. The other two nations were on the frontier of the Illyrian country towards the east and south. The Dardanic territory, he says, borders on the Macedonian nation, and on the Pæonians towards the south. "Among the Dardaniats are likewise the Gulabrians, in whose land there is an ancient city; as also the Thunatæ, bordering on the Mædi, a Thracian people, towards the east."† In another passage he mentions the Thracian tribe of Bessi as adjoining Mount Rhodope and the Pæonian country, and as neighbours of the Illyrian tribes termed Autariatæ and Dardanii.

In all these accounts, to which we might add those of Pausanias, we find the Illyrians clearly distinguished as a separate nation, or rather groupe of nations, both from the Thracians and the Epirots.

## Section IV.—*The Epirotic Nations.*

To the southward of the Illyrian nations were the tribes termed by Strabo—Ἠπειρωτικα ἐθνη, Epirotic nations—who inhabited a belt of mountainous country, stretching eastward from the Ionic Sea to the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia, and cutting off the Illyrian nations who bordered on it towards the north and the left hand from the Greeks, who were to the southward or on the right hand.‡ The coast of this country had a considerable extent, reaching from the Acroceraunia, which was its northern extremity, as far to the southward as the shore opposite Corcyra, and to the commencement of Acarnania, which was a part of Greece. Strabo makes the Ambracian gulf the southern limit of the Epirotic coast. To the left hand, he says, of one entering this gulf are the

* Strabo, p. 316. † Id. p. 318.

‡ Strabo says that the Grecian tribes adjoining the country of the Epirots and the Illyrians are the Acarnanes, Ætoli, Locri Ozolæ, Phocenses, and Bœotians, who are all situated opposite Peloponnesus on the other side of the Corinthian gulf. (Lib. viii p. 332.) He evidently considers all these nations as Greeks.

Cassopæi, who are Epirots ; to the right hand, the Athamanes, who are Greeks.* Above these, namely the Cassiopæi, were the Amphilochi, who were also reckoned among the Epirotic nations. To the same race are referred likewise by Strabo the Molossi, the Athamanes, the Aethices, the Tymphæi, the Orestæ, the Paroræi, and the Atintanes. Some of these are near the borders of Macedonia, towards the interior ; others bordering on the Ionian Sea. Theopompus† enumerated fourteen Epirotic nations ; of these the Chaones and the Molossi were, according to him, the most noble. The Chaones had dominion over all the Epirot tribes, and after them the Molossi. Both these nations were governed by princes of the family of the Æacidæ ; and the Molossi especially obtained influence by means of the oracle of Dodona, which was in their territory.‡

It seems that the Epirotic tribes were borderers on the northern Greeks, who occupied the narrow tract of mountainous country beyond the Corinthian gulf. The Acarnanians, the Ætolians, Locrians, Phocians were the tribes in this region who claimed the Hellenic name. The Epirots were clearly distinguished as barbaric or semi-greek nations. Nor were they Pelasgi. The Chaones however were said by several writers, and by Aristotle in a passage already cited, to have been closely allied to the Oenotri on the opposite side of the Adriatic, and it is not improbable that the nations of Epirus may have been more nearly akin to the Italic nations than to the Greeks.

## Section V.—*Further Inquiries into the History of the Thracian and Illyrian Races. Of the Nations who are supposed to be descended from them, namely, the Wallachs and the Albanians or Skipetares.*

### *Paragraph* 1.—Observations on the history of the Thracian language.

It appears from a passage of the Gothic historian Jornandes,

* p. 326. † 326. ‡ Strabo, ibid.

that the Thracian language was yet extant in his time. The Bessi, a Thracian tribe who inhabited Mount Hæmus, spoke in the age of that writer a peculiar idiom, in which they termed the Danube by its original name of Istros, probably derived by the ancient Greeks from the Thracians who dwelt upon its banks.*

Before the age of Trajan it is probable that the Thracian language was spoken throughout Dacia by the descendants of the ancient Getæ, who, as we have seen, were a Thracian people; but after the establishment of the province of Dacia it gave way to the idiom of the Roman colonists, and was finally extinguished by the invading nations, chiefly of Slavic origin, who permanently occupied the countries between the Danube and Mount Hæmus. The only specimens to be discovered of this ancient language are in the names of men and places, and in particular words scattered through the works of the classical writers or preserved by lexicographers, such as Suidas and Hesychius.† On these data, scanty as they are, some opinions have been founded by modern writers as to the affinity of the Thracians with several nations of antiquity with whom they may be conjectured to have been allied in origin and in language.‡

* Jornandes de Rebus Get. c. 12.

† Adelung has collected many such words and terminations of words. See Mithridates, ii. p. 344. He cites Apuleius de Herbis, and the Interpolator of Dioscorides. He observes, that the proper name of *Cotys* is found among Cimmerians, Thracians, Paphlagonians, and Lydians, and *Cotiso* among the Getæ. Names ending in *cetes*, in the feminine *ceta*, occur among Thracians, Getes, and Bithynians, as *Doricetes*, *Miltocetes*, *Smethices*, *Deliceta*, *Etazeta*. No ending occurs more frequently in local names among all the nations supposed to be allied to the Thracians than those of *issa*, *essus*, *assa*. That of *dava* occurs among the Getes, Mœsians, and Illyrians, from which the proper Thracians have *dama*. *Taba* in the Lydian language meant "rock" or "hill." Thunmann has pointed out two places in the Illyrian territory bearing this Thracian termination in *dava*, namely, *Thermidava*, near Scodra, in Ptolemy, and *Quemedava*, in the Dardanian territory, mentioned by Procopius.

‡ In particular it has been inferred that the ancient Cimmerians and their supposed descendants the Tauri of Herodotus, and the people subject to the kings of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, among whom the Thracian names of *Cotys*, *Rhescuporis*, *Rhœmetalces*, *Mœsades*, *Berisades*, *Medosades* are found, were of Thracian origin. See Cary's Hist. des Rois du Bosphore Cimmérien; and Adelung, Mithridat. th. ii. p. 352. et seqq.

It seems very probable that the Thracians were originally of the same race as the Pelasgi and other tribes who were the ancestors of the Greeks. The undoubted remains of the Thracian language are perhaps hardly sufficient for elucidating this question, but if, as we have found in the testimony of ancient authors some reason to believe, the Macedonians and the Thessalians were a Thracian people, we find some confirmation of this opinion in a few words accidentally preserved.*

It has often been observed that many circumstances in the ancient history of the Greeks indicate a much nearer relation to have existed between them and the neighbouring nations of Thrace and of Phrygia, than we can well explain on any other hypothesis than that which represents these races as originally of kindred origin and speaking a common language.†

* The Macedonians had *δάνος* death, *δαίνειν* to kill; compare *θάνατος*, *θανεῖν*,—*ἐέλδω* (*ἐέλδωρ* in Homer), in Greek *ἐθέλω*: *ἀδραία* for *αἰθρία*, in which *θ* loses its aspiration, as *φ* does in *κεβαλὴ*: *ἀβροῦτις* for *ὀφρὺς* (brow): *Βίλιππος*, *βαλακρὸς*, &c. Professor K. Otfried Müller has observed, that some words existed in the Macedonian dialect which, though not extant in Greek, are preserved in the Latin language, as *γάρκαν virgam*, *ἴλεξ ilex*, and he refers to a copious collection of these words in Sturz de Dialecto Macedonico.

† It has been observed by many writers, particularly by Adelung, that Homer represents the Thracians, Greeks, and Trojans as understanding each other without difficulty. We hear nothing of interpreters, which might be expected in fictitious narratives so true to nature and reality as are those of the Iliad and Odyssey. It is observable that in the instance of the Lotophagi on the African coast, who would not be intelligible to the Greeks, there is no mention of conversation, but when the Greeks and Trojans meet they always converse. Likewise when Pelops, a Phrygian or Lydian, came to the Peloponnesus, and Bellerophon from Corinth to Lycia, they were received as among people of their own kindred.

It is likewise observable that Grecian traditions uniformly derived the original poetry of Greece, as well as the art of music, from Thracians or others, foreigners, though neighbours of Greece. Homer represents the Thracian Thamyris, often termed in a definite manner an Edonian, contending in song with the nine Muses. The Muses themselves, not only according to Hesiod, but according to a tradition which remained unaltered to the time of Strabo, came from Pieria. Strabo, indeed, asserts that the worship of the Muses on Mount Helicon in Bœotia, and the cave there dedicated to the Leibethrian nymphs, proved that region to have been occupied by Thracians; and he adds that these Thracians were Pierians—the people who consecrated the land of Pieria, at the northern foot of Olympus, and Leibethrum, and Pimpleia. It was among the Thracians that the popular representations of the Greeks placed the origin of Grecian poetry. Orpheus was, according to general report, a Thracian. Linius, whose pupil was Orpheus, is

### *Paragraph* 2.—Of the Wallachs.

Professor Thunmann, the first writer who made any accurate researches into the history of the eastern nations of Europe, advanced the opinion that the Albanians are the descendants of the ancient Illyrians, and that the people termed Wallachians or Wallachs, are the posterity of the old Thracian and Dacian or Getic tribes. Vlach or Wlach is a name given by Slavonians, according to Dobrowsky, to all Celtic people termed by the Germans Welsch, and as the latter name was extended to the Italians, so Vlach was probably applied to romanised nations. The Wallachs term themselves Rumanje, or Rumakje, meaning Romans, being in part, as it appears, descended from Roman colonists in Dacia, who though few in number in comparison with the Dacian or Getic inhabitants, appear to have introduced their language in the populous towns upon the Danube. The Wallachs are inhabitants both of the ancient province of Dacia, namely, of Wallachia, and a part of the territory of Siebenburg, and of Moldavia, and of districts in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly.* Their present idiom is a mixture of the "Romana rustica" with a variety of other languages. Thunmann found that about one-half of the words used by the Wallachs of Thrace are Latin, and that the other half are partly Greek, Gothic, and Turkish, but

said to have been a native of Chalcedon. Olympus, the father of Grecian music, as such held in the highest regard in the time of Plato, and even in the age of Plutarch, was a Phrygian. Strabo (lib. iv. p. 471,) says that the inventors of Grecian music, Orpheus, Musæus, Thamyris, and Eumolpus, were all Thracians. Herodotus relates that at the introduction of the worship of Apollo in Delos, hymns in praise of that god were sung by Olen, a Lycian. Pausanias declares that the Delians chanted the hymns of Olen. He terms the Lycians the oldest composers of Grecian hymns, and it appears from a comparison of the passages above cited from Herodotus, that this is the same Olen who is said to have been the inventor of the hexameter verse. Many accounts of these ancient poets and musicians may have become mystical legends in the days of Plato and Aristotle, but the writers last mentioned must have seen at least some of the powers ascribed to Orpheus, and Pausanias speaks of hymns of Pampus and Musæus as existing in his time. The fact that poetical compositions in the Greek language were in so many instances the production of Thracians, or of persons belonging to tribes akin to the Thracians, seems to prove that the native idiom of Thrace was a dialect of the Greek language.

* Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker. Leipzig, 1774.

principally Slavonian.* It is remarkable that the former portion approximates to the Italian,† and since no connexion can be traced between the modern Italians and the Wallachs, it must be supposed that the vulgar Latinity which was the basis of both languages had many characteristics in common. Adelung conjectures that a part of this striking resemblance between the Wallachian and the modern Italian may be attributed to the influence of Italian monks employed by Gregory II. to bring the people from the Greek to the Romish Church. The mixture of Slavonian words in the Wallachian language is easily explained by the intercourse of the people with Slavic tribes, who, from the time of the emperor Heraclius, are known to have had possessions to the southward of the Danube. The extension of the Wallach people over Siebenburg and Moldavia, is accounted for by political events in their history. It is known that king Ladislaus gave settlements on the Theiss, and in other parts of the Hungarian territory, in 1284, to numerous Wallachs from the countries conquered by Turkey, and that in 1290 the same people founded a state of their own under Rudal the Black, in the present Wallachia, which was for a time dependent on Hungary, and afterwards subject to the Turks.‡

### *Paragraph* 3.—Of the Albanians or Skipetarians.

The people generally known in Europe by the name of Albanians, by the Turks called Arnauts, and by themselves Skipetares, which means in their language "mountaineers" or "dwellers on rocks," inhabit the greater part of the ancient Illyricum and Epirus. They are a hardy and warlike people, and pay only a nominal obedience to the Ottoman Porte. They have a peculiar language, and constitute, as we have observed, a particular race, which is very distinct from the Slavonian inhabitants of the country which borders on them towards the north, as well as from their Turkish and

* Thunmann, ubi supra.

† Thus *noi*, *voi*, and *vi*, *lui*, *lor*, *miei*, are Wallachian pronouns; *tu ai*, *noi avem*, *avut*, *trei*, *frate*, are Wallachian expressions. (Adelung, Mithridat. th. ii.)

‡ Adelung, loc. cit.

Greek neighbours, and they are now generally supposed to be the descendants of the ancient Illyrians and Epirots. The ancient writers, as we have already observed, distinguished the nations thus named from each other, and have left us no intimation that they were in any way connected. But the Albanians who inhabit both Illyricum and Epirus are one people, whose language is only varied by slight modifications of dialect. We must either suppose that the ancient writers were ignorant of the relation between the Epirots and Illyrians, and that the nations so termed were one race,—which is very unlikely, since the first would probably have been known to Scylax, and Strabo, and Pausanias,—or that the Illyrians, who were the most considerable nation, have swallowed up the Epirots, and have extinguished their language. The Illyrians appear to have been pressed southwards by Slavonian hordes, who settled in Dalmatia, forming a part of the Illyrian territory; and they hence extended themselves towards the south, where they now inhabit many districts which never belonged to them in ancient times. The eastern coast of the Adriatic, from the gulf of Drino to the bay of Arta, is the extent of proper Albania from north to south; but the Albanian people are spread much further. They reach not only over all Epirus, but through the northern provinces of Greece, Thessaly, Ætolia, Bœotia, and Attica, and are found in many of the Grecian islands; likewise in Romelia, Servia, and to the very gates of Constantinople. There are also very considerable colonies of the Albanian race on the coast of Calabria and in Sicily, whither they have fled from the arms of the Turks when the latter conquered the Albanian coast, and where they preserve their proper language and religion, which is that of the Greek church.*

Ptolemy is the earliest writer in whose works the name of the Albanians has been distinctly recognised.† This writer mentions a tribe termed Albani, and a city of Albanopolis, in

* Essai sur l'Origine, &c. de la nation Albanienne, par M. Ange Masci.—Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, tom. iii.

† Pliny mentions a people termed Albonenses among the fourteen petty tribes of the Liburni. These, though within the Illyrian country, can hardly be the Albani of Ptolemy.

the region lying to the eastward of the Ionian Sea; and from the names of places with which Albanopolis is connected, it appears clearly to have been in the southern part of the Illyrian territory, and in the modern Albania. How the name of this obscure tribe came to be extended to so considerable a nation, we have no means of even forming a conjecture.

The Albanians are mentioned under the name of Albani and Albanites by some of the late Byzantine historians.* Malte-Brun has cited passages from the life of Michael Palæologus by Pachymerus, and from Cantacazenus, in which they are described as a wild and independent people, living in the mountains to the northward of Acarnania and on the borders of Thessaly.†

Though the name of the Albanians was formerly confined to a comparatively small part of Illyricum, it cannot be supposed that the people who spoke the Albanian language were, at the period referred to, so restricted in their extent. This language is spread through all the country from Arta to Scutari. It is the idiom of all the oldest cities of Albania, and is spoken at Scutari, the ancient Scodra, which was a principal town of Illyricum in the time of Livy, and is still, by the Albanians, called by its ancient name; at Dulcigno, the Olchinum of Pliny; at Dibria, Corona, Durazzo, Chimera, and Dremas, and in Pelagonia, several of which places, as Masci has indicated, were known by name to Strabo, and the writers of times immediately following his age.‡

The Skipetarian race is divided into four principal stems, distinguished by differences of dialect. They are the following: 1. The Guegues and Mirdites, two tribes who speak one dialect, and must be accounted one branch of the nation. The Guegues inhabit the country of Budua, on the border

* Anna Commena, as Malte-Brun observed, first gave this people the name of Arbanites, and to their country that of "το Αρβανον," and Dufresne has cited a MS. poem on the taking of Constantinople, in which the designation of Arbanitia occurs. From Arvanites, the Turks probably derived the name of Arnaout, by which they distinguish the Albanians. (Malte-Brun, ubi supra, p. 175.)

† Pachym. lib. vi. cap. 32.—Cantacazen, lib. ii.—Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, tom. iii. p. 188.

‡ Essai sur l'Origine, les Mœurs et l'Etat actuel de la nation Albanienne, par M. Ange Masci; Trad. de l'Italien; Malte-Brun, Annales des Voyages, tom. iii.

of Cataro, and from Montenero to the limits of Herzegovina and the Antivari on the Adriatic: the Mierdites, who are a brave people, and adhere to the Roman Catholic religion, live in the Paschalik of Croia. 2. The Toxides inhabit the country to the southward of Guêgaria, on the right bank of the Genussus. 3. The Jagys, in the district of Berat and Delvino. 4. The Chumis, on the banks of the Acheron, to whom the Suliotes and Parginotes belong. All the four dialects have the same origin, but each has a character of its own, and is distinguished by particular words and peculiar a sound. This language is said to resemble the French in sound, but not in words.*

The history of the Albanian language has long been a subject of curious inquiry among philologers. A collection of Albanian words was made by Leibnitz.† In 1635, Bianchi published at Rome a meagre vocabulary of this language, entitled Dictionarium Latino-Epiroticum; and in 1716 a grammar of the same idiom by Da Lecce appeared, which Professor Vater republished in 1822 in his "Vergleichungstafeln der europäischen Stamm-Sprachen."‡ These, and a vocabulary of 1200 words by Kawallioti, were all the sources of information that were accessible to Thunmann, whose "Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker" opened the way to a series of curious researches, which have been pursued by ethnological students of later times. Thunmann was, I believe, the first who advanced the opinion, already adverted to, that the Albanians are the descendants of the ancient Epirots and Illyrians. The same hypothesis was supported by Masci, and by Malte-Brun, who translated the memoir of Masci on the Albanian race. The subject has been further elucidated, and the principal facts have been finally established on a firm basis, by a recent author,§ F. Ritter von Xylander,

* Vater, Vergleichungstafeln, S. 136. Ritter von Xylander, S. 291.

† This list has been republished by Malte-Brun at the end of an essay on this race of people by Masci, which has already been cited.

‡ An extract from Da Lecce's "Osservazioni" may be seen in Sir J. Hobhouse's Travels in Albania.

§ Some notices on the grammar, with a collection of words, had previously been published in Leake's Researches.

whose work entitled "Die Sprache der Albanesen oder Schkipetaren," published in 1835, has put us in possession of the most important information on this subject.*

I shall not attempt to review the opinions of former writers on the Albanian language and its relations. Suffice it to say that the work of Xylander appears to have demonstrated certain positions in regard to it, which may briefly be stated as follows:

1. That the language of the Albanians is not, as it was once supposed to be, a mere jargon, compounded of elements derived from a variety of different sources, namely from a mixture of the idioms of surrounding nations, but that it is a peculiar and distinct language, having regular grammatical forms, and an essential character of its own.

2. That it is proved by the evidence of its grammatical inflexion, as well as by the structure and derivation of its vocabulary, to belong to the class of Indo-European languages.

3. That it does not belong to any particular groupe of these languages. It is neither a German nor a Slavonian idiom, nor does it bear any very close and peculiar resemblance to the Greek or Italic dialects.

4. This refutes, as far as it concerns the Illyrian race, the opinion of those who, with the learned author of the Mithridates, suppose all the idioms of nations to the southward of

* F. Ritter von Xylander's work contains a complete grammar of the Albanian language, with a copious vocabulary of Albanian and German, and of German and Albanian words, together with a translation of considerable portions of the New Testament into the Albanian language, and some fragments of national songs. To these are added several parallels between that language and various other European idioms, calculated to illustrate their mutual relations. It is from these data that the conclusions stated in the text result. We may observe that many parts of the grammatical inflexion are strikingly Indo-European, as the personal pronouns, and the declensions of nouns. We find *s* the sign of the genitive, *n* of the accusative; *era*, *er*, *ora*, the plural endings, like the *er*, *ar*, *or* of the Northern German. In the genitive and dative pl. *abet*, *ebet*, and *ibet*, come near to the *ābhyus* of the Sanskrit, and *ābus* of the Latin dative. The following are some particular words corresponding in Sanskrit and Albanian: S. nri, nara, A. nieri, *man*; S. mahat, A. mad, *great*; S. gau, A. kaou, *ox*; S. krimi, A. krimp, *worm*; S. asthi, A. eshte, *bones*; S. druh, A. drou, *tree*; S. pa, A. pi, *drink*; S. para, A. pare, *first*; S. mala, A. malli, *hill*; S. stira, A. stere, *land*; S. purusha, A. pourre, *man*. (V. Xylander, 298.)

the Danube to belong to one groupe of languages, including Illyrian, Thracian, Pelasgian, and Phrygian dialects, and regard all the tribes who spoke these dialects as branches of one stock, which may be termed indifferently Thracian or Pelasgian. The bordering nations on the northern frontier of Greece, if we may form an estimate from the Albanian language of the idioms of the Epirotic nations and Illyrians, were not related by any ties of near consanguinity with the Greeks. The Illyrian and the Greek are kindred languages, but are not more closely allied than are the Greek and Slavonic, or the German and Celtic dialects.

It must be observed, that this observation does not apply with full force to the Thracians and their language, since we have no proofs that the languages of the Thracians and Illyrians were connected. We have already adverted to some considerations which render it probable that the Thracians were more nearly allied to the Hellenic race.

## Section VI.—*Of the Hellenic Race.*

### *Paragraph* 1.—Of the country and people of Greece.

A line drawn from the Ambracian to the Maliac gulf, separates the primitive land of the Greeks from the countries immediately to the northward of it, namely, from Epirus and Macedonia. To the southward of this line are the mountainous tracts lying to the northward of the Corinthian gulf, from Acarnania to Bœotia, and all the rest of Greece. Perhaps the valley of the Peneus, further to the northward, lying between Mount Olympus and Mount Pindus, ought to be included within the primitive land of the Greeks, but a part of Thessaly originally belonged, as we have seen, according to Strabo, to the Thracians. The Thracian part of it was probably the northern border or Mount Olympus. Such were the confined limits of the celebrated Grecian race. Even within this narrow extent were to be found tribes whose claim to the Hellenic name was doubtful. It would be difficult to discover in this small and not remarkably productive tract the physical qualities which fitted it to be the cradle of the

most noble tribe of the human race, on whom nature bestowed the most perfect organisation of body, with the fullest developement of all the mental powers, enabling them in a few centuries not only to outstrip all the former acquirements of the human mind, but to display in every effort of the imagination and of the intellect an admirable and unrivalled perfection. It is only in mental acquirements which call for the accumulated labour of many ages that the nations of Western Europe, and that only within the last two centuries, can enter into any comparison with the ancient Greeks. A language the most expressive and eloquent of human idioms, and the most perfect instrument of human thought, was their first production, during unknown ages; and to ages little better known belong the majesty and beauty of the unrivalled Homeric poems. Long afterwards, during the lapse of two centuries from the time of Pericles, the barren Attica brought into existence, and to scarcely imitable perfection, sculpture and painting, rhetoric and oratory, dramatic literature, dialectics, the science of ethics, the Stoic and Epicurean, the Platonic and Peripatetic systems of philosophy. In the discovery of mathematical sciences other Grecian states came in for a proportional share of fame. In considering what the Greeks collectively have contributed towards the progressive improvement of the human mind, the greatness of their achievements is truly astonishing. What is most remarkable is the fact, that they derived little or no assistance from without: other cultivated nations have obtained much aid from their neighbours or predecessors; Greece may be said to have begun and to have carried forward the culture of the human intellect to the highest perfection unaided and alone.

It is difficult to account for the superior excellence of the Greeks in all the productions of the human mind, unless we may ascribe it mainly to the superior natural endowments of the race. This race was an offset from the same stock which produced the nations who spoke the Celtic, the Gothic, and the Slavonic languages, and still more nearly allied to those whose more cultivated idioms were the Sanskrit and the Latin. Are we to attribute the difference between all these nations, and the superiority of some over others, to physical influences

depending on the local conditions of their several abodes? If this is allowed, there is still another problem to be explained. How has it come to pass that after the Greeks had, within the space of a few centuries, achieved so much more than any other nation in the world, they have been ever since that era almost entirely without any display of mental power, and that during many centuries, although possessed of singular advantages when compared with the western nations of Europe, they have appeared inferior to several of them in all the manifestations of moral and intellectual endowments? It would appear as if races, as well as individuals, have their period of growth, their acme, and their decay. The Greeks of the present time retain only the astuteness of their forefathers: they display neither their genius and mental activity, nor their magnanimity and devotion of selfish interests to high moral principles.

*Paragraph* 2.—Of the aborigines of Greece, and of foreign colonies.

Were the Greeks, namely, the people whose vernacular idiom was the Hellenic language, divided into its four great dialects, the aboriginal inhabitants, that is, the primitive and native people of Greece, or had that country been previously occupied by inhabitants of a different race who were subdued or expelled by their Grecian conquerors? Some of the ancient writers, among whom we reckon Strabo, declare that Greece was originally occupied wholly or in great part by barbaric nations. But before we attempt to weigh the testimony of these writers on such a question, we must consider what they mean to assert.

Strabo, after surveying the country of the Epirots and Illyrian tribes, says, "We have thus enumerated those nations who appear worthy of notice, near the Danube and the Illyrian and Thracian mountains: they inhabit the whole coast of the Adriatic, from the utmost recess of that sea, as well as the left coast of the Euxine, from the mouth of the Danube to Byzantium. There yet remain to be described the southern tracts of that mountainous region and the places situated below them: here lies Hellas, with which the barbaric country

is conterminous. Hecatæus, the Milesian, "he continues," has reported concerning the Peloponnesus, that it was occupied by barbarians before the Greeks possessed it. But nearly the whole of Greece in ancient times seems to have been inhabited by barbarians, if we may judge from the memorials handed down. For Pelops brought with him people from Phrygia into Peloponnesus, which took its name from him, as did Danaus from Egypt: and Dryopes, Caucones, and Pelasgi, Leleges, and other tribes of a similar description, obtained settlements within the isthmus. For the Thracians who had come with Eumolpus had occupied Attica and Tereus the Phocian Daulis, the Phœnicians, companions of Cadmus, Cadmeia, the Aones, Tembices, and Hyantes Bœotia, whence Pindar said,

ἠν ὅτε Ὑας Βοιώτιον ἔθνος ἔνεπον.

Moreover, some of the Greek names proclaim barbarity, as Cecrops, Codrus, Aeclus, Cothus, Drymas, Crinanus, and we know that Thracians, Illyrians, and Epirots surround Greece on every side."* It seems from this that the barbaric nations said to have inhabited Greece, were chiefly the colonies which are reported to have arrived in later time, and to have contributed to civilise the formerly wild and rude inhabitants. Such were the followers of Cecrops and Danaus. The rest were the Pelasgi and tribes generally reckoned as coeval with that people, sometimes identified with them, but generally distinguished from them, as the Leleges and Caucones, the Temmices, Taphii, Teleboi, and Curetes.

Some have doubted the reality of these reported colonisations of Greece from foreign countries, such as the arrival of Danaus and Cecrops from Egypt in Argolis and in Attica, that of Cadmus from Phœnicia in Bœotia, and the settlement of Pelops from Asia Minor in Lacedæmon. But these traditions were too universal to be the product of chance or mere fiction. Their authenticity is supported, as Wachsmuth has well observed, by the existence and preservation in various Grecian states of foreign forms of worship. With these foreign rites peculiar sacerdotal races were connected, and

* Strabo, vii. p. 321.

their oriental character cannot be mistaken or confounded with the prevalent ritual and religion of the Greeks. The colonists were probably never numerous, but their influence was sufficient to introduce many arts, as that of writing, which is the most palpably of foreign origin, as well as many traits of oriental culture among the native Greeks. The new colonies likewise introduced new names, as those of the Pelopidæ, Danaidæ, Cecropidæ, and Cadmeians, but no considerable change can be supposed to have taken place in the population or in the language of the primitive inhabitants.

*Paragraph* 3.—Of the Pelasgi and other aboriginal tribes.

Of the native tribes of ancient Greece among whom these foreign colonies acquired a settlement, the Pelasgi were by so much the most celebrated that their fame has eclipsed that of all the rest: they appear to have been at a very early period, if not from the first, possessed of the greater part of Greece, and therefore an inquiry as to the original population of Greece depends in a great measure on what we can discover concerning the Pelasgi. But it will not be difficult, before we proceed to that question, to point out nearly what countries in Greece are excepted from the domain of the Pelasgi.

We have observed that Eubœa was originally inhabited by a tribe termed Abantes, who were of Thracian origin.

We are informed by Herodotus that Crete was at first inhabited by barbarians.* He does not say of what race they were, but we collect this from other quarters. Diodorus calls them Eteo-cretæans, and says that the primitive Cretans, or Eteo-cretans, were joined at a later period by Pelasgi.†

The coast of Ionia and the islands of the Ægean appear to have been inhabited, not by Pelasgi but by Leleges, who were blended or identified with the Carians. In the opinion of Herodotus, and in that of Strabo, the Carians and Leleges were one race. Herodotus says that the Carians were called Leleges while they possessed the islands of the Ægean, but that those tribes of the same race who remained on the continent retained the name of Carians. The Caunians also, who inhabited parts of

* Herod. lib. v. c. 173.

† Diod. Siculus, Biblioth. lib. v.

the same continent, spoke the Carian language. They derived themselves from Crete, and Herodotus says that the Lycians also originated from that island. From these reports we cannot adopt the conclusion that the nations of Lesser Asia were derived from the islands, but we may infer that the coast of Lesser Asia and the islands, including those of the Ægean and Crete, were peopled by the same race who possessed Caria, Lycia, and other parts of the Asiatic coast.

Strabo confirms this account. He says that the Carians were formerly islanders and called Leleges, till with the aid of the Cretans they gained possession of the continent, and built towns in Caria and the country afterwards called Lycia.

The name of Leleges, however, belonged not only to inhabitants of the islands, but of the coast also. Antandros, on the shore southward of Troas, was, according to Alcæus, a town of the Leleges,* and on this coast they are placed by Homer.† Strabo says that the people of the coast who were driven out by the insular Leleges, were themselves chiefly Leleges and Pelasgi.‡ In the seventh book this geographer collects several notices of the history of these people. He says, that some supposed the Leleges to be the same as the Carians; others the inmates and near allies of that people. He adds, that all the country, afterwards called Ionia, was before inhabited by the Carians and Leleges; that dwellings remained to his time which had belonged to the Leleges; and that in many places in Caria there were tombs and solitary hillocks, which were termed Lelegia, as having belonged to the Leleges.§ That they were barbarians, he says, appears from their close alliance with the Carians.‖

The Leleges, and their brethren the Carians, were of old closely allied to the Pelasgi, and Strabo says that their language contained a great many Greek words. According to

* Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 606. † Iliad, Φ. 87.

‡ Strab. ubi supra, p. 606. § Strab. lib. vii. p. 321.

‖ Carians appears to have been the original name, and it seems that the same people were afterwards called Leleges. The historical traditions of Megara related that in the twelfth generation after *Car*, the mythical patriarch of the Carians, Lelex came from Egypt to Megara, and gave his name to the people. See Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece, i. p. 43.

him they were termed by Homer "*βαρβαρόφωνοι*," not because their language was altogether foreign to the Greek, but as speaking impure Greek, the Carians often serving through Greece as stipendiary soldiers.

In Greece the Locrians were, by authors of undoubted credit, and by a general consent, derived from the Leleges.*

The Locrians were accounted Greeks, and it seems evident that the original people of Caria, Crete, and the islands, and of many parts of Lesser Asia, were tribes not remotely foreign to the Grecian race.

Among these ancient races the Pelasgi were the most conspicuous: their fame eclipsed that of the contemporary tribes, and we find them by some writers mentioned as the sole primitive inhabitants of Greece.

Thessaly was a Pelasgian country. Niebuhr terms it the second great seat of the Pelasgic people. A part of Thessaly retained till the latest times the name of Pelasgiotis. The Thessalian Larissa was a Pelasgian settlement. By Homer, either the whole plain of Thessaly or a part of it was termed the Pelasgian Argos. The name of Argos, as we are assured by Strabo, meant in the language of Thessaly a plain or land of tillage. It seems to have been a designation given to the level country both in Thessaly and in Peloponnesus. In Attica the tribe of Argadeis were tillers of the plain, as the Ægicoreis were goatherds of the mountains. Another Pelasgic name, that of Larissa, belonged to many Pelasgic towns or fortresses. The *Λάρισσα ἐριβώλαξ* of Homer is supposed to have belonged to the Pelasgi settled in the plain of Troas, who were allies of Priam in the Trojan war, and Strabo has mentioned three Larissas in Asia which have been thought likely to be the town mentioned in the Iliad. Besides the Thessalian Larissa, there were places bearing the same name in Crete, in Attica, in Peloponnesus, near Mitylene, and near Mount Ossa. Strabo has probably given the true explanation of this fact in the remark, that the towns called by that name were situated

* So Strabo, following Aristotle; also Dionys. of Halicarnassus, lib. i. cap. xvii. Scymnus Chius and Dicæarchus mention the same fact. See Falconer's Notes on Strabo, tom. ii. p. 466. of the Oxford edition.

on alluvions near the mouths of rivers, as those of Caystrus, Hermus, and Peneus.* By these two names of Argos and Larissa, Pelasgian settlements are to be recognised, as Niebuhr and others have observed, in various parts of Greece and the neighbouring countries.

The Pelasgi are represented as possessing many other parts of European Greece besides Thessaly. The Peloponnesus is universally acknowledged to have belonged to them from immemorial time. Thus they are described by Æschylus in a celebrated passage of the Supplices. In this the poet introduces Pelasgus, the king of the aboriginal Greeks, as addressing Danaus, who arrives with a foreign colony in the Peloponnesus. He claims the sovereignty of all Greece, comprehending the peninsula and the mainland as far northward as the Strymon in Thrace and the river Algos either in Illyria or in Macedonia. If the boundaries of Pelasgia, as described by Æschylus, are geographically correct, that name must have extended, as Niebuhr has observed, over the whole of Greece. The passage is as follows:

*Τοῦ γηγενοῦς γάρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ Παλαίχθονος*
*ἶνις Πελασγὸς, τῆσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέτης,*
*ἐμοῦ δ' ἄνακτος εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμον*
*γένος Πελασγῶν τήνδε καρποῦται χθόνα.*

Pelasgus is well known to have been a mythical person representing the native people of Peloponnesus, and especially of Arcadia. His name stands at the head of the list of Arcadian kings given by Pausanias, and the story of his birth from the Grecian soil is found again in a passage of the ancient poet Asius of Samos,† cited likewise by Pausanias:

*Ἀντιθεόν τε Πελασγὸν ἐν ὑψικόμοις ὀρέεσσι*
*Γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν, ἵνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη.*

'The black earth brought forth the godlike Pelasgus that the race of mortals might have existence.'

It is important to take notice of the reason why the Pelasgic name, spread as it had been through various parts of

* Strabon. lib. ix. p. 440. Idem, lib. xiii. p. 620.

† Asius of Samos is supposed to have lived as early as the beginning of the Olympiads.

Greece, continued to be associated with Arcadia. That country being a mountainous tract in the interior of the peninsula, retained its original population unmixed, while the parts near the coast are said to have undergone revolutions and to have received foreign colonies. For this fact we have the express assurance of Thucydides, who mentions it as well known and fully admitted, that Arcadia always retained its old inhabitants amidst all the changes of population which other parts of Greece underwent. We learn from Aristophanes that this was the popular opinion in Greece, and that the Arcadians were derided, as if they claimed to be older than the moon. Herodotus has given the same information in the notices which he has collected and handed down respecting the origin of the rites of Grecian superstition. "The ceremonies termed Thesmophoria were," as he declares, "brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaus, and by them revealed to the Pelasgian women; but in after times, when the people from all the rest of the Peloponnesus were driven out by the Dorians, this mystery fell into disuse. Those among the Peloponnesians," he adds, "who remained and were not driven out, namely, the Arcadians, alone preserved them."* To the Arcadians, however, Strabo adds the inhabitants of Elis: he says, "The former were a people of the mountains, and their country did not fall under the lot which divided the rest of Peloponnesus among the Heracleids: the latter were deemed sacred to Olympic Jupiter, and long remained in peace; they had given entertainment to Oxylus, at the return of the Heracleidæ, and were therefore left unmolested." Strabo adds, that these two nations retained the old language of the native Peloponnesians, while the people of other parts underwent changes greater or less in their idiom. What this old Peloponnesian and, as it would appear, old Pelasgian language was, we shall presently inquire.

In other parts of Peloponnesus it was reported that the people had been Pelasgian before the arrival of foreigners in-

* Herod. lib. ii. The same writer, in enumerating several of the nations of the Peloponnesus who joined the Ionian migration, terms the Arcadians "Αρκαδες Πελασγοί."

troduced new names and new divisions. In the drama of Orestes by Euripides, the people of Argos are thus addressed:

ὦ γῆν Ἰνάχου κεκτημένοι,
πάλαι Πελασγοί, Δαναΐδαι δὲ δεύτερον.

'O you who possess the land of Inachus, formerly Pelasgi, but afterwards called Danaidæ.'

*Paragraph* 4.—Transition to the Hellenic name.

We must now come to the question, at what period did the inhabitants of Greeee cease to be termed Pelasgi, and what occasioned the change? When were they Hellenes or Greeks, and were the Hellenes a new population or the old one under a different name?

We have seen that the Pelasgi were, according to an extensively spread tradition, the true aborigines of Greece, the indigenous people, born from the soil according to the prevalent notion of antiquity. There seems to have been not the slightest notion of any previous inhabitants.

Thucydides has observed that the people of Greece were not termed Hellenes till after the Homeric age. He intimates that this was the result of political changes. The only Hellenes known to Homer were the followers of Achilles from Phthiotis. From them this name was spread by the influence of military alliances to the tribes of Thessaly. How it came long afterwards to become the national designation of the Greeks, Thucydides apparently knew not: he has expressed a doubtful opinion on this point, upon which Herodotus has touched with equal reserve. One thing is clear: neither of these writers supposed that any expulsion of the old inhabitants of Greece had taken place on this occasion, but only the substitution of a new name, the result of some political revolutions. We hear of no other event in the history of Greece with which it can be associated, but the Dorian conquest and the return of the Heracleids. However this may have been, the Homeric nations, before the Hellenic period or the prevalence of the Hellenic name, were named, as Thucydides says, after some leading tribe, sometimes Achivi, Danai, Argivi. These nations, the Homeric Greeks, were assuredly the same people who were afterwards termed Hel-

lenes. But were they the same people as the Pelasgi? Homer never terms them Pelasgi: his Pelasgi were only some particular tribes; and when Thucydides says that of old the Pelasgian name had been the most widely extended in Greece, he must refer to an earlier age.

The period at which the inhabitants of Greece were termed chiefly Pelasgi is clearly apparent from some passages already cited. The people of Argos were *πάλαι Πελασγοί, Δαναΐδαι δὲ δέυτερον*—they were Pelasgi till the settlement of foreigners among them, and by Herodotus, as above cited, the same thing is asserted of the Arcadians.

### *Paragraph* 5.—Of the Greek language, and of the language of the Pelasgi.

The Greek language presents in its own structure a conclusive refutation of an hypothesis which represents it as of mixed formation. It displays unequivocal marks of a genuine and primitive origin, and, as Wachsmuht observes, "the strength of pure and unmixed growth, so that the subsequent external accessions, the few foreign expressions by the side of a stock of words naturally and regularly derived from simple roots, appear insulated, and incapable of transfusing themselves into the inner essence and genius of the language." With regard to the similarity of idiom among the single tribes, which as the result of a common origin may be traced even in the modifications of its dialects, Homer's testimony, and the inference to be drawn from his emphatical mention of the harsh language of the Carians and Sintians, are deserving of particular attention. It may safely be denied that either the simple elements of the language, or a supply of already matured forms, could have been brought with them by foreigners, which afterwards prevailed to such an extent as to supplant an anterior language in Greece.

The Greek language was then a nearly unmixed idiom, elaborated from primitive elements, which, however, were common to it and to many other Indo-European idioms both in the east and west. The laws of inflection and developement are likewise common in many instances to the Greek, the Sanskrit, Latin, and Mœso-Gothic.

What then was the language of the Pelasgi? Herodotus confesses his inability to solve this question in a satisfactory manner, but he says that if he could draw an inference from the idiom spoken in certain Pelasgian towns upon the Hellespont, it must have been barbaric, that is, not Greek. The Pelasgi inhabiting Crestona,* in the inland country above the Tyrrheni, on the coast of Thrace, who, as he says, had previously dwelt in Thessaly near the Dorians, and another Pelasgian tribe, who had colonised Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, having previously been neighbours of the Athenians, as well as the people of some other Pelasgic towns, were unintelligible to all their neighbours; yet the inhabitants or Crestona understood those of Placia. From this it seems a very reasonable inference that the Pelasgic language was different from the Greek. Yet this conclusion is so fully contradicted by all that we know of the early history of Greece, that it cannot be admitted in its full and more obvious meaning.

The tribes mentioned by Herodotus were the last relics of the Pelasgian name: and the Pelasgians who at this late period spoke a peculiar idiom, must have acquired this difference or peculiarity of their speech in the course of a long

* Crestona, as every reader of ancient history well knows, has been conjectured to have been a place not in Thrace or in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos, but to be erroneously written instead of Croton in Umbria, which the Pelasgi are said to have conquered; and Herodotus is supposed to say that the Pelasgi of Placia, on the Hellespont, spoke the same language as the Pelasgi in the interior of Northern Italy. This notion was first suggested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who probably quoted Herodotus from very imperfect recollection. It was adopted by Count Caylus, the author of a very elaborate but fanciful work on Etruscan Antiquities. Larcher thought it scarcely worthy of refutation, but the learned Niebuhr embraced and defended the hypothesis. The question, if I may venture to express an opinion, has been finally settled by K. Otfried Müller, who observed that there were two places in Thrace, of which the names are essentially the same, though different in form from that of the Herodotean Crotona, and that the Crestonian land (τὸ Κρηστωνικὸν), according to Thucydides, reached into the peninsula of Athos. This, it can hardly be doubted, was the place meant by Herodotus: since it lay precisely, as he says, beyond the Tyrrheni, namely, beyond or above the district where in fact Thucydides places the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi. It is extremely improbable that Herodotus made an allusion here to a distant place in Northern Italy, with the language of which, as even of its existence, it is unlikely that he had the most remote acquaintance, especially as he appears to have made no reference whatever to Italy, but was employed in discussing the relations of eastern tribes, and of the people on the Hellespont.

separation from the great body of the people descended from the Pelasgi of the Peloponnesus and of Attica. Perhaps they only differed as the descendants of Angles and Danes in England now differ from their brethren in Holstein and Denmark.

The old Pelasgic language was doubtless the idiom that originally prevailed in the Peloponnesus among the primitive Arcadians, and the people of Argos, and the Achæans of the northern coast, who, as Herodotus declares, were termed Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες, or Sea-coast Pelasgi. This language was the Æolic Greek.

I shall compare with these remarks Strabo's account of the dialects of the Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece.

After marking the extension of the Æolic nation and of their language in other parts of Greece, that geographer adds the following remarks:

"Those people who dwelt within the isthmus," that is, in Peloponnesus, "were formerly Æolians, but they afterwards became mixed; for some Ionians from Attica got possession of Ægialus," that is, the country afterwards called Achaia, "and the descendants of Hercules brought with them the Dorians, by whom Megara and many of the cities in the Peloponnesus were founded. The Ionians, however, were soon driven out again by the Achaians, who were an Æolic nation, and the two other races then remained in the Peloponnesus, namely, the Æolians and the Dorians. Those who had least intercourse with the Dorians continued to speak the Æolic dialect; this was the case with the Arcadians and Eleans; the former were a people of the mountains, and their country did not fall under the lot; and the latter were deemed sacred to Olympic Jupiter, and had lived a long time in peace; they were besides of Æolic descent, and had given entertainment to the army of Oxylus at the return of the Heraclidæ. The rest speak a sort of mixed language between the two dialects, some having more of the Æolic and some less, and even now particular cities differ from each other in speech; but they are all considered to follow the Dorian fashion, on account of the predominant power of that people."

It therefore seems to be unquestionable, since the fact that Arcadia never changed its inhabitants, that the Pelasgic

speech was the Æolic dialect of the Greek language. The Æolic is generally considered to be the oldest form of the Greek language, and the common original from which the other dialects deviate.

1. The Attic has several forms which are common to it and the Æolic, and which disappear in the late Attic writers, and are considered as archaisms. 2. The Ionic and Attic are modifications of one principal dialect. "We deem," says Strabo, "the Ionic dialect to be the same with the ancient Attic; for the Attic people of those times were termed Iones, and from them originated the Iones who settled colonies in Asia, and who speak the language now termed Ionic." 3. With respect to the remaining Greek dialect, the Doric, Strabo affirms it to have been originally Æolic. He says that the Dorians inhabited a secluded tract of Mount Parnassus, and being a small tribe, and cut off from the rest of the Greeks, gradually deviated somewhat in customs and in dialect from their ancestors, who were nevertheless originally Æoles and spoke the Æolic language. Pindar confirms this remark; he calls his muse Doric and Æolic in the same ode:*

*.....ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀ-*
*πὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου*
*λάμβαν'....*

and again:

*.....ἐμὲ δὲ στεφανῶσαι*
*κεῖνον ἱππικῷ νομῷ*
*Αἰολητίδι μολπᾷ*
*χρῆ.*

The Ionian branch of the Greek nation retained the name of Pelasgi longer than the Æolians and Dorians. Hence we find the Ionians termed in distinction Pelasgi by many writers; this is not only to be observed of the Ionians who colonised the coast of Achæa, and were termed Pelasgi of Ægialus, but also of their brethren of Attica.† That the Peloponnesians, however, were originally Æolians or Pelasgians, we have seen abundantly proved.

It seems certain from these considerations that the Pelasgic language was Æolic Greek.

* Pindar, Olympic, i.

† Herod. Polymnia, cap. 94, 95. Scymnus Chius, apud Huds. t. i.

It appears from Strabo's account, that of the four Grecian tribes the Æolians were by far the most widely spread, since they occupied originally the greater part of the Peloponnesus, and all the remainder of Greece, with the exception of Attica, where the Attic dialect prevailed, and Megara and Doris, to the northward of the Corinthian gulf, where the Doric dialect was spoken. The Ionic race, originally a branch of the Æolian, was confined to the northern parts of the Peloponnesus and Attica. The Dorians, who were the first people termed Hellenes, and by whose military power and influence that name came to be extended to the rest of the Greek nation, introduced their language into the peninsula in that celebrated invasion which changed the face of Greece.

*Recapitulation.*

The Pelasgi appear to have been the earliest known inhabitants of several parts of Greece, particularly of the inland parts, for it was in later times that they became, or rather that some tribes of them became a seafaring people and dwelt upon the islands and coasts. In Peloponnesus they possessed Argolis and Arcadia, as likewise the northern coast, afterwards called Achaia, when they were designated Pelasgi Littorales, or Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες. That all the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus were Pelasgi we cannot affirm, but as the language of the Pelasgi was Æolic Greek, and as this was the general idiom of the peninsula, it is probable that the whole of that country was peopled by nations allied to the Pelasgi by consanguinity. The Pelasgi possessed also Attica and Thessaly. Bœotia, Locris, and Ætolia seem to have been inhabited by Leleges and other races reported to have been distinct from the Pelasgi. Some of these were wandering maritime tribes who spread themselves over the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor.

When the people of Attica and different parts of the Peloponnesus and Bœotia, either by the accession of new colonies or by the gradual progress of social improvement, and by intercourse with more cultivated nations, had become civilised and dwelt in cities, and formed different states which assumed new names, their connexion with the old Pelasgi became loosened and gradually forgotten. The Arcadians were

the only people in the southern parts of Greece who remained unchanged. In Thessaly the aboriginal Pelasgi were overcome and expelled by more warlike and enterprising tribes, and they sought refuge, as we have seen, in the countries lying both towards the east and west.

After these revolutions and during some ages, the Grecian people had no collective name; they were termed Argives, Achæans, Danaidæ, indifferently. It was in a similar manner, and owing to the superior military influence of the Hellenes, that the name of that tribe became subsequently predominant. The account of this change given by Thucydides is well known.

The Tyrsenian or Tyrrhenian Pelasgi were particular wandering bands of the Pelasgic race, who came in time to differ in language from their stationary brethren, so that they were in the days of Herodotus unintelligible to the Greeks.

On the whole, we may conclude that the Pelasgi were the original stock from which the different stems of the Greek population ramified. That the other contributory races were originally akin to the Pelasgi, we may infer from the unity of language in all parts of Greece. The Pelasgi spoke the old dialect, the mother tongue, if we may so term it, the idiom which gave birth to all the other Grecian dialects.

## Section VII.—*Of the Nations of Lesser Asia.*

It is remarkable, when we consider the frequent intercourse of the Greeks with the civilised nations of Asia Minor, and their local proximity to Lydia, Phrygia, and other countries of which Hellenic colonists occupied the sea border, that we should have drawn from the Greek writers so little information respecting the history of these nations. There were several Greek authors, natives of Asia, before Herodotus, whose writings are supposed to have given assistance to that historian in composing several parts of his more celebrated work.* Among these were Hecatæus and Hellanicus of Mile-

* Herodotus is said by Porphyry (Euseb. Præp. Evang. x. 2,) to have taken from Hecatæus his account of the phœnix, and that of the crocodile and hippo-

tus, and Xanthus the Lydian, who is said to have lived at the time when Sardis was taken by the Athenians, namely, in the 70th Olympiad, and to have written the history of Lydia in four books. But these works are lost, and it is only in the first book of Herodotus that we find any continuous narrative of the events of Lydian history, or of that of Asia Minor during a few ages preceding the conquests of Cyrus.

The establishment of the Persian power over Lesser Asia brought that country into immediate connection with the great empires of the East. History gives us no clear intimation of any earlier extension of the eastern monarchies in this direction, yet it is not improbable that the Semitic or Syro-Arabian dynasties had previously spread their sway into the countries bordering on the Euxine, and to the northward of Mount Taurus. Herodotus assures us that the Cappadocians were by the Greeks termed Syrians,* and Strabo declares, that the inhabitants of both Cappadocias, namely, the Pontic and that on Mount Taurus, were called, till his time, Leuco-Syri, or White Syrians, as distinguishing them from tribes to the southward of Mount Taurus, who, as he says, were said to be Σύροι Μελάνες or "Black Syrians."†

Dionysius the geographer and other ancient writers place the Assyrians on the Thermodon.‡ The Lydians have been supposed by most of the moderns who have studied the geography of the Hebrew scriptures, to be the Ludin who are mentioned in the Toldoth Beni-Noah, among the Shemite nations; and this affinity seems to derive confirmation from the tradition preserved by Herodotus, and doubtless handed down among the Lydians themselves, that, in ancient times, and before the erection of the monarchy of Sardian kings, of whom Gyges

tamus. Strabo and Suidas testify that Herodotus borrows much from Hecatæus. We learn from Ephorus, (Athenæus, xi. 3,) that the Λυδιακὰ of Xanthus gave occasion to the composition of the Lydian history of Herodotus. (See Fabricii Bibl. Græc. ed. Harles. tom. iii. p. 349.)

* Herod. lib. i. cap. 72; item lib. vii. cap. 72.

† Strabon, lib. xvi. p. 737; item lib. xii.

‡ Dionys. Perieg. v. 772; vide Eustath. ad locum. Ptolemy has also the term Leuco-Syri, and Apollonius, lib. iii. calls Cappadocia Assyria.

was the first and Crœsus the last, an earlier dynasty had ruled over the Mæonian people, founded by Agron a son of Ninus, a son of Belus.*

But the connection of these nations with the Syro-Arabian race must have been in ages of very remote antiquity. The fact that any Shemite nation reached so far to the northward is doubted by Gesenius, because no Phœnician inscriptions have been discovered in Lesser Asia or to the northward of Cilicia. The Syrians in the time of Herodotus bore, as that writer affirms, a great resemblance to the Greeks, and there seems to be strong reason to believe that the nations of Lesser Asia who are chiefly known to us were of Indo-European origin, if not intimately connected with the Greeks and Thracians.

It was a very prevalent notion among the Greeks, that several of the tribes in Asia Minor were colonists from Europe. This opinion was adopted by Xanthus, by Herodotus, and in later times by Apollodorus, Posidonius, and Strabo. I shall examine the statements of these writers after I have adverted to some considerations which tend on the other hand to prove that nations described were of great antiquity in Asia.

Three of the principal nations of Lesser Asia were the Carians, the Mysians, and the Lydians.

The Carians, Lydians, and Mysians were, according to a well-supported tradition, branches of one stock. We are informed by Herodotus that the Carians showed at Mylassa a very ancient structure, built in honour of the Carian Jupiter. The Lydians and Mysians were admitted to partake in the sacred rites and ceremonies there celebrated, as being of the same origin with the Carians. All the three nations were reputed to belong to one kindred. An ancient myth declared that they were the offspring of three brothers, named Lydus, Mysus, and Cares.†

The affinity attested by this ancient mythos and by the association in sacred rites was further confirmed by a connection in language which extended beyond the three nations already mentioned, and included the Phrygians, a fourth powerful and widely-spread people of Lesser Asia. Xanthus the Lydian,

* Herod. loc. cit.

† Herod. i. c. 171.

and Menecrates the Elaite, maintained, as we are informed by Strabo, that the Mysians were connected with the Lydians as well as with the Phrygians, and that they appealed to the evidence of the Mysian language, which at the same time bore an evident resemblance to the dialects both of Phrygia and Lydia—"*μιξολύδιον γὰρ πῶς εἶναι καὶ μιξοφρύγιον.*" Herodotus had long before plainly declared that the Mysians were a colony from the Lydians, and the same opinion was held by Xanthus and by Menecrates.*

The Phrygians were included by the Greeks, together with the Mysians, among the tribes to whom they assigned a European origin, but both the Phrygians and Lydians appear to have had historical records of their own which represented them as primitive nations of Asia. Their arts and sciences, their peculiar ceremonies and superstitions, go far towards establishing that conclusion. The Phrygians, as we hear from Herodotus, claimed for themselves the highest antiquity, and asserted that their language was the most ancient in the world. The worship of Cybele, under her various names, was confessedly very ancient in Asia Minor, and the mythical legends connected with it seem to associate the Phrygians with the primitive Greeks.† The Corybantes, the Cabiri, the Idæi Dactyli, the Curetes, were orders of priests accounted by the Greeks as not altogether barbaric or foreign to their own mythology like the Magi or the Druids. The ceremonies and mythology of these orders were connected with the Greek or with the Pelasgic. An ancient myth preserved by Suidas placed in Phrygia a king Nannacus, who reigned before the flood of Deucalion drowned all mankind;‡ and Arnobius and other writers have preserved other but somewhat similar legends, which connect the deluge of Deucalion locally with Phrygia, and represent that country as the seat of the primitive as well as of the postdiluvian ancestor of men. With this we associate the opinion of Herodotus that the Phrygians were related to the Armenians, and we may conjec-

* Herod. lib. vii. cap. 74; Strabo, lib. xii. p. 295.

† Arnobius contra Gentes, lib. viii. Euseb. Præf. Evang. lib. xxiv. Apollodorus, lib. iii.

‡ Suidas voce *Νανναϰος*.

ture that the antediluvian Nannacus was Noah. Nannacus was the Phrygian name of the king or patriarch who reigned just before the Flood, and it is probable that he was termed Deucalion only by the Greeks, who liberally bestowed on foreign gods or heroes or historical personages names derived from their own mythology.

The Lydians are said by Herodotus to have resembled the Greeks in their manners and in almost every particular. The Lydian women were very unchaste. This, says the historian, was the only characteristic difference between the two nations. As he has not made a similar remark of any other nation, the resemblance which struck him must have been very strongly marked.

Many traits may be collected in the history of the nations of Asia Minor, which seem to connect them with the Iranian and other eastern races.

The Mysians, according to Posidonius, abstained from animal food from a religious scruple against destroying life; they were devoted to the worship of the gods, and had a multitude of superstitions.*

It appears that Magianism and the worship of fire, after the Persian custom, was extensively spread in Asia Minor, where however it may have been introduced during the reigns of the Persian conquerors. Pausanias has described fire-temples in Lydia, where the priests, after arranging the wood, repeated litanies out of a book in a barbarous tongue while the flame caught. In Cappadocia, according to Strabo, who had visited that country, there were many fire-temples, and other temples of the Persian gods, particularly of Anaitis and Omanos, where the Magi maintained a perpetual fire, and performed sacrifices in a peculiar manner. Strabo was eye-witness to a ceremony in which the statue of the god Omanos was carried in procession. It would hence seem that the superstition of the Cappadocians was rather of Assyrian than of Persian origin.†

I shall now collect the statements which the ancient writers

* Posidon. apud Strabon, lib. vii. † Strab. xv. p. 733.

have left respecting the supposed origination of the natives of Lesser Asia from Europe.

Herodotus declares that the Bithynians were a Thracian tribe who in earlier times had lived near the river Strymon. He says that they were expelled from Europe by the Mysians and Teucrians, well known Thracian tribes, and passing over into Asia were called Bithynians.* The soldiers of this tribe in the army of Xerxes wore helmets of brass surmounted by the horns and ears of an ox, and a crest of the same metal.

The same writer says that the Phrygians were anciently termed Bryges, and lived in Europe near Macedonia.† He adds that the Armenians were a colony of Phrygians. In this he must have been mistaken. If the Armenians were connected with the Phrygians, the latter were probably the colony.

Xanthus, the Lydian historian, had maintained the same notion as to the origin of the Phrygians, and he fixed the time of their migration, assigning to it a period later than that of the Trojan war.

Apollodorus was of the same opinion, and argued, though not conclusively, as Strabo has shown, that the Phrygians mentioned in the Iliad as sending auxiliaries to Priam were people of the European side of the Pontus.‡

Strabo after collecting and weighing the testimonies of older writers, adopts the conclusion that several of the Asiatic nations had previously inhabited different parts of Thrace, and were of the Thracian race. He says that from the Thracian tribe of Mysians who inhabited the country near the Danube and on both sides of that river, were descended those Mysians who dwelt between the Lydians, the Phrygians, and the Trojans. "And the Phrygians themselves also are Bryges, a Thracian tribe, as well as the Mygdones, and the Bebryces, and the Medobithyni, and the Thyni, and, as I suppose, also the Maryandyni. All the others have entirely disappeared from Europe, and the Mysians alone have remained. Posidonius supposed that Homer alluded to the Mysians in

* Herod. vii. 75. † Id. vii. 73. ‡ Strabo, Geog. lib. xiv. p. 681.

Europe, meaning in Thrace, when he makes Jupiter cast his eyes back from surveying Mount Ida, upon the land of the horse-feeding Thracians and the closely fighting Mysians."*

### *Concluding Remarks.*

We learn from these passages that a very general opinion prevailed among the Greeks, according to which many of the principal nations of Asia Minor were of Thracian origin. In this number are included the Phrygians and the Mysians. But there are so many historical proofs of the antiquity of the Phrygians in Asia, and of their connection with other Asiatic nations, that we are compelled to regard them as immemorial inhabitants of Lesser Asia. With respect to the Mysians we may draw the same inference, from their known affinity to the Lydians.

But the ancients must have had some ground for the generally prevalent opinion which connected these nations with the people of Thrace; and the most probable conclusion seems to be that it took its origin from the known resemblance between the customs and habits, the religious rites and ceremonies, and, above all, the dialects used by the inhabitants of Thrace and those of the interior of Lesser Asia. These analogies are equally applicable on the supposition that the Thracians went originally from Asia, as on that which represents the Asiatics as a colony from Thrace. The high antiquity, and the greater cultivation of the Asiatic states, afford a strong argument in support of the same conclusion.

## Section VIII.—*Of the Physical Characters of the Nations described in the preceding Sections of this Chapter.*

### *Paragraph* 1.—Of the Wallachs.

The Wallachs, who, as we have seen reason to believe, are the descendants of the ancient Getæ or Dacians, and the only existing representatives of the Thracian race, the admixture of Roman blood having perhaps been too inconsiderable to produce

* Strabo, lib. vii. 295.

any material change, are still a people peculiar and distinct from all the other inhabitants of the countries on the Lower Danube. The common Wallach, as we are informed by a late traveller, differs in a decided manner from the Magyar or Hungarian, as well as from the Slaves and Germans who inhabit the borders of Hungary. They are generally below the middle height, thin, and slightly built. Their features are often finely shaped, their noses arched, their eyes dark, their hair long, black, and wavy: their countenances are often expressive of cunning and timidity. They seldom display the dull, heavy look of the Slovak, and still more rarely the proud carriage of the Magyar.

Mr. Paget was struck by the resemblance which the present Wallachs bear to the sculptured figures of ancient Dacians to be seen on Trajan's pillar, which are remarkable for long and flowing beards.*

*Paragraph* 2.—Of the Albanians.

The Albanians are very different people in physical character from the Wallachs. They have been fully described by M. Pouqueville, from whom I cite the following passages:

"The Albanians, who may be called the Scythians of the Turkish empire, have but few wants. Their houses are nothing more than a ground floor: they sleep upon mats or thick cloaks. Little sensible to the variations of the atmosphere, they lead a life equally laborious through the whole year. Easily contented, they live principally on milk, cheese, eggs, olives, and vegetables; they eat occasionally salt fish. Sometimes they bake bread, but often eat their corn or maize boiled. Their common drink is wine. This is the fare of the country people: the dwellers in towns are better fed.

The Albanian shepherds, likewise warriors, are clothed in coarse woollen stuffs. Sober and active, they are content when on journeys or at their labour with a little boiled rice or corn: singing and dancing are their relaxations from fatigue, and a

* Paget's Travels in Hungary and Transylvania, vol. ii. p. 189, et seq. Lond. 1839.

band of soldiers is seldom seen without a mandolin-player and a singer: they have often besides a story-teller.

"A very great difference is observable between the native Albanians and the Greeks who are inhabitants of towns in their country. Hippocrates remarked that mountaineers are tall in stature, courageous, and laborious. Such are the Albanians: they are seldom less than five feet nine inches in height, and are very strong and muscular. They have oval faces, large mustachos, a ruddy colour in their cheeks, a brisk animated eye, a well-proportioned mouth, and fine teeth. Their neck is long and thin, their chest broad: their legs are slender, with very little calf. . . . . .

"The women who bring this race of semi-barbarians into the world partake in the vigour of their organization. They do not live in the indolence of harems, but labour hard, and not less than the men earn their bread with the sweat of their brow, and frequently share the dangers encountered by their husbands and sons. Their features are strong: their muscles firm, and endowed with great elasticity: they are little subject to disease, and preserve the freshness of youth much longer than the women of Greece. They continue to become mothers till an equally advanced period of life with the women in the more northern countries. They sleep upon the same mats with their husbands, are like them clothed with coarse woollen garments, and often march with their legs naked during the most rigorous cold of Albanian winters."

Some tribes among the Albanians are said to be remarkable for fair or flaxen hair and blue eyes,* but it has not been observed whether these families are distinguishable in dialect from those who display a different complexion.

### *Paragraph* 3.—Of the Greeks.

The ancient writers have made us tolerably well acquainted with the physiognomy and other personal characteristics of the Greeks. The epithets of *ξανθοὶ, πυῤῥοὶ, κυανοχαίται, γλαυκώπιδες,* and many others, indicate that the same variety of complexion existed formerly among the Greeks, which we recognise in

* F. Ritter von Xylander, ubi supra, s. 291.

other nations in the south of Europe, especially in countries where the climate is varied by differences of situation and of level. It seems that in this respect, as well as in the beauty of form, for which the old Greeks were noted, the modern Greeks, their posterity, still resemble them. M. Pouqueville assures us that the models which inspired Apelles and Phidias are still to be found among the inhabitants of the Morea. They are generally tall, and finely formed: their eyes are full of fire, and they have a beautiful mouth, ornamented with the finest teeth. There are, however, degrees in their beauty, though all may be generally termed handsome. The Spartan woman is fair, of a slender make, but with a noble air. The women of Taygetes have the carriage of Pallas when she wielded her formidable ægis in the midst of a battle. The Messenian woman is low of stature, and distinguished for her *embonpoint*: she has regular features, large blue eyes, and long black hair. The Arcadian, in her coarse woollen garments, scarcely suffers the regularity of her form to appear, but her countenance is expressive of innocence and purity of mind. Chaste as daughters, the women of the Morea assume as wives even a character of austerity. The Greek women in the time of Pouqueville were extremely ignorant and uneducated. Music and dancing seemed to have been taught them by nature. The favourable traits of character among the Greeks in general are in part attributable to their early education. We are assured that the children are left to grow in full liberty, like the robust plants which adorn their native soil. They are not subjected to the harsh treatment which the children of the lower classes experience in more civilised countries, nor are their countenances expressive of any kind of painful sentiment.

The same writer has described the inhabitants of Sparta. He says, "The Laconians differ in manners and address from their neighbours the Arcadians: the latter carry the scrip and crook, and lead a perfectly pastoral life; the inhabitants of Sparta, on the contrary, fond of combats, are of a lively and restless character, and are easily irritated." M. Pouqueville speaks of the long flaxen hair of the women of Sparta, their majestic air and carriage, their elegant forms, the regularity

of their features, animated by large blue eyes bordered with long eyelashes. "The men," he says, "among whom some are 'blonds,' or fair, have noble features, are of tall stature, masculine and regular features." They have preserved something of the Dorians of Sparta even in their defects. They have an innate propensity to rapine.

The same writer has described in another part of his work the curious race of Mainotes as differing considerably from the other inhabitants of the Morea. They are a mixed people, and are not to be considered as of the genuine posterity of the Hellenes.

The remains of Grecian sculpture are well known to display the finest and most expanded form of the human skull. It has been supposed indeed that "the Grecian profile" has been exaggerated or drawn from the imagination, but Blumenbach, in a memoir in the Goettingen Transactions, and in the notes to his sixth Decade, has refuted this opinion. He thus describes a Greek skull in his collection:—"Forma calvariæ subglobosa, maxillæ superioris ossibus sub narium aperturis ferè ad perpendiculum coadunatis, jugalibus ossibus modicè et concinnè declivibus, "artificum laudatis proxima signis." This Greek skull, and one belonging to the ever barbarous and unintellectual race of Georgians, are said to be the most beautiful in his whole collection, consisting of 170 crania of different nations.

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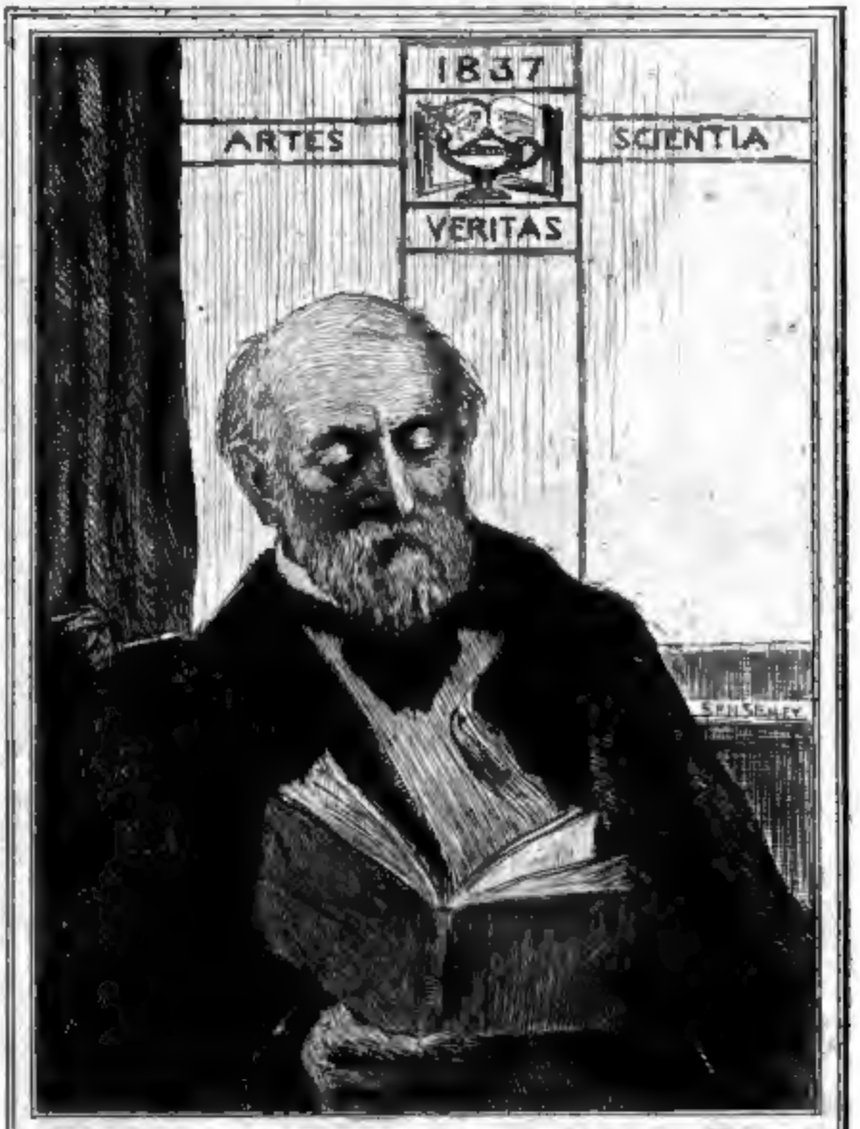


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